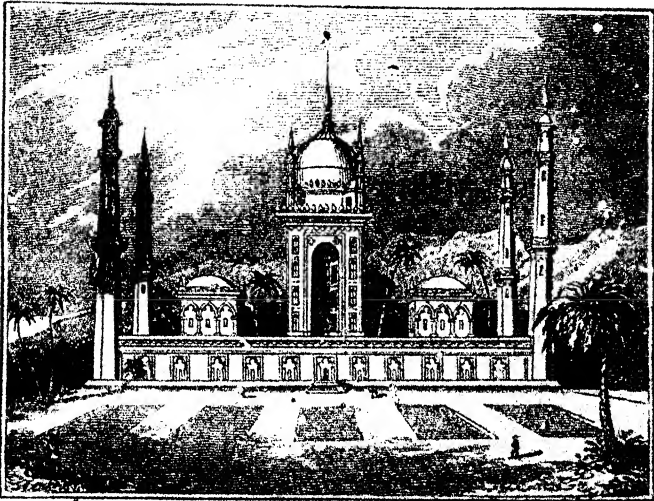


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THE 'ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. LXIII.

	Page.
1. On the Trade with China.....	381
2. Lines addressed to a Lady on arriving from India with her Infant Daughter	391
3. Voyage on the Nile from Cairo to the Cataracts.....	393
4. To depart is better	409
5. The Fountain of Oblivion	410
6. The Monopoly	411
7. The Warrior's Lady expecting her Lord's Return.....	421
8. On the Civilisation of Africa.....	423
9. Quiet—In two Sonnets.....	434
10. On the Revenue of the East India Company, particularly at Madras ...	435
11. Remembrance.....	444
12. Emerson's Letters from the <i>Ægean</i>	445
13. Sonnet to Autumn	455
14. On the Administration of Justice in India, and the Qualifications and Number of European Judges.....	456
15. The Song of the Last Bard.....	462
16. Particulars of the Death of the late Emperor Alexander.....	463
17. Captain Clapperton's Second Expedition to the Interior of Africa.....	465
18. Causes of Crime in India, and Suggestions for their Prevention.....	472
19. Slavery in the Mauritius.....	475
20. Sonnet to Slavery	500
21. Report of the Public Meeting at Liverpool.....	501
22. My Native Land	538
23. Meeting at Coventry for the Abolition of Suttees in India.....	539
24. The Dream—To Celia.....	545
25. Proceedings at Manchester relative to the Opening of the East India Trade	546
26. Native Address of Condolence on the Death of the late Sir Edward West	557
27. Attempt of the Bombay Government to intimidate the Judges.....	561
*28. Free Intercourse between England and India.....	570
29. Civil and Military Appointments, Promotions, and Changes in India....	571
30. Births, Marriages, and Deaths	574
31. Shipping Intelligence	577
32. General List of Passengers	578



THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. 61.—JANUARY, 1829.—VOL. 20.

APPROACHING DISCUSSIONS ON THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S CHARTER.

ON entering upon the Twentieth Volume of our labours in THE ORIENTAL HERALD, we cannot refrain from expressing the gratification we derive, from having lived to witness the beneficial influence, which the dissemination of the facts and arguments contained in this Work have already had, in preparing the public mind for a right decision of the important question soon to be discussed in Parliament, namely, 'Whether it is for the interests of the nation at large, that the most valuable branch of its commerce with the Eastern World should be vested, by a close Monopoly, in an insignificant number of individuals, to the exclusion of all the rest of their countrymen? and also, whether it is desirable that, in consequence of this Monopoly, Englishmen should be placed on a worse footing than foreigners of every other nation; and be debarred from trading with China, or settling in India, while all other men may do both freely, and amass fortunes in a commerce from which our embarrassed merchants and starving manufacturers are entirely excluded?' Let the question be proposed in what form it may, this is the sum and substance of it; and if a regard to the welfare of the many be suffered to take precedence of the interests of the few, there can be no doubt but that this question must be answered in the negative.

Much, however, will depend on the nature and force of the efforts that may be made by the friends of Free Trade on this occasion. Their supineness, or indifference, or parsimony, or timidity—or perhaps a mixture of all these operating on different individuals, and producing a disadvantageous whole—has hitherto occasioned feebleness to the advocates of the popular claims, and given strength to

the abettors of the restrictive and monopolising system. If the former do not conquer the apathy and disunion which have hitherto retarded their career, the victory may once more be on the side of injustice and power : but we can hardly bring ourselves to suppose that, on a question, in the issue of which nine-tenths of the nation at least are deeply interested, there will be any thing like that deficiency of public spirit which has hitherto characterised the operations of the anti-monopolists on all former occasions of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter.

If the merchant of England looks with a jealous eye at the vast gains derived by the Americans in their trade with China, into which no Englishman can enter, let him put his hand into his purse to furnish the means of prosecuting the necessary measures for redress, and 'put his shoulder to the wheel,' to carry forward these measures, till they obtain him the participation he desires. If he 'cries aloud to Jupiter for help,' without first taking these steps to deserve the intervention of the god in his favour, he will as assuredly be left without that help as was the unhappy waggoner in the fable.

If the manufacturer, whose warehouses are bending beneath the weight of an accumulated stock, desires relief from his embarrassments by the opening of foreign markets now closed against him, for the sale of his commodities, let him follow the merchant's example : for he will find it far more to his advantage to expend a hundred pounds in obtaining an alteration of the law, and thus providing a perpetual source of consumption for the produce of his labour, than to waste a thousand, in fruitless expedients, to avert the calamity which must attend him, when his powers of production are greater than the extent of his available markets can consume.

To these two great classes,—the merchants and manufacturers,—the people of England will naturally look for the principal efforts to abolish a Monopoly by which *they* are chiefly injured. But, when we consider the fact, that, in consequence of this Monopoly, every individual in Great Britain, be he of what class he may, is compelled to pay nearly four times the natural and just price of every pound of tea he consumes ; there is no trade, profession, class, age, sect, or degree, in the whole community, (excepting only the members of the East India Company and their immediate dependents,) who will not be stimulated by the example of the merchants and manufacturers, if they take this high ground and maintain it as munificently and as firmly as they ought—and who will not therefore be ready to add their voices to the general prayer of the country, and swell the triumph which popular claims and popular opinion will then be sure to enjoy.

The most convincing proof that great apprehensions for their safety are now entertained even by the Monopolists themselves,—at the same time that it is one of the most gratifying symptoms that could be given, of the effect wrought on them by the combined

operations of reasoning and of fear,—is to be found in the fact, that the organ of the East India Company, a work published by the booksellers of that august body, under the title of 'THE ASIATIC JOURNAL,' has begun to put forth its feelers, and to denounce, by anticipation, all who are likely to oppose its

'Very noble and approved good master.'

It has, seemingly, taken courage at seeing the still higher organ of authority—and, in many respects, its worthy contemporary—'THE QUARTERLY REVIEW,' express itself with so much folly and flippancy combined, in an article on two able pamphlets, which the Reviewer had not the capacity to comprehend: and, under the protecting shield of this, its elder brother in support of existing abuses, even the puny 'ASIATIC' attempts to flap its wings, and crow, as if it also were one of the authorised heralds of approaching victory!

It is a long time since we have seen any thing in its pages bearing on the main points at issue on this great question. Its policy (in which it takes its cue from its honourable patrons) is to avoid, as much as possible, all advertence to the subject, and to throw dust into the eyes of its readers—till some of them, we should think, were nearly blinded—by very learned, and, at the same time, very harmless dissertations, on Hindoo Mythology, Musulman Antiquities, Chinese Chronology, and Burmese Superstitions; leaving the world to enlighten themselves, as they best can, on the comparatively unimportant topic, of whether arbitrary rule and restricted commerce can be as productive of happiness to the millions subject to their influence, as a government of equal laws and unrestricted intercourse, with all the consequences resulting therefrom. We rejoice, therefore, to see 'THE ASIATIC JOURNAL' laying aside for a moment its disquisitions on Sanscrit etymologies and Arabic roots, to enter a wider and a nobler field: and that our readers may not be deprived of whatever benefit such a departure from its usual course may confer, we shall lay before them, in extracts, the principal portions of its article 'On the Future Government of India,' interspersing these with such observations as they may suggest from our own pen. The writer commences thus:

'We have deemed it expedient to throw out occasionally some *hasty* reflections upon a subject of *immense importance* to the country, namely, the fate of our Indian empire at the expiration of the period when the East India Company's exclusive privileges will cease, unless renewed by Parliament. No practical inconvenience results in this case, though it may happen in many cases, from what may be regarded by some persons as a premature agitation of the question. As often as it is raised, and the public attention awakened to it, a provocation is given to those who have leisure and inclination for inquiry, to prepare themselves for considering the subject when the time of discussion arrives, and to store their minds with

facts calculated to fortify them against the *artifice* and *deception* which will *probably* be employed to forward *party* objects.'

The very first line of this paragraph is an indirect avowal of what we have before imputed to the Journal by which it is made. It does not deny but that the subject is of 'immense importance' to the country; yet it admits that it has thought it expedient only to throw out 'occasional,' and these very hasty, 'reflections' on it. One would have thought that a subject of such 'immense importance' was entitled to more consideration than this. But what is the alleged motive for giving it a thought *now*? To fortify the people of England against the 'artifice' and 'deception' which will probably be employed to forward 'party objects.' This is very kind, and very ingenuous withal. But it seems very like a 'begging of the question' from the beginning, to impute *artifice* and *deception*, and that, too, before hand, to those who are about to become its opponents. In the present advanced state of knowledge on trade and political economy, it would require these aids to prove, to the satisfaction of the public, that the granting exclusive monopolies to a few individuals, was more advantageous to the welfare of a state, than permitting a general equality and freedom of trade: but no *artifice* or *deception* can be needed to prove that commerce flourishes chiefly by being free, or to show that every Englishman is entitled to a full and fair participation in the benefits of any intercourse which can be opened between the ports of his own country and those of another state.

If the Asiatic Journalist really wishes to know on which side *artifice* and *deception* have been most used, we would advise him to consult, with an impartial eye, the records of the India House, and the evidence on the subject of the India Trade, given before Committees of both Houses of Parliament, in which he will find as much of these two qualities as any man could desire to see. And if, on the other hand, he would inquire how much of 'deception' and 'artifice' had been used to prove that monopoly was *injurious*, and free trade beneficial, to a nation, we would recommend him to read Adam Smith, Ricardo, Mill, Say, Sismondi, Maculloch, Torrens, and even the East India Company's own professor at Haileybury, Mr. Malthus. But, with some Journalists, every fact that makes against their *own* side of the question, is deemed an 'artifice;' and every argument that proves them in the *wrong*, is called a 'deception.' In the same manner, too, a 'party object' is the term used to designate every object to which the Journalist is *opposed*: as if it were not quite as possible for *good* objects to be forwarded by a party, as *bad* ones: and as if ALL objects that are pursued by any number of individuals, acting in unison, were not necessarily *party* objects!

The use of these terms is one of the last resorts of those who have no better arguments to offer than defamatory epithets and

stigmatising phrases, of which we shall see an abundance as we proceed. The writer goes on to say :

'A spirit of *hostility* to the East India Company is *already* busily at work, and the facilities of publication in this country afford so many opportunities for its exercise, that we are *compelled* to take the field now and then ; and our readers will recollect that we have exposed one or two *deliberate* attempts to *bias* the public mind upon this question. The *soi-disant* committee of the Liverpool East India Association has digested in silence the *affront* offered to their "Report" in the pages of this Journal ; and the current of their misrepresentations being "in *that* place dammed up," it will in future innocently filter through the pages of some periodical work, not remarkably *fastidious* as to the matter it admits, the *few* readers of which, *knowing* its character, will be upon their guard.'

This is even richer than its predecessors. The desire to see *all* classes of his Majesty's subjects participate *equally*, according to their means, in the benefit of a commerce which should be open to all, is called 'a spirit of *hostility*' to the East India Company ! We should like to know what the same writer would call the desire, on the part of the East India Company, to shut out all the rest of their countrymen from any participation in the privileges which *they* now exclusively enjoy ? We suppose this is not to be called 'a spirit of *hostility*,' but 'a proof of the great *friendship* they feel towards the parties they exclude !' It is really important that the meaning of these terms should be defined. The law is undoubtedly very 'hostile' to robbers ; and honest men, who are friendly to general happiness, may, on the same principle, be considered 'hostile' to all institutions and corporations that impede this ; but such hostility is a virtue ; and not, as the Asiatic Journalist would evidently *wish* to have it considered, a crime. This spirit is said, too, to be 'already' busily at work, as if it were now seen for the first time ; or, as if it had not existed from the very first moment at which the evils of monopoly were known and felt. To be sure, 'the facilities of publication in this country,' (which all good monopolists must lament, and which are so happily and so wisely destroyed in India,) cannot but be regarded as extremely pernicious, when they *compel* an unfortunate wight, like the writer before us, to 'take the field now and then,' in a cause in which defeat is unavoidable. But he does this to expose 'deliberate attempts to *bias* the public mind,' (that is, attempts to convince, by carefully collected facts, and deliberately weighed arguments, in pursuance of a calm and persevering resolution to combat error and promote the cause of truth.) In the mind of this writer, nothing evidently can be more sinful than this. He first begs the question, by assuming that the action is *bad*, and then uses the term *deliberate*, as men apply it to the crime of murder, to make it appear of a deeper die ; so also the turn given to public opinion being assumed to be *wrong*, the attempt to *bias* it in that direction is stig-

matished as an offence. But what if the action were good? Its being *deliberately* done, is then a merit; and any *bias* given to the public mind, in a *right* cause, is equally a subject of commendation. The disingenuousness of opening a controversy like this, with terms employed vituperatively, and therefore calculated to prejudice and mislead, is sufficient of itself to show how deficient in higher and better arguments must be the writer who resorts to them: for what is the conduct of this very person but a *deliberate* attempt to *bias* the public mind toward *his* way of thinking? If this be an offence in others, it must be equally so considered in himself. The truth is, that all endeavours to impress on the minds of others the convictions that exist in our own, is not merely justifiable, but praiseworthy; and whoever begins by decrying the attempts of his opponents as 'artifice, deception, party spirit,' &c., may be fairly suspected of being much more under the influence of those agents than those to whom he imputes them. Let us go forward:

'Whilst the eagerness of the *disingenuous* opponents of the Company urges them to seize upon every occasion to *prepossess* the public mind, there appear evident symptoms of a sentiment *spontaneously* growing up among the best-informed and liberal portion of the country, adverse to conclusions unfavourable to the present system of government in India. Let any of *our* readers consider the opinions they have heard delivered on this subject in the societies *they* frequent, and, after excluding from the poll those individuals who are not perfectly *compos mentis* in this matter—*red-hot* radicals, *furious* anti-monopolists, and *wrong-headed* philanthropists—let them say whether the majority of the votes has not been against *any* essential change in the government of British India. It is unnecessary to repeat what has been often urged in behalf of the policy of *continuing* and *improving* established institutions and forms of government, in preference to *revolutionising* them. The advocates of the Company will doubtless take higher ground, and contend that their system of rule, however defective in subordinate points, as most systems are, is essentially better than any other, and that it could not be administered with so much benefit to both communities, the governing and the governed nations, by the extinction of their intermediate authority.'

We see the same thing meet us at every step. Why are the *opponents* of the Company *alone* disingenuous? They are continually demanding investigation and discussion, from which the *advocates* of the Company as invariably shrink; and, like 'THE ASIATIC JOURNAL,' never open their lips but when *compelled*. Where is the disingenuousness, then, likely to be,—on the side of those who speak out freely, or on the side of those whose constant policy it is to prevaricate and conceal?

The sequel is most amusing: while the anti-monopolists *prepossess* the public mind, (of course the writer means to say fraudulently and unfairly, for without this there can be no evil imputed,)

The sentiment in favour of making no change in Indian affairs is said to grow up *spontaneously*, and to be found among the *best-informed and the most liberal* part of the country! We should be glad to see some *evidence* on this subject. Mr. Canning was generally thought to be a *well-informed* man; and Mr. Huskisson has, at least, the reputation of being a *liberal* one; yet not merely these men, but all the most distinguished of their respective followers, have publicly declared their conviction, that there must be a *great* change in administering Indian affairs, and have repeatedly advised the Legislature to be prepared for such an event.

We say nothing of such men as Lord Lansdowne, Lord Holland, Lord John Russell, or Lord Durham, who have all unequivocally condemned the existing system of Indian rule. In the estimation of the Asiatic Journalist, they are, perhaps, neither well-informed nor liberal, *because* they disapprove of monopoly! Mr. Astell, Mr. Pebb, Mr. Plowden, and similar veteran Directors, are, no doubt, much greater men in his estimation; and what *they* do not approve, *he* can never be brought to believe worthy of his commendation.

The *nature* of the following advice is, however, irresistible: 'Let any of *our* readers', says the Editor, (which includes all the East India Directors,—all the 'old women of both sexes,' whose dowers, jointures, and pensions are vested in East India Stock,—and all the ship-builders, insurance-brokers, biscuit-bakers, anchor-smiths, tea-dealers, indigo-sellers, &c., &c., who 'live and move, and have their being,' only in the existence of the East India Company's monopoly;) 'let any of *our* readers,' says this Journal, 'consider the opinions they have heard in the societies *they* frequent,' (which are, of course, very friendly to the system by which they thrive and prosper;) 'let them say whether the *majority* of the votes has not been against *any* essential change in the government of British India?' Innocent Inquirer! No doubt they have. But one would as soon think of determining the national popularity of the King's Ministers, by the speeches and votes of a party assembled at a Cabinet dinner, as of inferring the whole force of public opinion in favour of the East India Company, from what passes in the limited and interested circle of the readers of 'The Asiatic Journal!'

Even here, however,—narrow and partial as this limit may be supposed to be,—there must be some expulsions made before even the majority can be secured. All those 'who are not perfectly *compos mentis* in this matter,' (that is, who are not admirers of monopoly—for, in the writer's mind, any advocate of free trade must be, in plain English, a madman,) 'must be excluded from the poll!' This is certainly a short cut to a successful majority. All '*red-hot* radicals,' (that is, all advocates of any change whatever,) 'all *furious* anti-monopolists,' (that is, all who *speak* or *write* against monopoly; those who merely disapprove of it in *thought*, but never venture to *express* their opinions on it, being the only moderate or

respectable persons of that class;) 'all *wrong-headed* philanthropists,' (that is, all who are for benefiting their species, during their life-time, by deed as well as by word: the *right-headed* philanthropists being those who are content to *pray* for the civilisation of the whole human race, and to wait, with becoming patience, the lapse of a few centuries, till the people become ripe for the enjoyment of good laws and institutions;) shall these must be excluded, *even* from the readers of "The Asiatic Journal," and then there will remain among them, after this purgation, a clear majority in favour of the East India Company.—Wonderful and extensive popularity!

We say nothing of the sage observation about "continuing and improving established institutions, instead of revolutionising them;" by which, for instance, it may be proved, that it is better to *continue* the burning of Hindoo Widows,—a very long *established*, and, consequently, a very *venerable* institution—and to *improve* it, by introducing some more agreeable mode of roasting the ladies to death,—than it would be to *revolutionise* the institution, by abolishing it altogether. These are but trifles, except as indications of the writer's mode of reasoning. Pass we, therefore, to his next paragraph:

'It cannot have escaped the observation of those who feel an interest in this great question—and what individual in the country is *not* interested?—that whenever the superior functionaries of Government and immediate Ministers of the Crown have been called upon to express any opinion on this subject, their language, guarded as it has been and ought to be, can bear no other construction than this,—namely, that the administration of our Indian Empire has been conducted with *wisdom* and *prudence*; that its immediate rulers have earned the applause of their *country*, and have disproved the common adage, that "little wisdom is required for governing mankind;" and that it is not the intention of the Ministers of the Crown to propose to Parliament that it should refuse to renew their Charter. Such is the constructive meaning of the speeches delivered by Ministers, in Parliament and elsewhere, which refer incidentally to this important question. We refer our readers to a very recent instance,—namely, the *dinner* given during the month by the Court of Directors to the new President of the Board of Control, of which an account has been given in the newspapers, (and of which we shall publish an authentic report next month): the sentiments expressed by Mr. Peel seem to us utterly irreconcilable with the hypothesis, that the Company will be called upon in a few years to surrender their sovereignty over a country which, according to the Right Honourable Gentleman, they have "raised to the highest point of honour and glory by *good government*." This opinion, be it recollected, is formed after the most violent outcries have been raised against the tyranny, the oppres-

son, the imbecility, and folly of the Company's government ; after reiterated appeals have been made to the Legislature, to the Crown, and to the public, through the medium of the press, by parties who affirm that they had been aggrieved by the Company's mal-administration of Indian affairs, but who have failed in their proof.

His Majesty's Ministers are, of course, 'infallible.' How could they be considered otherwise, by one who is himself, though in a smaller way, an organ of authority ? But Burke, and Fox, and Sheridan, and Lord Grenville, had different notions on this subject ; though they were, evidently in his opinion, men of very inferior intellects to the Duke of Wellington, Lord Ellenborough, and Mr. Peel. Besides, of what value are the opinions of the men we have named,—who are, moreover, dead, and can have no good things to give away,—delivered, too, after the *deliberate* investigation of Indian history and Indian affairs, for years in succession, and pronounced before the most solemn tribunal of the country :—of what value are their convictions, compared with the sentiments of a young Lord President of the Board of Control, who, six months before, had never thought of India ; and a middle aged Secretary of State for Ireland and the Home Department, who had been all his life equally innocent of any particular attention to the affairs of that distant country :—these opinions being delivered under the convivial influence of turtle soup and sparkling champagne, at a complimentary tavern dinner ? Truly, the distinction is most important ; and when such men, under such circumstances, say that 'India has reached the *highest* point of honour and glory by *good* government,' who shall dare dispute it ? Any attempt to raise it *higher* must of course prove abortive.

But there is one passage in the paragraph last quoted, which had well nigh escaped us ; it is that in which the writer says, that 'the administration of our Indian Empire has been conducted with such *wisdom* and such *prudence*, that its immediate rulers have earned the *applause of their country*, and have disproved the common adage, that 'little wisdom is required for governing mankind.' Verily, we know not where this *applause of their country* is to be found ; unless, indeed, it be 'constructively' inferred, that, as Lord Ellenborough and Mr. Peel are among the principal orators of the respective Houses to which they belong, and are of his Majesty's Privy Council, they are consequently the organs of the country ; and the East India Company having received *their* applause, in return for the sumptuous dinner given them at the Albion in Aldersgate-street, the *applause of the country* is consequently included therein !

The last portion of the paragraph cited above is not less remarkable than any preceding part of it ; it is that wherein the writer says, that those who have complained of being aggrieved by

the India Company's Government, have 'failed in their proof.' If he had said *failed in obtaining redress*, he would have been nearer the truth. But, proof has been heaped upon proof, to very wearisomeness, till all men, excepting only the parties inflicting the injury, have been convinced of the injustice alleged. If such proof, as should be admitted by the oppressors themselves to be convincing, were required, 'neither Moses nor the Prophets would be believed by them; nor would they be persuaded if one rose from the dead.'

The Asiatic Journalist now leaves his own ground, to follow in the track of 'THE QUARTERLY REVIEW;' and, as he has selected what he deems the pith and marrow of the article contained in that periodical, we may dispatch both at the same time. The Journalist, in speaking of the two pamphlets reviewed in 'The Quarterly,' admits having noticed one of them in his pages, but says of the other, that 'he neither has seen, nor has the smallest curiosity to see it;' which is wise enough, no doubt, considering that it was very likely to have disturbed his self-complacency; but he adds:

'As the former article in the Review was calculated to exhibit, in a favourable point of view, the existing form of government for India, after it should have undergone such minor improvements as *time and change of circumstances* suggested; so the present article seems intended to express the futile and unsubstantial nature of the allegations made against the Company's system, whether of government or of trade, vented by their noisy opponents, whether declamatory orators, disappointed adventurers, or offended civil servants.'

Now, the '*minor improvements*, which *time and change of circumstances* demand,' is all that the veriest 'red-hot radical' (to use the elegant phrase of the Journalist himself) ever asked for India. No one has yet claimed for it annual parliaments or universal suffrage. no one ever contended there for a republican form of government, or a declaration of the rights of man; but what the '*furious anti-monopolists*' and '*wrong-headed philanthropists*' (still to continue the epithets of 'The Asiatic Journal') have wished as improvements in the government of India, which *time and change of circumstances* required, have been,—1st. That Englishmen in that country should be put on an equal footing with foreigners and Natives, namely, that they should be under the protection of the law, and not be subject to punishment and ruin, without trial by jury; and,—2dly. That the Natives should be allowed to participate, as much as should be found safe and practicable, in the knowledge and administration of the affairs of their own country, and not be drained of all their wealth without a voice either of representation or remonstrance in cases in which they might be aggrieved. The freedom of the press, subject to such punishment for its improper use, as a Court of Justice and a Jury should determine—this being an auxiliary with-

out which any other degree of liberty would be much less valuable and efficient—has been added to the ‘improvements suggested by time and change of circumstances:’ and what have been the epithets applied to the persons demanding these reasonable concessions? They have been branded with every epithet of infamy that their enemies could affix to their names; and stigmatised as ‘red-hot radicals—furious anti-monopolists—wrong-headed philanthropists—noisy opponents—declamatory orators—and disappointed adventurers;’—all the sting of these names being in the adjectives prefixed, and not in the substantives themselves; a radical is bearable enough, until he becomes ‘red-hot;’ an opponent is not troublesome till he gets ‘noisy;’ that is, until he speaks or writes: and when it is not prudent to admit an honourable motive for opposing Monopoly, then it is, of course, easy to attribute it to ‘fury, wrong-headedness, disappointment,’ or any other similar cause.

The allusion which is made by the Quarterly Reviewer to ‘the leading clamourers against the Company’s system of rule in India returning to England to join the very band of conspirators against the rights of Englishmen in that country,’ is well-deserved: and we heartily concur in the censure it is meant to affix on the ‘Anglo-Indian Hampdens,’ whose patriotism and liberality can be so entirely washed away by the homeward voyage. We know of no one to whom this reproach can with so much truth apply, as to Mr. Robert Cutlar Fergusson, who, when practising at the Calcutta Bar, opposed the law for subjecting the Press to a license, calling it ‘one of the most arbitrary acts of the most arbitrary Government in the world;’ denouncing the censorship as ‘illegal,’ and the licensing law as ‘worthy only of Madrid or Constantinople;’ yet going up with a congratulatory address, but a few weeks afterwards, to the creator and supporter of these tyrannous invasions of English liberty, Mr. Adam! and then coming home to join the very body of Directors, by whom these laws were maintained and approved;—going into the House of Commons, and there declaring his conviction, ‘that in no country were the laws more justly administered than in India,’—though, but a year or two before, he had said, in the public Court of Calcutta, that ‘such was the corrupt state of its administration in the interior provinces, that justice might truly be said to be put up at auction, and knocked down to the highest bidder.’ This is one of the ‘thriving gentlemen, who return annually to England with large fortunes, to take their places among the great ones of the land:’ and the Quarterly Reviewer deserves praise for denouncing their hollowness and insincerity.

To the quotation from the Review, succeeds a paragraph respecting Mr. Crawford, which, as it is a re-echo of what before appeared in the Review itself, we are a little surprised that he has not answered; because silence, in such a case, is a tacit admission either of the justice of the reproach, of inability to wipe it away, or of in-

difference to its remaining ; neither of which are easy to be supposed in Mr. Crawford's case. That he has filled many lucrative as well as important offices under the Company's Government, cannot be denied ; but, as he gave his labours for his reward, we think him perfectly free from all obligation to the Company on that score. That he has received also a large sum of money (by some accounts 3000*l.*, by others, 5000*l.*) from the petitioners against the stamp tax, to prosecute their claims, is also, we believe, undeniable. If this sum had been applied to purchase for him a seat in Parliament, or to pay for able articles from influential pens in favour of Free Trade, and to assist in the dissemination of the periodicals in which they should be contained, throughout the manufacturing districts of the country, there might, by this time, have been formed the nucleus of a power, which would have gone on, gaining strength at every step, and have become at last irresistible. But he is, of course, responsible to those whose trust he has undertaken, and will, no doubt, account to them fairly and fully for the issue of his mission.

The Asiatic Journalist alludes also to another very distinguished opponent of the East India Company, whom he does not name, but who, it is plain, must be Mr. Rickards. This gentleman was formerly in the Civil Service of the Company at Bombay, and is now at the head of one of the principal India agency houses in London. But we must give the paragraph entire :

' Self-interest is, generally speaking, the governing principle of the merchant when he comes in conflict with political questions. He considers in what aspect the matter affects his own individual concerns ; a master-stroke of policy, which closes an avenue to the vent of *his* merchandise, or which deranges the state of the exchanges to *his* grievous prejudice, is bitterly inveighed against by him, whatever may be its expected advantage to the *community*. Let it not be supposed that we are depreciating the morals of the mercantile world by this strain of observation : it is natural, it is justifiable, upon ordinary principles, that commercial traders should so think and act. No champion from the Royal Exchange would surely claim for them an exemption from the common feelings of human nature. We do not impute to them a Shylock spirit of malevolence, when we suppose that they rejoice over gain and grieve over loss. But when commercial men venture to approach a political question like that under consideration, while they are influenced by feelings *inseparable from them as traders*, a very considerable degree of hesitation ought to precede an adoption of the measures they recommend. An East India merchant, or consignee, for example, who has been a servant of the East India Company, and who labours to show that the abrogation of the Company's exclusive privileges would be attended with great political blessings, is not entitled to the same weight in the scale of authority, as if the mercantile character did not attach to him ; because it is difficult,

if not impossible, to suppose that he is not influenced—it may be quite unconsciously—by the hope of increasing his commission or his *profits*. Such persons are too prone to regard experiments in politics in the same light as speculations in commerce : there is this material difference, however, that a misfortune in the latter case merely affects the balance-sheet, or at the utmost swells the Gazette ; whereas a false movement in regulating the political machine, especially in a subject country like India, may lead to consequences somewhat more serious.

Can any thing surpass this ? Here is, first, a *merchant* in his individual capacity, put in contrast with the whole *community* : as if, by the East India Company's Monopoly, some one class only of merchants, or even some one individual, were injured, and not all classes, and all individuals—for all are equally excluded ! Next, we are told, when a political question is approached by men influenced by feelings *inseparable from them as traders*, we ought to hesitate before we receive their conclusions as worthy of adoption. And pray, what are the modest 'UNITED COMPANY OF MERCHANTS TRADING TO INDIA ?'—are not they influenced, too, by feelings *inseparable from them as traders* ? And are the individuals of their body more fit to approach a political question than Mr. Rickards, who has been all his life, till now, a man trained in the business of politics and government, and lately a member of the very ruling Council of one of the Presidencies of India itself ? Really, this is almost more than ludicrous. Here is a Court of Directors, forming the governing power of India, composed of the greatest medley of materials that it is possible to imagine—with a Turkey Merchant for a Chairman, a Sea Captain for his Deputy, a gallant Colonel and a learned Serjeant, a profound Doctor and a superannuated Salt Agent, a London Banker and a Bengal Lawyer, a Blackwall Ship-builder and a Wapping Sugar-baker—as if placed purposely in edifying juxtaposition—all very worthy and excellent men in their way, and all very fit for their several trades and professions ; but, as *statesmen*, purely ludicrous ! and the sapient organ of such a heterogenous body as this, talks of the incompetency of a British merchant to come to any sound conclusion upon a political question, because of his liability to be influenced by feelings *inseparable from him as a trader* !! We should really like to know what is the *collective feeling* of such a mixed assemblage of traders as we have here described, in order to compare it with that which is indicated as a disqualifying one in such individuals as Mr. Rickards.

No doubt the India Company have not been in the habit of thinking much about their *profits* ; it would, however, have been better for the country if they had, as they would not now have such a load of debt to entail upon their successors. But that *this*, in a trading Company, should be exalted as a merit ; and that those

politicians, who make *profit* an element in the consideration of a commercial intercourse between a producing and a manufacturing nation, should be *therefore* deemed incompetent to decide rightly on such a question, is indeed a novelty in political economy and legislation.

The article of 'THE ASIATIC JOURNAL' becomes more important, however, as it draws towards the close; for, after all the denunciations which the writer of it levels against the 'furious anti-monopolists' and their 'radical' supporters, he comes at last to admit the whole question in dispute, by granting every thing contended for,—namely, that Monopoly is unfavourable to extended consumption; and that Free Trade to India, as well as to all other parts of the world, is attended with the certain consequence of increased consumption, and all the advantages which must necessarily follow in its train. Hear his own words:

'The article in 'The Quarterly Review,' which we have already quoted, adverts to the allegations made at the period referred to, by persons of great knowledge and experience of the Hindoo character, that the trade between Great Britain and India was *incapable* of being greatly extended beyond its existing limits, for reasons which they assigned, and which *appeared* to be satisfactory. Experience has, however, shown that that trade could be extended, and the official returns certainly demonstrate a *vast increase* in the exports to India since the year 1814. But it is justly observed by the Reviewer, that no person, not even the parties who urged the opening of the trade, could have foreseen the astonishing impulse subsequently given to the manufactures in this country; that by the prodigious improvement in our mechanical science, we could import cotton from India, and manufacture it so cheaply, as to undersell, in their own market, the Hindoos themselves, whose labour costs only a penny or two-pence a-day! We add another fact, in explanation of the apparent increase in the export trade to India,—namely, the prodigal waste of capital it has been attended with, and the sacrifices submitted to by the exporters, who have sold their goods at a *ruinous loss*. We have, on former occasions, spoken, from personal knowledge, of the character of some of the large exports to India, the exporters in which cases have been the manufacturers, who have relieved themselves of a heavy stock at any sacrifice. Look at the recent statements in the public prints, of the causes of mercantile distress in Glasgow, and the principles will apply elsewhere: it is distinctly revealed, that the exports to India have been, in a multitude of instances, mere experiments, not mercantile transactions.'

We have given the passage entire, in order to show that its *end* is as *false*, as its *beginning* is *true*. 'There was no denying the fact, that all the predictions of the pretended 'wise men,' who were exa-

mined before Parliament, previous to the last renewal of the Charter, relative to the alleged unwillingness of the Hindoos to consume our manufactures, have been falsified by the event. And yet, among these witnesses, were the greatest names that the Company could produce: Warren Hastings, Sir Thomas Munro, Mr. Grant, Sir John Malcolm, and a host of others. They all insisted strenuously that *no* increase could take place in the consumption of English manufactures in India. A *vast increase* is now admitted to have been obtained! Of what value, then, are such false prophets as these? And yet the present opponents of a Free Trade with China are of the very same stamp and description. They tell us, that notwithstanding the Chinese trade freely with unlicensed Americans, who make large fortunes by their commerce, they will never have any dealings with unlicensed Englishmen, because the Hong merchants will trade only with the supercargoes of the East India Company! If it were so, then it would be perfectly safe for the Company to let these unlicensed traders try the experiment, and be ruined for their pains; but they know better than this, and do not, therefore, relish the proposal. They tell us, also, that notwithstanding the Americans are republicans, and have, in general, much less subordination among their crews than the English; still, that the crews of the former behave exceedingly well, and that those of the latter would be sure to behave just as ill, and get the whole nation excluded from further trade with China for *their indiscretions*!—all which has been exposed and refuted by every example that could be cited.

But when, in his care for the interests of the poor English merchants, who, he tells us, would be running headlong on ruin and destruction, the Asiatic Journalist cites the fact of the recent failures at Glasgow having been caused by the over-trading to India, he is a little premature; for not three days after his book was issued from the press, the Glasgow papers contained the most direct and positive refutation of this imputed cause, and showed that over-trading to India had no share whatever in bringing about the failures adverted to.

The 'facilities of publication in this country,' which the Editor, in a former part of his article, so feelingly laments, is now and then attended with the evil of precipitate statements: but more *'deliberate'* and careful investigations rectify these errors, and the same facilities are available for giving publicity to the corrections. If any 'furious anti-monopolist' had done thus, we should have heard of the 'eagerness with which the *disingenuous* opponents of the Company had resorted to *artifice* and *deception* to forward their *party views*;' but we impute no such arts to the Asiatic Journalist. His mistake has simply arisen from his not having the necessary discrimination to enable him to distinguish the true from the false; and,

therefore, whatever first came to hand to help out his statement, he very innocently availed himself of.

If we have wearied any of our readers by the length of this examination, our apology must be, that when an avowed organ of the East India Company, and consequently an advocate for Monopoly, gives utterance to his thoughts, or obeys his instructions, but 'occasionally,'—it is proper on such occasions, 'few' as they are 'and far between,' to see whether he has made progress in his career, and whether he can advance any thing new in favour of his cause. This is but due to him in courtesy; and when we print what he himself has to say, as well as the comment it elicits from us, he can have no reason to impeach our fairness at least, and must be content with the issue to which a comparison of our respective views and statements may lead the readers of both.

We cannot lay down our pen, however, without again entreating the friends of Free Trade to unite and concentrate their means and efforts; to begin betimes to take the field, that they may not be overtaken by surprise; to form Associations in London, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol, Glasgow, and Dublin, in particular, and to establish Branch-Committees in all the smaller towns;—to get the most efficient men to take the lead in these, each in the sphere of his local influence and interest;—to have travellers, or emissaries, to maintain frequent intercommunication between them;—to institute a fund, to which every individual in the kingdom, who drank tea, should be solicited to subscribe;—to print books, hold meetings, retain the advocacy of newspapers, purchase seats in Parliament;—and, in short, leave no means untried to rouse the nation into one simultaneous effort to abolish a Monopoly, more injurious to the welfare of this kingdom, and more adverse to the civilisation and happiness of the countries suffering under its curse, than any tongue can describe; and, therefore, quite as worthy of the sympathy and support—religious, moral, political, and pecuniary—of every individual in the kingdom, as the Abolition of Slavery, the Emancipation of the Catholics, the Revision of the Corn Laws, or any other great work of human improvement that has ever occupied the thoughts or pens of statesmen and philanthropists.

It would be a cheap purchase to obtain the destruction of this Monopoly by the payment of a million sterling; for, far more than that sum would be realised in profit on the Free Trade of the first year alone: but a fund of much less magnitude would be ample for every purpose required; and if hundreds of thousands can be raised to build a bridge *above* the Thames, which yields no interest to its subscribers, and to excavate a tunnel *below* the Thames, of which even the principal is never expected to be returned,—ought there to be any difficulty in raising an equal amount, to open a commerce which would bring ships to float on every river in England—give

new life to all our manufactories—and bring the productions of Asia home to our own shores at less than half the cost at which we now obtain them?

If it be so—if this appeal to the public spirit of Englishmen should pass unheeded—then we say, they will rightly deserve the fate that awaits them; to be delivered over, bound hand and foot, to the tender mercies of the East India Company, who will continue to exclude them—as they will then deserve to be excluded—from all participation in the commerce and wealth of the East, while their more fortunate rivals, the Dutch, the French, and the Americans, will continue to amass fortunes in that very commerce into which an Englishman cannot, and dare not enter!

We do not believe it possible that our countrymen can silently submit to such degradation as this; we look for a higher spirit in them than one that could brook such humiliation. Let them, however, be on the alert. There is not an hour to lose.

ANCIENT CHARACTERS.

No. III.—*Alexander.*

Who spurns his shadowy charger to the foot
Of yon, the haughtiest of these lofty mounds,
While, as with consciousness, the noble brute
Beneath the kingly form superbly bounds?

I know thee, Son of Ammon! thou who wert
Ashamed to spring from lineage not divine;
Who, drunk with blood and homage, dared'st assert
Hereditary thunder at the shrine

Of the dumb Thunderer. Wert thou once a god,
Thou Thing of dust and darkness? Art thou he,
Who shook the broad Earth's empires with his nod,
Maniac of Fame, and Slave of Victory?

How changed from him, who led his martial ranks
Against the Anarch and his world of slaves!
Who struck the tents of Greece on Indus' banks,
And dipp'd his casque in all the Orient's waves!

Yet call we darkness day, because there shine .
 Meteors athwart the midnight ? Wherefore then,
 Should we, though some bright acts and thoughts were thine,
 Misname thee *great*, a demigod of men ?

False and true greatness are not sister stars,
 And cannot shine together : he who aims
 At one must quit the other ; or he mars
 His mind's sphere-music with their jarring claims.

Nor is ambition happiness :—Life taught
 Arbela's conqueror to shed strange tears,
 When, standing on the blue deep's verge, he thought
 It barr'd the victories of unknown years.

He wept as Xerxes wept ; and grief like theirs
 Outweighs an ocean of mere vulgar woe :
 Like that of the fallen seraphs, it declares
 The worth of bliss they never more might know.

There was a time, when Pyramids were stones,
 Ere guilt had piled them ; and there was a time,
 When, unpolluted by the lust of thrones,
 And with a soul unwrinkled by a crime,

The son of Philip, yet a blooming boy,
 Play'd at his father's portal ; laid him down,
 Dreamless to rest, or dream of coming joy,
 And only for a plaything wish'd a crown.

Oh, fell Ambition ! how unlike was *this*
 To the grown Alexander, whose wild tale
 Is writ in blood, whose desolating bliss
 Was glory's shame, and still makes Mercy pale !

Hadst thou but sought the right with half the zeal
 That spurr'd thee on to do and dare the wrong,
 How had the bard's high harp, the patriot's steel,
 Reviv'd thy deeds, and given thy praise to song !

Be infamy thy fame !—Pass to thy rest,
 And dream of Clitus in the land below !
 The good are strangers where *thou* art a guest,
 Scourge of thy kind, and friend of human woe !

EAST INDIA MONOPOLY.—CIRCUITOUS TRADE.

ALL who have devoted much time to the consideration of our relations with Asia, and who have attempted to arrange, under appropriate heads, the matters which have crowded on their attention, must be struck with the extreme difficulty of confining their view to one distinct object of contemplation, and of repressing a restless curiosity to roam over a field of undefined, if not boundless, inquiry. To control this importunate disposition to diverge, the indulgence of which would bewilder the inexperienced reader in a maze of inextricable confusion, in the short account which we have presented of our Trade to India, we have endeavoured to consider our commercial polity apart from the higher considerations of social order, of civil rights, of empire and legislation, with which it is intimately connected; we have avoided, as much as possible, the debated ground of free settlement and colonization; and have, in other respects, been compelled to present a picture obviously imperfect, as a whole, for the sake of partial fidelity and truth.

The Circuitous Trade.

The Trade to China, and the Eastern Archipelago, of which we now propose to give some account, though not entangled, like that to India, with the question of government, or embarrassed by the supposed collision between the interests of a superior and dependent state, is yet extended into such numberless ramifications, and embraces, in its serpentine and devious course, such a vast variety of considerations, that to notice them all seems impossible, without an utter disregard of order. In estimating the loss sustained by the industry of this country, and the injury inflicted on the Natives of India, by the impolitic restrictions which have been placed on our commerce with that country, the mere statement of the amount of exports and imports at various periods, and a simple recital of the disabilities under which the productions of the East are placed in their disproportioned competition with those of the Western Hemisphere, have sufficed to direct the mind of a candid inquirer to the sacrifices to which the people of England submit, and the reckless spirit of legislative prodigality in which they have been enacted. The course of our trade to the territories of the Company is neither intricate nor circuitous; the impediments by which the full development of the resources of India is retarded, tend, as we have shown, to such manifest deterioration of its produce, that, with the exception of indigo, it is comparatively little sought in the markets of Europe; and our own transactions approach nearer to the simplicity of barter, than any commerce now subsisting in the world. Not so, however, with the trade to China and the Eastern islands. To engage in this, with any prospect of advantage, it is necessary

to be free from all descriptions of restraint,—that every sea should be open to our merchants,—every port be familiarized with our flag,—that, as far at least as our own laws can ensure it, we should have unqualified access to every nation of the earth,—we confined to no prescribed routes,—detained at no ancient stations,—but be at liberty to sail where we will, to return which way we please, and to stay as long as our exigencies may require. Be it remembered, that we have not here to compete with the old, worn-out nations of the Continent. A new people, thirty years ago, ‘in the gristle,’ but now ‘hardened into the bone of manhood,’ are our bold and adventurous rivals. Distinguished by an energy of character, an indomitable spirit of perseverance, to be dismayed by no difficulties, discouraged by no delay, free as the winds of the immense oceans which bound their coasts, the merchant-mariners of AMERICA seem insensible to fatigue, seek no repose, but are engaged in one uninterrupted circumnavigation of commercial enterprise. ‘Whilst we follow them,’ says Burke, ‘among the trembling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson’s Bay and Davis’s Straits;—whilst we are looking for them beneath the arctic circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold,—that they are at the antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the South. Falkland Island, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage and resting-place in the progress of their victorious industry. Nor is the equinoctial heat more discouraging to them than the accumulated winter of both the poles. We know, that, whilst some of them draw the line and strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others run the longitude and pursue their gigantic game along the coast of Brazil. No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries,—no climate that is not witness to their toils.’

Such was the portrait of America in her infancy, while yet in the nursery of Great Britain. Since that time, whatever may look like poetry in the description, has been more than realised. “Not squeezed,” as we have been, “by the restraints of a watchful and suspicious government,” but suffered to take their own way to perfection, the Americans, under cover of our own mischievous restrictions, by the excellence and variety of their assortments, have obtained a preference over us in all the ports of continental Europe, engrossed the better portion of the trade with the immense regions which lie beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan, and, pushing their successes to the Thames, selected from the warehouses, in which our manufactures mouldered, the materials which invigorate their competition, and extend and animate their foreign and domestic commerce.

‘*Uno quodam vinculo conjunguntur,*’ is not so true of the arts and sciences, as it is of the various branches of trade; and it would

not be difficult to prove to the most sincere and incredulous of monopolists, that the restraints imposed on our intercourse with the East are felt in every link of the commercial chain, and frustrate and defeat our ventures in all the markets of the world.

Before, however, we proceed to the illustration of this great truth, which a partial comparison of the systems of England and America will afford, it may be well to fix our attention on the history and present state of the laws, by which we are excluded from the advantages which our commercial power, if free and unfettered, could not fail to command, on their variance with the principles on which the general scheme of our colonial policy is formed, the efforts which have been recently made by the King's Government to evade their provisions, and the resistance which they have met from the Directors of the East India Company.

The truth is, that though the East India Company be justly chargeable with a multitude of high crimes and misdemeanours against the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain,—until lately, it was only accessary to those ill-advised impediments which the Americans have lately turned to such wonderful account. If the Company had kept pace with the growth of intelligence among the commercial classes of the community, and of liberality in the King's Government, had they consented to those reasonable concessions which were, eight years ago, demanded by the new circumstances of the world, there would be comparatively little cause of complaint against privileges which were not originally very violent deviations from the general colonial system of the country, and which good sense and good feeling might have modified to its altered condition. The bill against them is, that long after these exclusive privileges had been rendered valueless by the invasion of foreigners,—knowing that their modification formed an essential feature of the commercial policy which Ministers felt it their duty to recommend to Parliament, preferring the competition of the Dutch and the Americans to that of their own countrymen,—they did, in the selfish avarice of monopoly, refuse to others what they could not enjoy themselves, return an ungrateful negative to the application of Government, and insist upon the letter of their bond. Of this we will prove them guilty to the last syllable of the charge.

By the 18th section of the 12 Car. II. cap. 18., (the Navigation Act,) considered, until very lately, as the great stay and bulwark of British commerce, it was enacted, that 'no sugars, tobacco, rice, molasses, copper ore, cotton wool, indigo, ginger, fustic, or other dyeing wood, of the growth or manufacture of any English plantations in America, Asia, or Africa, should be carried from any of these places to any place whatsoever, except to other English plantations, or to Great Britain, under forfeiture of ship and goods.'

And by the 19th, 'that for every ship which should set out from England, Ireland, &c. for any English plantation, sufficient

bond should be given to the chief officers of the customs of the port from whence she sailed, that, in case the ship should load any of the said commodities at any of the English plantations, they should be brought by the said ship to some part in Great Britain, to be there unloaded, the dangers of the seas only excepted.' 'And the governor of such plantation shall, before the ship be permitted to load, take bond, in the manner and value aforesaid, that such ship shall carry the goods to some other English plantation, or to Great Britain; and every ship which shall load any of the aforesaid goods until such bond shall be given to the governor, or certificate produced from the officers of any custom-house in England, &c., that such bonds have been there duly given, shall be forfeited; and the said governor shall, twice in every year, return true copies of all such bonds to the chief officer of the customs in London.'

By the 37 Geo. III. cap. 117, the British possessions in the East were excepted from the operation of the laws by which our colonies in America and the West Indies were restrained from direct traffic with foreign nations; and that Act empowered the Directors, with the approbation of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, 'to frame such regulations for carrying on the trade to and from the British possessions in the East Indies, and the countries and states in amity with his Majesty, as shall seem to them most conducive to the interest and prosperity of the said British possessions in India, and of the British empire.'

In the 20th section of the last Charter Act, 53 Geo. III., a distinct reservation of this power was contained, to the effect of leaving Parliament at liberty to make further regulations for enabling his Majesty's subjects to carry on trade directly or circuitously with the places within the limits of the Charter.

The power so reserved was first exercised in the Act 54 Geo. III., cap. 34, commonly called the 'Circuitous Trade Act.'

This Act contains two principal provisions. 1. That by which the Company and private traders are permitted to touch and trade, on their outward or homeward voyage, at foreign ports in America, as well as at the Cape of Good Hope, the island of St. Helena; and on the outward voyage at the Canaries, Cape de Verde Islands, and the island of Madeira. 2. A permission to the private traders to carry on trade, circuitously, between all ports and places whatsoever, lying within the limits of the Charter, that is, from the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan.

By the 54 Geo. IV., the exclusive privileges of the Company in the China trade, and the monopoly of the traffic in tea, remained unimpaired; and, although the only reservation in the 20th section of the Charter Act related 'to the resort and residence of any persons in the East Indies,' vessels proceeding to or from India were still debarred from all traffic with ports in Europe, other than those of the United Kingdom.

The first departure from this system will be found in the 57 Geo. III., cap. 36, (the Malta Trade Act,) by which vessels trading between the United Kingdom and India, whether belonging to the Company or to individuals, were permitted to touch at Malta and Gibraltar; and vessels were allowed to trade between those places, and the limits of the Charter, without coming to a British port.

It appears, by a communication made in July, 1814, by the Earl of Buckinghamshire, then President of the India Board, to Mr. Canning, as member for Liverpool, and others, that a direct trade between India and foreign ports had been in contemplation of his Majesty's Government; but Lord Buckinghamshire expressly says, that it was then the opinion of his Majesty's Ministers, that 'the effects of a general pacification, connected with the new system which Parliament had provided for carrying on the trade with India, could alone enable them to form a correct judgment whether the general interests of the British empire would be best promoted by provisions calculated to render the United Kingdom the emporium of commerce with our settlements in India, or by regulations which should open a direct trade between those settlements and foreign Europe.*

The exclusive policy of our navigation laws, to which our commerce with the New World was subject, and to which the East India Company voluntarily conformed, had been adopted, either on independent policy or in self-defence, by almost all the maritime nations of Europe. Those which possessed establishments within the tropics, secured to those establishments the monopoly of their markets, employing the excess of imports over their own consumption, as instruments of exchange and barter with other countries: but the merchants of those states which possessed no colonies themselves, prohibited from direct intercourse with those of other nations, were compelled to purchase their productions from their importers into Europe. Until the commencement of the French Revolutionary war, France, England, Spain, Portugal, and Holland, were competitors for the supply of the states of the Baltic, Germany, Italy, and the Mediterranean, with the products of the Western World, but with some trifling abatement in favour of Portugal, Sweden, and France, as Lisbon and Venice had been before Amsterdam and London were the great emporia of the merchandise of the East. During the twenty-three years of almost unremitted war, waged by this country, in the first instance against France, and ultimately against all the great continental states which its Ruler compelled to submit to his authority, our maritime superiority enabled us to extirpate the shipping of foreign nations. By the reduction of the French and Dutch colonies in the East and West Indies, the revolt of St. Domingo, and the seizure of the principal

* Appendix (D) to a Report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Foreign Trade, 1821.

points in the Mediterranean, England became the great magazine in Europe, from which the products of every quarter of the globe were dispersed through such channels as the continental system had not closed. But though they were thus without a rival in Europe, a formidable competition was soon raised by the Americans. That enterprising people, by the concessions stipulated in the treaty of 1794, having completely disentangled their intercourse with India from the trammels to which our own remained subject until 1813, free from the embarrassment of exclusive charters and navigation laws, by the wise policy of neutrality, maintained a friendly intercourse with those ports of the continent to which our own shipping had only clandestine access; and by these means, though their want of colonies and their geographical position prevented them from establishing emporia in Europe, they became the carriers of the world.

At the conclusion of the war, the trade thus carried on by the Americans exhibited, as compared with that of which, at its commencement, they were possessed, a prodigious increase; and, indeed, as long as our navigation laws prohibited the exportation of the produce of our colonies to the ports of Europe, except by the circuitous and expensive route of England, it is obvious that the Americans could afford to undersell our merchants in all those commodities which they were enabled to procure as cheaply as ourselves.

Very soon after the final overthrow of Napoleon, and the general pacification which ensued, had permitted commerce to revert to a settled and equable flow, it was discovered that, had the war continued, the Americans in their capacity of carriers, would, by means of their neutrality, have speedily become most efficient accomplices in his favourite scheme for the destruction of our trade. By importing, in their own vessels, the produce of both the Indies, they rendered the continental blockade less onerous to the states of Europe, and very sensibly diminished the inducement to prefer our alliance to that of France, which our maritime supremacy and commercial opportunities presented. Indeed, as far as the insignificance of their manufactures and capital, and the inferiority of their shipping permitted, though they did not attack our commerce by direct aggression, they virtually undermined it, and, except for those articles which the skill and industry of our people secured from competition, the principal markets of Europe were, to the great disappointment of our merchants, found to have few demands, the supply of which was not preoccupied by the Americans. Had an immediate adaptation of the navigation laws and of our fiscal system to these commercial novelties been deemed expedient when peace was restored, the relaxations in favour of foreign shipping, which have since taken place, might have been stipulated in exchange for similar facilities of access to foreign ports, by which means, without entirely abandoning the system of emporium, we should have been

enabled to contest with the Americans the carrying trade, and, at the same time, attracted the merchandise of Europe to the markets of England. But a period of great disappointment and distress was not favourable to the abrogation of laws originally enacted for the purpose of protection, and which had long been considered as the most efficient preservatives of our mercantile superiority. It was not until an apparently confirmed stagnation of business compelled an inquiry into its cause, that the necessity of the changes which have since taken place, was perceived and acknowledged. In the mean time, the Americans continued to prosper on our prejudices and procrastination; and the ignorant pertinacity with which we adhered to our antiquated code, had, in 1820-21, embarrassed more effectually our intercourse with the continent than all the restraints of Buonaparte in the zenith of his power.

There is reason to believe that those of the Castlereagh Cabinet, who have since so triumphantly vindicated their superiority,—men who, versed in the sound theoretical principles of trade, were likewise familiar with their application,—whose minds were too clear to be confused by the multiplicity and variety of practical detail, and of sufficient discrimination to reconcile the principles of science with the lessons of experience,—had early perceived the impolicy of regulations, which the altered circumstances of the world had turned against ourselves, and, according to the measure of their influence and power, struggled hard to abridge their duration. Thus, at the renewal of the charter in 1813, when Lord Castlereagh proposed that the exclusive privileges of the Company, in the China trade, should continue until 1834, Mr. Canning (evidently contemplating the necessity of a more early revision of our commercial system) contended that it was unwise to fetter, for so long a time, the discretion of Parliament, and divided the House on an amendment, limiting their duration to ten years. But the rhetoric of Lord Castlereagh, and the influence of the Company, combined to smother the glimmering of reason, of which this was one among many indications.

The amendment, lost by a ministerial majority in the House, received such support out of doors, that the justice of the views from which it proceeded, recommended by the concurrent assent of all parties conversant with the subject, became at length apparent to Government, and, accordingly, in a letter bearing date 17th of May, 1820, Mr. Canning, then President of the Board of Control, informed the Court of Directors, that ‘urgent representations, relative to the trade with India and the Eastern Seas, and particularly setting forth the advantages supposed to be derivable to the mercantile and manufacturing classes, from some relaxations of the Company’s monopoly of the China trade having been made, experience could alone lead to a correct judgment, whether the general interests of the British Empire would be best promoted by provisions calculated to render the United Kingdom the emporium of commerce with our

settlements in India, or by regulations which should open a direct trade between those settlements and foreign Europe. After the experience of five years of peace, his Majesty's Ministers are of opinion that, in the present state of commercial concerns in this country, it is advisable to permit British vessels to return from ports and places, within the limits of the Company's charter, to any country in foreign Europe, without touching at a British port; and they intend to propose a bill to Parliament with this object. This permission it is in the discretion of Parliament to grant, without any violation of the compact with the Company; but it is not to be denied that tea would be a most desirable article of traffic to those who are likely to engage in the new trade. I am very desirous, therefore, that the Company should consider whether they may not allow such a modification of their monopoly of the tea trade, as, without endangering their footing in China or their finances at home, may give relief and satisfaction to the merchant, and create a favourable impression of the liberal motives by which the Company are actuated. The principal objects, on the part, as well of the Company as of the public in the China monopoly, were, that the indiscriminate resort of British subjects to China should be prevented, and that the supply of the United Kingdom with tea, should be preserved to the Company exclusively; but it appears to me, that, consistently with both these objects the Company may give to the mercantile public what will be considered as a valuable boon. This would be effectual by permission to British subjects to take in tea at any port in the Eastern Archipelago, and to bring it to any foreign port. Whether the tea should be collected through the ordinary channel of the country trade, or whether a depôt should be formed by the Company at Prince of Wales's Island, for example, or any other place, may be matter for future consideration. In either case, the resort of British subjects to Canton would continue to be as effectually prevented as at present. Whether this permission would lead to an extensive trade in tea, it is difficult now to calculate; but it would, undoubtedly, be a most acceptable concession to the public; and I flatter myself that any immediate and inconsiderable disadvantage which might accrue from it to any branch of trade by which the Company now profits, would be more than compensated to them, if (as in the case of the Mediterranean trade) permission were given to the Company to carry on a similar traffic. Whether the Company shall be prevailed upon, or not, to relax in their monopoly of the tea trade, to the degree which I have suggested, it may, perhaps, be desirable that they should allot a portion of their China tonnage to individuals, in the way pointed out in the Act of 1793, as to the trade with India. But I cannot help doubting whether this arrangement would be satisfactory to the parties interested, unless the private merchant shall be allowed to send a supercargo to take charge of his own adventures. The former concession, I am confident, would be considered by the public, as well as by the Government, as a highly favourable indication of

the Company's disposition to meet, as far as is in their power, the exigencies of the present times, and to afford to the enterprise and capital of the United Kingdom, in competition with foreign nations, every latitude which is not incompatible with the security of those peculiar interests which Parliament has so solemnly and recently guaranteed to the East India Company.'

In reply to this application, on the part of the Board of Control, Messrs. Robinson and Reid, then in occupation of the Chairs, in a letter, dated East India House, 7th of June, 1820, informs Mr. Canning, that,

'The Court have at all times considered the welfare of the East India Company to be inseparable from that of the country;* and when they have felt themselves called upon to act in opposition to the declared opinion and wishes of any branch of his Majesty's subjects, they have acted from a conscientious belief, founded on long experience, that the measures proposed have been calculated to injure, rather than promote, the interests of the parties themselves, or the prosperity of the country.†

'The present period of distress may be said to demand every exertion, on the part of his Majesty's Ministers, to open new sources of commerce for the employment of the commercial capital of the country; and we desire to assure you, Sir, in the name of the Court, that, if they could persuade themselves that the relief sought for is to be found in the adoption of the measures proposed by you for the extension of the India trade, and for a participation in the tea trade, they would, in the spirit above-mentioned, lend their aid in supporting the views of his Majesty's Ministers.‡ The Court, however, are decidedly of opinion, not only that a considerable part of the embarrassments under which the parties now petitioning labour has been produced by speculations in the India trade, but that the adoption of the measures detailed in your letter would inevitably tend to aggravate rather than relieve such distress.§ At the same time, the Court are not surprised that an attack on the remaining privileges of the Company should be attempted; for, in the letter of the Chairman and Deputy-Chairman to the President of the Board of Commissioners, on the 13th of January, 1809, when the negotiation was carrying on respecting the late Charter Act, it was predicted, "that the disappointment which the private adventurers could not fail to experience, would by them be charged to the influ-

* Then this is a wilful self-delusion: because the welfare of a Monopoly must be purchased at the expense of those who are excluded from it. The interests of a privileged few, and the interests of the many, cannot, by any possibility, be one and the same.

† This, besides being a deliberate falsehood, is a piece of egregious folly, which no one will believe.

‡ Another mis-statement, as glaring as the preceding.

§ The distress arose from want of markets. How could the opening of new ones possibly increase that distress?

ence of the remaining privileges of the Company, and they would not rest until the whole were extinguished."*

'Relief is sought in a departure from the fundamental principle which has been hitherto acted upon, viz., making Great Britain the emporium of Indian commerce; and Foreign Europe is now to be the entrepôt for the produce of our Indian empire. With regard to the Company forming a depôt at Prince of Wales's Island, or at some port in the Eastern Archipelago, for tea to supply the private trader, the Court cannot accede to such a proposal. Not only would the charge necessary to be incurred by the Company, in the transit of that article from China to the depôt, (independently of the expense of an establishment for that purpose,) render the price to the purchaser an objection to such a place, but the character of the Company would be involved, as it would be impossible to guard against the frauds which would be practised, both in respect to the quality and quantity of the article.† A system of this kind could not fail to produce continued misunderstandings and disputes between the purchasers and the Company.

'Upon the proposition of reserving part of the China tonnage for the public, upon the principle acted on in 1793 as to the India tonnage, the Court beg to observe, that, were they disposed to accede to the suggestion, it could not be expected that greater satisfaction would be given to the public than resulted from the experiment at the period above alluded to; but, as this proposition is coupled with a permission to supra-cargoes to proceed in the ships on which their adventure may be embarked, the Court cannot, in any way, lend their countenance to it, as, in their opinion, it would lead to an annihilation of the Company's China trade;‡ even if the necessary charges attendant on the prosecution of such an adventure did not render the thing impracticable with any prospect of benefit to the parties who may be engaged in it.

'As to the China trade being open to private traders, this subject was very thoroughly weighed, previously to the arrangements as to the British relations with India and China, in 1813.

'The arrangement was fixed upon principles of national policy and expediency; and the China trade, to be conducted upon the mode then agreed upon, became a most important object of inducement to the Company to undertake duties not less material to

* We hope the prediction will be verified, and that there will be no rest nor respite till the Monopoly is entirely abolished.

† How exquisitely moral! and how sensitive to reputation! But will any one believe that the Company care a straw about the frauds here spoken of? It is their exclusive privileges only of which they apprehend the curtailment or loss.

‡ Here is the true statement of the evil: private traders would undersell the Company, and their trade would no doubt dwindle to nothing. But is this an evil to the public?

the public than to the Company,* the performance of which might be endangered by any change of system.

'By the Act of 1793, the sum of one million sterling was secured to the Company from the Indian territories;—events over which the Company have had no control, have deprived them of that resource. The India trade has since been taken from them; and if the China trade was now to be infringed, the Company must lose the means of their existence,† and they would be rendered incapable of performing the important functions assigned to them by the country.‡

'The reciprocal aids of revenue and commerce are essential to the constitution of the Company; and they have carried on the government intrusted to them in a way which has been acknowledged to be highly beneficial, both to the mother country and to its Indian possessions.§

'The Court are not aware that any circumstances have occurred, which were not contemplated when the Act was passed, or which would have led to a view of the public interest different from what was then taken.

'The Court regret that they should be placed in opposition to the wishes of a considerable portion of the commercial community connected with the India trade; and they likewise lament that they cannot fall in with the views of his Majesty's Ministers;|| but, under all the circumstances which we have had the honour to bring to your attention, the Court feel that, consistently with the interests

* There are no duties of the Company material to the public also: and the attempt to make the interests of a body of Monopolists, and that of the whole community the same, is founded on fallacy throughout.

† This is what they dread. The China trade is their *only* source of profit. But, if profitable to them, under such expensive and cumbrous management, how much more profitable might it not be made to free traders, and how widely would that profit be participated in by others? Upon what principle of equity or justice should the India Company *alone* absorb all its benefits?

‡ When and where did 'the country' intrust the India Company with any functions? The country are most adverse to their future existence. It has been the ministry, and their corrupt supporters, who have hitherto bartered away the privileges of the people for parliamentary influence; and, in return for favours received, have kept the Company in possession of its ill-gotten privileges.

§ Acknowledged by whom? By themselves alone. Not by the people of England, and not by the people of India; for the first are never consulted, and the last are not permitted to speak freely;—but by the reciprocal interchange of eulogies between the actors and parties themselves.

|| They neither regret the one nor lament the other, but hypocritically pretend to a concern about the public welfare, while they are mindful only of their own. The folly, however, of such pretensions can deceive but very few.

committed to their charge, they are bound to withhold their consent to any alteration in the China trade, as fixed by the Act of Parliament of the 53rd year of his late Majesty.

It is not our intention, on the present occasion, to go into any lengthened detail of the serious injuries inflicted on the commerce of the country by the refusal of the Court of Directors to accede to those reasonable propositions of his Majesty's Government. We have undertaken to show that the policy of the Company is in direct opposition to the general policy of the empire. It is out of our province to vindicate the latter; but we may be permitted to express our sorrow as well as our surprise that those who are intrusted with the administration of affairs in so vast an empire, should be obliged to wait the whim, and court the favour, of any portion of the King's subjects; that there should exist, under the sanction and protection of Parliament, a body not amenable to its jurisdiction; and that the vital interests of the country should thus be sacrificed to mistaken notions of national honour.

We are not anxious to speak in terms of undue asperity of the motives of the individuals who composed the Direction of the East India Company, for the naked negative which they thought right to give to the application of Ministers. They are the organs of a great body, whose affairs they have undertaken to administer, not for the advantage of *England*, not for the happiness of *India*, but solely for the promotion of the views of those to whom they are indebted for their seats. They may justify, to their own consciences, the impediments which they are the instruments of opposing to the full development of the resources of the country; and some of them, perhaps, may think that any other course of conduct would amount to a violation of the trust reposed in them by their constituents. To the Parliament and people of *England*, however, it must soon be matter of serious inquiry, how far it be possible to devise, by means of compensation or otherwise, some mode of evading the incalculable evils which must accrue to every branch of our domestic industry, if the present restrictions be not relaxed *before* the expiration of the Charter.

It is the universal opinion among all classes, whether interested in the monopoly or not, that the exclusive privileges of the Company, in the China trade will not be permitted to survive the moment when the faith of Parliament is released; and we know that there are many, formerly most strenuous in opposition to concession, who would not be unwilling to treat for terms. Surely it would be better that the settlement of this great question should be effected *now* by a calm and liberal understanding between the King's Government and the Company, than that it should be deferred to a period when the most valuable portion of the Asiatic trade shall have passed into the hands of a rival nation, beyond the chance or possibility of recovery.

MR. BUCKINGHAM'S NEW VOLUME OF TRAVELS IN ASSYRIA,
MEDIA, AND PERSIA.

A NEW Volume of Travels, by the Editor of this Journal, most appropriately dedicated to Sir Charles Forbes, Bart., has just issued from the press, including the completion of his Overland Journey to India,—the route extending from Bagdad across the Chain of Mount Zagros into Persia, and through that country by Kermanshah, Hamadan, Ispahan, Persepolis, Shiraz, and Shapoor, to Bushire,—with a Voyage down the Persian Gulf, and a visit to the chief port of the Wahabees, the Arab Pirates of that sea.

The Reviews will, no doubt, do justice to this work, and point out its merits or defects, according to the views taken of each, by their respective conductors. In THE ORIENTAL HERALD, however, we have never yet permitted an Author to sit in judgment on his own productions, though that course, we believe, is not unusual in less scrupulous publications. We have, in all the previous cases of a volume issuing from the press, under the name of the Editor of this Journal,—of which this is now the fourth,—been content to announce the fact, and, instead of presenting the readers of THE ORIENTAL HERALD with a general review of the whole, or a character of the performance, we have preferred giving them some one entire chapter, of a nature suited to this work; thus enabling them to form their own judgment as to the probable merits of the rest. We shall do so in the present instance, also, merely prefixing the short Preface, as explanatory of the circumstances under which the volume was produced, and then follow it up by the chapter which is devoted to a description of Bussorah on the Euphrates, as being particularly well suited to the pages of an Oriental and Commercial Publication.

.Preface.

' In presenting to the public a Fourth Volume of Travels in the Eastern World, I am not without the apprehension that this portion of my labours may be thought to have been executed with less care and attention than preceding ones. It has unquestionably been my desire, as well as my interest, to make them all equally worthy of public approbation; but the circumstances under which each of the several volumes were prepared, and over which circumstances I had no power of control, differed so materially from each other, that this alone would be sufficient to account for still greater variations in their execution than is even likely to be discovered in them. The Travels in Palestine were prepared in India, under the disadvantages of absence from books and authorities essential to their illustration; but, on the other hand, with the advantage of more complete leisure than it has been my good fortune ever to enjoy since. The Travels

in the Decapolis, or Hauran, and countries east of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, were written out for publication, entirely on ship-board, during a stormy and disagreeable passage from India, under circumstances of the most painfully oppressive nature, and the most hostile to calm and abstracted literary composition; but, on the other hand, with the advantage of freedom from all other occupation, and ample command of time, whenever the intervals of moderate weather admitted of writing. The *Travels in Mesopotamia* were written and arranged in London, under the disadvantage of repeated interruptions from ill health, and the anxiety and labour dependent on the prosecution of my claims for redress of injuries done me by the Government of India, before a Parliamentary Committee; but with the advantage of a mind more at ease than it had been for seven years before: my perseverance having been just then rewarded by a complete triumph over the traducers of my personal character and literary reputation: the tribunal to which I appealed, having completely vindicated all my claims, and put to shame the wickedness of my accusers. The *Travels in Assyria, Media, and Persia*, which form the present volume, and complete the series of the continuous route, followed in my overland journey to India, have been prepared under circumstances which are probably without a parallel in the history of literary undertakings, and may at least excuse many imperfections, which, under other and more favourable auspices, could not claim such indulgence. The favourable reception given to the previous volumes, and the natural desire to have the series completed by the publication of the present, combined to urge its early appearance: but being, at the period of commencing its preparation for the press, almost incessantly occupied, by having in my own hands the Editorship of a Daily and a Weekly Political Journal, the *Argus* and the *Sphinx*,—and of a Weekly and a Monthly Literary Journal, the *Athenæum* and the *Oriental Herald*,—I could only hope to accomplish the task of bringing out this volume in a manner at all worthy of acceptance, by devoting a portion of those hours which are ordinarily given to recreation and repose, to the labour which such an undertaking involved. This resolution was accordingly made, and has been at length faithfully redeemed; for, I may truly say, that not a single page of it has been written, arranged, corrected, or revised, but after the hours at which even the most studious generally repair to their couch, to recruit by sleep the exhaustion of the labours of the day.

That, under the circumstances described, errors of style and defects of arrangement should appear, will not be deemed wonderful; and that, under other circumstances, the task might have been more satisfactorily executed, cannot admit of doubt. But, when it is not possible to do all we desire, and in the very best manner we could wish, it is more wise, because more useful, to execute our duty in the best manner that we are able, rather than altogether abandon the attempt as impracticable. It is on this maxim, at least,

that I have acted ; and it is rather in extenuation of imperfections, which this necessarily brings in its train, than from any other motive, that I have ventured at all to allude to the subject. It will complete the picture of hurried and interrupted composition, if I state, what is literally the fact, that, having left London on business of some importance, which called me to cross the Channel to Guernsey, and being driven back by tempestuous weather, in the *Watersprite*, which made an ineffectual attempt to cross the passage, and, though one of the finest steam-packets in the service, was obliged to bear up, and anchor again in Weymouth Roads at midnight, I am now writing this Preface, in the Travellers' Room of the Crown Inn, at Melcombe Regis, with an animated conversation passing all around me among the inquiring and intelligent fellow-passengers who are occupants of the same apartment. Being bound, by my Publisher, to finish every part of my task before a given day, this cannot be deferred till my return, and it is therefore thus hurriedly completed ; but it is at least in keeping with the whole picture, that a Work begun amidst the conflicting duties and labours of four separate and voluminous Journals, already described, should be terminated by a hasty sketch like this, in the interval of a stormy passage by sea, and in the momentary expectation of seeing the signal for immediate re-embarkation displayed.

I cannot conclude, however, even this imperfect address, without saying a word or two on the subject of the Illustrations, and the typographical execution of the Work. To Colonel Johnson, of the East India Company's Engineers, I am indebted for the beautiful View of Muscat, which was painted by Witherington, from a sketch of Colonel Johnson's, and engraved by Jeavons, on a reduced scale, for Mr. Pringle's Annual, 'The Friendship's Offering,' a copy of which Colonel Johnson kindly permitted me to take. To the same friend I am also indebted for a View of the Entrance to the Harbour of Bombay, with the several characteristic features of a trankee, a peculiar kind of boat ; fishing-stakes, marking the boundaries of certain banks, secured from general navigation ; and a fisherman on a catamaran, a rude raft, of three logs of wood, encountering and killing a sword-fish, larger than himself and his raft together ; all of which are accurate delineations of real and natural objects seen at Bombay, but which, by some irremediable oversight, has been placed at the head of a Chapter descriptive of Bussorah, on the Euphrates, the chief part of the Persian Gulf. To the kindness of my friend, Mr. James Baillie Frazer, the intelligent author of a *Tour in the Himalya Mountains*, and a *Journey in Khorassan*, I owe the two interesting views, of the Ruins of Persepolis seen under the aspect of an approaching storm, and the Ruins of Ormuz with its sweeping bay of anchorage. With these exceptions, the Illustrations of the Volume, to the number of twenty-six, are from original sketches of the scenes and objects described, taken in the course of the journey, and completed from descriptions noted on the spot. The man-

ner in which these have all been drawn on wood by Mr. W. H. Brooke, and in which the greater part of them have been executed by the respective engravers whose names appear in the list, is such as, I hope, will confirm the established reputation of the artists themselves, at the same time that they cannot fail to gratify as well as to instruct the reader. The typography, which is from the press of Messrs. S. and R. Bentley, may fairly challenge a comparison for beauty with the production of any press in the kingdom.

The introduction of an engraved Portrait has been done principally with a view of showing the costume in which the greater part of the Journey described in the present Volume was performed. This has been so frequently the subject of inquiry by those who felt any interest in knowing all the details of my journeys, and the circumstances under which they were performed, that, having such a sketch in my possession, I considered it likely to interest some, and offend none; and, therefore, readily consented to its being appended to the Work in its present form.

And now, having said thus much in indication of what I am sure will be admitted as merits, being the production of other hands; and, in extenuation of what I am ready to admit as defects, being the production of my own, I commend these hurried labours to the indulgent spirit of my intelligent countrymen; sincerely wishing them perpetual exemption from all the privations and inconveniences which they will find in the ensuing pages, and which are inseparable from travelling in countries so far removed from our own in habits, manners, and usages, as well as in geographical distance; assuring them, that, if the performance of these journeys occasioned me more suffering than I should again be willing to undergo, the retrospect affords me a continual and inexhaustible source of agreeable associations; and that I shall consider myself amply rewarded for all I have undergone, if I have the happiness to find that the humble record of whatever I may have deemed worthy of observation in other countries, may be thought worthy the approbation of the inquiring and intellectual classes of my own.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

Weymouth, Nov. 16, 1828.

Contents of the Chapters.

1. From Bagdad, across the Diale, to Kesrabad or Dastagherd.
2. From Dastagherd to Artemita, or Khan-e-Kheen, and from thence to Hellowla, or Kassr-Shirine.
3. From Hellowla, by the Plain of Bajilan, to Zohaub and Serpool.
4. From Serpool, across the Chain of Mount Zagros, by the Pass of the Arch.
5. Visits, at Kermanshah, to the Friends of my Companion.
6. Description of Kermanshah, one of the Frontier Towns of Persia.
7. Visit to the Antiquities of Tauk-e-Bostan.
8. From Kermanshah to Bisitoun and Kengawar—Attack of Robbers.
9. Entry into Hamadan—the Site

of the Ancient Ecbatana. 10. From Hamadan, by Alfraoon, Kerdakhourd, and Giaour-se, to Goolpyegan. 11. From Goolpyegan, by Rhamatabad, Dehuck, and Chal-Secah, to Ispahan. 12. Ispahan—Early Settlement of the Jews—Persian Dramatic Story-Tellers, and Singers. 13. Ispahan—Visit to the Governor of the City—Persian Entertainment—Palace, Gardens, &c. 14. Ispahan—Visit to the principal Mosques and Colleges of the City. 15. Ispahan—Palace of our Residence—Paintings—Gardens—Distant View of the City. 16. Departure from Ispahan—and Journey by Ammeenabad and Yezdikhaust to Persepolis. 17. Visit to the Ruins of Persepolis, and Journey from thence to Shiraz. 18. Stay at Shiraz, and Visit to the principal Places of that City. 19. From Shiraz, by Kotel Dokhter, to Kauzeroon. 20. Visit to the Ruins of Shahr, and Journey from thence to Bushire. 21. Stay at Bushire—its Town, Port, Commerce, and Inhabitants. 22. Bussorah—the Chief Port of the Persian Gulf—its Population, Commerce, and Resources. 23. History of the Jossamee Pirates, and their Attacks on British Ships. 24. Voyage from Bushire down the Persian Gulf—Ruins of Ormuz. 25. Visit to Ras-el-Khyma—Negociation with the Pirates—Bombardment of the Town. 26. Harbour and Town of Muscat, and Voyage from thence to Bombay.

List of Illustrations.

1. Portrait of the Author, in the Costume worn on his Travels.
2. Map of Persia, with a Sketch of the Author's Route.
3. Assembling of the Caravan, under the Walls of Bagdad.
4. Bridge across the River Silwund.
5. Open Square, or Market-Place of Zohaub.
6. Ascent to the Pass over Mount Zagros.
7. Persian Hall, and Evening Entertainment.
8. Interior of Persian Bath at Kerman-shah.
9. Arch of the Garden, or Tauk-e-Bostan.
10. Encounter with Robbers near Kengawar.
11. Hamadan and Mount Alwund, the ancient Ecbatana.
12. Kherdakhourd and surrounding Country.
13. Mountains and distant View of Ispahan.
14. Street, Mosque, and Bazaar, in Ispahan.
15. Royal Palace of Shah Abbas, at Ispahan.
16. Great Square and Front of the Royal Mosque at Ispahan.
17. View of Ispahan from an Eminence overlooking the City.
18. Fire Temples of the ancient Disciples of Zoroaster.
19. Ruins of the Great Temple at Persepolis.
20. City of Shiraz, as seen from without the Walls.
21. Steep Mountain Pass of Kotel Dokhter.
22. Town of Kauzeroon, at the foot of a range of hills.
23. Town of Bushire, from the approach by land.
24. Boat-entrance to the Harbour of Bombay.
25. Port of Bushire, as approached from the Sea.
26. Ruins of Ormuz, with its Town and Bay.
27. Ras-el-Khyma, the Chief Port of the Wahabee Pirates.
28. Harbour, Town, and Fortifications of Muscat.

History, Population, and Commerce of Bussorah, the Chief Port of the Persian Gulf.

The town of Bussorah* is seated near the western bank of the combined streams of the Euphrates and Tigris, about fifty miles below the point of their union at Kourna,† and seventy above the point of their discharge into the sea. These two rivers preserve their respective names of the Fraat and the Dijelā, from their sources to their point of union; and the stream there formed is called the Shat-el-Arab, or river of the Arabs, from this point to the sea. The position of the British factory, which is nearly in the centre of the town, has been fixed by astronomical observations, to be in latitude $30^{\circ} 29' 30''$ north, and in longitude $47^{\circ} 34' 15''$ east.

The fort of the town, as enclosed by its walls, is an irregular oblong square, its greatest length being in a direction of east-north-east and west-south-west, and its greatest breadth being from west-north-west to east-south-east, lying thus nearly at right angles with the stream of the Shat-el-Arab, which runs by the town from north-north-west to south-south-east. The portion of the wall which faces to the east-north-east, passes along the western bank of the river, within a few hundred yards of its edge, and may extend about a mile in length from south-south-east to north-north-west. The portion of the wall facing the south-south-east, goes nearly in a straight line from the river into the Desert, or from east-north-east to west-south-west for nearly three miles. The wall facing the north-north-west, and that facing the west-south-west, are almost confounded in one, by the irregularities in the line of the first, and by the last being joined to it by a rounding or circuit on the north-west, which leaves the angle of their union ill-defined. The compass of the whole, however, may be estimated at from eight to nine miles.

The walls themselves are built of sun-dried bricks, and are of considerable thickness at the foundations, with loop-holes for musketry in a parapet wall at the top, continued all round, and occasional ports for cannon; but of these there are very few mounted. Some portions of the wall are bastioned by circular towers, and most of it is crowned with battlements; but the work, though forming an effectual defence against the Arabs of the Desert, is, to the eye of an European, destitute of the symmetry and strength required in a fortified barrier; and the wretched state of the whole at present, from the neglect of timely repair, makes it look rather like the ruined walls of some deserted city than the enclosure of one still inhabited.

* بصرة Bussra is the true orthography.

† Kourna, at the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, is one of the three Apameas built by Seleucus, in honour of his first wife, Apamea.

The walls of Bussorah have five gates, three of which face the south-south-east, and, beginning from that nearest to the river, are called Bab-ei-Meejmboah, Bab-el-Seradjei, and Bad-el-Zobeir; the other two face the north-north-west, and are called Bab-el-Kobat, which is near the Mekam, and Bah-el-Bagdad, which leads directly into the central and most peopled part of the city. These gates mostly take their names from that of the places to and from which they lead, and are all of them of mean appearance in their original structure, and in a state of great ruin from neglect of repairs.*

For the irrigation of the soil, for the supply of the city with water, and for the facility of transporting goods, there are three large canals that lead from the river by and through the town. The northern and southernmost ones enter just at these respective angles of the city walls, and go along in the direction of them, on the outside, and within a few yards of their foundations, extending all the way to the opposite angles of the town, and there uniting without or beyond the western wall, so as to form a complete ditch to the fortifications. From these canals, smaller channels carry off the water, in different directions, to irrigate the soil through which they pass.

The central canal enters from the river about midway between these two, but rather nearer to the northernmost one. This goes up westerly, through the whole length of the town, and serves at once to supply the inhabitants with water for domestic purposes, to irrigate the whole of the fields and gardens within the walls, by channels leading off from it in various directions, and to admit of the transportation of goods in the large boats which pass from the river to the centre of the town, laden with all the various commodities that enter into the consumption of the people, or into the foreign trade of the merchants here. All these canals are filled by the flood, and left dry by the ebb tide, twice in every twenty-four hours; the only exceptions being when strong north-west winds prevail on the neaps, so as to check the flow of the water, and make a continued ebb in the river for two tides following. As, however, even on ordinary occasions, there is seldom more than one flood that can fall at a convenient hour of the day, from the ebb lasting mostly eight hours, and the flood only four, there is often a considerable bustle and noise on the canal among the boats passing up and down, so much so as to give an impression to a stranger of a more active commerce than really exists. The canal itself is much too narrow for the convenient passage of the vessels employed on it; and as none but the very smallest of these can move, except at the top of high-water, they are often all in motion at once. Boats grounding in their passage lie until the next flood floats them, and laden vessels losing the

* There is a neat one now building, facing the south-west, between the Bagdad and Zobeir gates, to be called Bab Bakna, from the name of the present Mutesellim.

springs, sometimes lie in the very centre of the channel until the ensuing spring, blocking up the passage entirely for smaller vessels, which might otherwise have water enough, but for which room is not left to pass.

For the conveyance of passengers on this canal, small canoes, called 'Bellem,' are employed; and these having a clean mat in the bottom for the seat, and a light awning over head to shade it, are pushed along by the two boatmen who stand in the head and stern, and with long poles, fitted for the purpose, give the canoe sufficient velocity to keep up with a well-manned four-oared boat. These are the smallest vessels seen, and, from having only a draught of a few inches, they can be used at any time of the tide, except at dead low water.* From these, there are boats of all sizes, up to vessels of fifty tons, which are the largest that I remember to have seen on the canal. The canoes are often very long and narrow; and from the peculiar finish of their prows have a light and elegant form. The most usual way of impelling them along the stream is by the use of bamboo poles; but they are sometimes rowed by short paddles, which are used by the rowers alternately from side to side, and then present the appearance so graphically described in Arrian's report of the Voyage of Nearchus, when the fishermen whom they saw at Koplos, in boats similar to these described, were said to have their oars not fastened to their rowlocks, as in Greek vessels, but to hold them in the hand, so that they seemed to dig the water, rather than to row, and to toss it up as a labourer throws up earth with his spade.†

There are also circular boats made of basket-work, and covered with bitumen, which are from six to eight feet in diameter, of shallow draught, and capable of carrying six or eight persons. These are used both on the canal and on the river, and are paddled or spun along, for they make chiefly a circular motion, with sufficient ease. These are called 'kufa,' and seem to be of the same kind as those circular boats made of reeds, and in the form of a shield, which are noticed by Herodotus as in use on the river of Babylon upwards of 2000 years ago.†

There is still another species of boat used principally for heavy burthens; this is called a 'donak,' but, from the singularity of its form, it is not easy to be described. It rises at each end with so much sheer as to be nearly like a crescent, but it falls out above, as if the timbers had been all twisted from their original place. The bottom is quite flat, and the stem and stern rise to a considerable height from the water, falling at the same time inward, like the horns of the moon; and the whole is covered with a thick coat of bitumen.

The rest of the vessels employed on the canal are of the common form used throughout the Persian and Arabian Gulfs; and, not-

* Voyage of Nearchus, (§. 28.) Dr. Vincent's translation, vol. i. pp. 1, 42. 4to.

† Herodotus, Clio, cxciv.

withstanding their inelegant forms above water, they have often beautiful bottoms, and are strongly built.

The whole of these canals, with all their dependent channels, are merely dug out of the soil, without being lined with artificial embankments or masonry in any part throughout their entire length; and the few brick-built bridges that are thrown across them in different parts of the town are of the meanest kind.

On coming from the river, and going up to Bussorah by the central canal, the entrance is made through a narrow mouth, with a circular fort on the left, and a mosque with a small minaret on the right. Several houses follow on each side, those on the left being chiefly timber-yards, and store-houses of articles most in demand for the use of boats and shipping; and that on the right, called El Mekam, having a coasting custom-house, with a coffee-house, a mosque, and the dwellings of those whose occupations have drawn them to reside around this spot.

The portion of buildings on the right of the canal at its entrance is called 'El Mekam,' literally the place of residence for the governor's lieutenant,* and was formerly the station of such an officer from the Pasha of Bussorah, who had his own palace further up in the city. The portion of buildings on the left side of the canal, and opposite to El Mekam at the entrance, is called 'Minawi.'

In the time of Hossein Pasha, the son of Ali Pasha, both of them mentioned in the Travels of Pietro della Valle and Tavernier, the city of Bussorah was distant nearly two miles from the banks of the river, and Minawi was then a distinct village, serving as the port or landing-place. It was this Hossein who extended the walls of the former town down to the river, and enclosed the village of Minawi within it, by which means all the intermediate fields and gardens which had never before, nor have ever since, been built upon, became incorporated with the rest. The newly-enclosed village was then fortified by a strong wall continued all around it, and formed nearly an eighth of the whole space enclosed within the walls of Bussorah, even when thus extended.

• Dr. Vincent, in endeavouring to prove the etymology of Talmena, one of the stations of Nearchus, as given by Arrian, to be from a ruined fort, takes the *Tal* from the Hebrew for a ruined heap, and *Mina* from the Arabic for a fort, which he supports by saying, that Mina, Minau, at the Anamis, and Minawi at Basra, are all expres-

* مقام 1st. A place of residence, a dwelling, a mansion. 2d. State, dignity, condition. Thus, مقام قايم from قايم standing in, fixed in, &c. and مقام a place, forms the Arabic, Turkish, and Persian title of Kaim. Mekam, meaning a lieutenant, vicegerent; and as such is applied to the deputy-governor of Constantinople, or to any other *locum tenens*.—*Richardson's Arabic Dictionary*, p. 1809.

sive of a fort.* But this is not true, as Mina in Arabic signifies a port, or anchoring-place for ships,† as well as a landing-place for boats, and answers exactly to the Italian term *Scala*, which is used throughout the Mediterranean for similar places. On the coast of Syria, the town of Tripoli is about a mile or two from the sea, and the landing and anchoring-place before it is called *El Mina*. This is the case also at *Latikea*, just above it; and even in Egypt, where towns are at a little distance from the river, as *Caïro*, *Manfalout*, and *Assiout*, the places at which the boats land are called *El Mina*, or the port of the town, to which it serves as such. In no one instance do I remember the application of this, or even a term like it in sound, to a fort, in any of the numerous dialects of Arabia which I have heard spoken.

After passing the *Mekam* on the right, and *Minawi* on the left, the rest of the way up to the city by the canal is bordered by a public road on the southern side, and date-trees and gardens on the northern, for about half a mile or more; and though the canal, from being narrow and low, is exceedingly hot in the day-time, the sun beating on it with full power, and the high banks keeping off all wind, yet, at the cool time of morning or evening, when the water is high flood, the passage up and down is agreeable.

At the distance of about a mile from the entrance of the canal, the houses of *Bussorah* are first met with and these are most thickly placed on the southern side. Somewhat less than a mile further up is the British Factory, which, presenting a circular brick wall toward the river with arched windows or ports, and having a large gate towards the creek, with sentries, flag-staff, &c., has all the appearance of a fortress, and is indeed by far the best building to be seen in the whole city.

Within the next quarter of a mile above this is the *Seraia*, or palace of the *Mutsellim*, and the Custom-house, both of them buildings of the meanest kind, and in the worst state of repair; and just above this last, the bridge that crosses the canal in a line from the *Bagdad* gate, renders it unnavigable further up, though the stream itself continues till it reaches the other extremity of the town.

The rise of water in this canal is about eight feet perpendicular with the flood of spring tides, and six feet with the flood of the neaps, and at low water it is nearly dry. The time of high water at the full and change is five P.M., or about an hour earlier than it is in the middle of the river opposite to the point of this canal's discharge.

The space actually occupied by buildings does not comprise more than one-fourth of that which is enclosed within the walls of *Bus-*

* *Commerce of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean*, vol. i., p. 263. 4to.

† *ميناء* a port, haven, harbour, an anchoring-ground for ships.—*Richardson*, p. 1922.

sorah, the rest being laid out in corn-fields, rice-grounds, date-groves, and gardens; in this respect it has been very aptly compared to ancient Babylon, a great portion of which seems, by the account of all the historians who have described it, to have been laid out in the same way. The buildings themselves are badly planned and constructed, and are mostly as deficient even in what are held by their occupiers to be conveniences and comforts, as they are to the eyes of a stranger destitute of beauty.

From the want of stones, which are here scarcely to be found or met with in a journey of many miles, the walls of the city, as well as by far the greater number of dwellings within it, are built of sun-dried bricks. The few houses that have kiln-dried bricks in their walls, are too inconsiderable in number to form an exception, and are confined to the British Factory, the Seraia of the Mutesellim, one or two of the principal mosques, and perhaps half a dozen mansions of rich men in different parts of the town. The scarcity and consequent high price of wood, occasions the trunk of the date-tree to be almost the only sort employed in building; and this, from its fibrous nature, cannot be wrought into a regular shape by all the art of carpentry. Stone and wood are, therefore, rarely seen, and the buildings, from the necessary confinement to such materials as are used in them, are all of the meanest appearance.

• In assigning an etymology to Bussorah, Dr. Vincent says, 'Basra, Bozra, and Bosara, is a name applicable to any town in the Desert, as it signifies rough or stony ground; and thus we have a Bosara in Ptolemy, near Muskat, and a Bozra, familiar in Scripture, denoting an Arabian town in the neighbourhood of Judea, taken by the Maccabees.* The Hebrew signification, as applied to the Bozra of the Scriptures, is consistent and appropriate, since that town is really seated on rough and stony ground, and so probably was the Bosara of Ptolemy near Muskat, judging from the general character of the country there. The Arabic Bussra, (for that is the nearest pronunciation of the name بصرة) though allied, perhaps, to the Hebrew Bozra or Botzra, has yet some distinguishing features of difference. بصرة is interpreted, 1st. *Whitish stones*. 2d. A kind of earth, out of which they dig such stones. 3d. The city of Basra or Bassora, as seated on such ground. The *whitish stones* cannot be the meaning of the name either of Bozra in Syria, or of Bussorah on the Euphrates, as the former is on a bed of black basaltic rock; and in the latter there are no stones of any description at all. Although this name is applied equally to the earth, out of which such stones are dug, I could not learn, during my stay

* Golius ad Alfrag., p. 120. *Terra crassa et lapidosa*. But see בוצרת under בצר. Botsrath desertum à Batzar clausit, quia clauduntur aquæ. From hence, adds the Dean, Bazar for an emporium, and urbs munita, quia circumclauditur, to which the Bursā of Carthage is allied.—*Vincent's Commerce of the Ancients*, &c., vol. i., p. 436, note.

here, that the earth of Bussorah at all produced any such stones; and the only difference between the soil of the present town, and that of the old city, which is supposed to have been near Zobeir, is that the one is more sandy than the other; but both are equally destitute of stones. There is another meaning given to *بصر* as signifying 'the side, border, or margin,' a sense that would apply to the Hebrew *Bozra*, as it was the easternmost town of note in all the Hauran, and 'bordered' upon the country of the Nabateans, but still more suitably to Bussorah, which was upon the 'side and margin' of Arabia itself, and near the banks of the Euphrates, which in all ages has been considered as its eastern boundary by land. The Hebrew and the Arabic names, though differently spelt by us, who know and preserve the distinction between them, are written and pronounced exactly alike by the respective inhabitants of each, who, it is true, are all Arabs. The word Bazar *بازار* is of a different origin in its root, and of different orthography, and means equally a place where goods are publicly sold, or the act of bargaining for purchase and sale in private, and does not seem allied to either of the others.

The population of Bussorah has varied at different periods of its history from 500,000 to about 50,000 inhabitants. The former is supposed to have been the *maximum* of its most flourishing state; the latter the *minimum*, after the dreadful ravages of the plague in 1773—when upwards of 300,000 souls are said to have fallen victims to this destructive scourge. It is true that at the time of Mr. Niebuhr's passage through this place, which was in 1764, he supposed the population scarcely to have exceeded 40,000; and by a calculation of one hundred houses to each of the seventy *mehalles* or parishes of the city, and seven dwellers to each house, which he thought was the utmost that could be allowed, the number made only 49,000. But in an interval of nine years, which passed until the plague of 1773, great changes might have been effected in the state of the surrounding country, and a surplus population of a still greater number have been drawn to the city, by causes which offered brighter prospects to the inhabitants of it. Such sudden changes are not uncommon in the great cities of the Eastern world, and more particularly in those which, like Bussorah, are frequently exposed to become subject to different masters, and be contended for as a frontier post between two warring powers, and whose prosperity, even in times of political tranquillity, depends on so precarious a foundation as foreign trade.

At the present moment, while it enjoys sufficient security from all dangers without, and is subject to its old masters the Turks, who preserve good order within, the population is on the increase, and may amount altogether to nearly 100,000 souls. About one-half of these are Arabs, one-fourth Persians, and the remaining fourth a mixture of Turks, Armenians, Indians, Jews, and Catholic

Christians, with a few Koords from the mountains of Koordistan, and a small portion of the Arab Christians, called Subbees, or disciples and followers of John the Baptist.

The Arabs are mostly persons born in the town, or in its immediate neighbourhood, with occasional settlers from Bagdad, Kourna, and the villages along the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, as well as some Desert Arabs from the country of Nedjed, and trading people from Coete, or Graine, the great seaport of that part of Arabia. The occupations of the Arab population are chiefly commercial among the higher order, and labour and cultivation among the lower. The religion of both is of the Soonnee sect of Mohammedanism, and they are in general tolerant to those of a different faith. The dress of the merchants, who are originally of Bussorah, as well as those who come from Mossul and Bagdad, differs but little from that of the same class of people in Syria, except that it is here gayer and more costly in the same rank of life. Indian muslins and Angora shalloons are worn in the summer; but fine broad-cloths, of the brightest colours, Indian stuffs, and Cashmeer shawls, form the winter apparel; and these are displayed in such variety, as to make the wardrobe of a well-dressed man exceedingly expensive. The Arabs from Nedjed, and those from Coete or Graine, wear invariably the Bedouin handkerchief, called Maharanva and Keffea; the poorer people bind their round their heads with bands of camel's hair thread made into a sort of rope; but the wealthier class, although they are clad in the most costly robes, still retain this mark of their Desert origin, and sometimes even wear a rich Indian shawl as a turban over it, while the long ends of the coarse Bedouin Keffea hang over their shoulders, forming a singular mixture of the costumes of the Desert and the town. The light Bagdad cloak, in alternate stripes of reddish brown and white, is worn by all in the summer; and thicker abbas, of a similar form and pattern, by the poor in the winter; but the rich at this season wear fine thick cloaks of a black colour, with a broad and deep three-forked stripe of gold, woven into the cloth, and descending from the top of the right shoulder down the back.

The Persian part of the population of Bussorah are all of the Sheeah sect of Moslems; but as their party is the weakest, they conceal the hatred with which this religious distinction inspires them towards the Turks and Arabs as Soonnees; and even their peculiar fasts and festivals are, for the same reason, observed with some degree of privacy. The rich among them are mostly merchants, who have commercial relations with their countrymen settled at the chief ports in India, and with others in Shooster and the higher parts of Persia, but seldom further north than Bagdad, as the Aleppo and Damascus trades are in the hands of Arabs. The lower classes of the Persian population are occupied mostly as

writers, servants, shopkeepers, and mechanics; in all which professions or stations, their superior activity, industry, insinuating manners, ingenuity, and address, are conspicuous; and while among the Arabs a man is either a merchant in easy circumstances, or a mere labourer, Persians are found filling most of the intermediate stations, and rising by their own exertions from the lowest to the highest ranks. The dress of the Persians differs but little from that which is common to all the parts of Persia which I have seen, excepting only that the black sheep's-skin cap is exchanged for the shawl or muslin turban, and the scarlet embroidered coat for the Arab cloak. These, however, are sufficient to alter the appearance of the dress so much, that a stranger would not easily distinguish a Persian from an Arab inhabitant of Bussorah. Some, indeed, both among the rich and the poor, adopt the Arab costume entirely; and then it is only by the characteristic features of their race, and by their peculiar manner of pronouncing the Arabic language, that they can be known.

The Turks are very few in number, and are almost all in offices of trust under the Government, or otherwise personally attached to the Governor himself. This man, who is called here the Mutesellim, or literally the Lieutenant of the Pasha of the province, is himself a native of Bussorah, but of Turkish descent; and having been many years at Constantinople, and served several campaigns against the Russians, he is much more a Turk than an Arab. The officers attached to him are principally Turks by family, but born in towns remote from the metropolis, as Moosul, Bagdad, and Bussorah. All these, however, preserve the Turkish kaook of Constantinople as a distinguishing mark of dress; their other garments differing in nothing from those of the well-dressed merchants of the place. Few as are these Turks in number, never at any time perhaps exceeding five hundred, they maintain firm possession of the city, with the aid of a small number of Georgians, Koords, Arabs, and Persians, who are paid by the Government as soldiers, but who furnish their own arms and clothing, and are the most undisciplined rabble that can be imagined. The horse are estimated at 1,500, but that number is seldom complete, and the foot are composed of five companies or Beiraks, of nominally one hundred muskets each. There are about fifty of the best of these who are selected as a body-guard for the Mutesellim, and who accompany him to the mosque on Fridays, and attend him on state occasions. These are foot soldiers and musketeers, and they are distinguished by a uniform dress of red jackets, seamed with black cord, the full blue Turkish trowsers, white turbans, and English muskets, with black cartouch-box and belts. This is the only instance of uniform that I remember among the soldiers of either the Arabs, the Turks, or the Persians, and has, I think, been occasioned by the constant station of the British Resident's guard here, and the frequent arrival

of East India Company's cruisers and merchant vessels, with disciplined sepoy's on board. The Tefenkchee Bashee, or chief of these musketeers, wears the large fur cap of the Bagdad soldiers; but all his inferiors, with the exception of the body-guard already mentioned, dress in their own way, and just as their means allow, except that each Beirak or company has some trifling mark by which it is distinguished from others.

In personal appearance, the Turks of Bussorah are far below those of Asia Minor and the large towns of Syria, and still more inferior to those of Smyrna and Constantinople, both in strength of frame, fairness of complexion, and general beauty of person. The degeneration has been effected probably by several united causes; such as a mixture with Arab blood, the use of negro slaves, and long residence in a hot and unhealthy climate. In character they have a good deal of the gravity, resignation, and attachment to old customs, which distinguish the Turks of the north; but they do not appear to inherit their love of ostentatious display, their haughty carriage towards those of a different faith, their polite and courtly manners towards their friends, nor their proud and unbending courage against their enemies. They possess a power equally despotic with that of other Turks ruling over Arab towns; but they use it, certainly, with almost unexampled moderation: the consequence of this is, that their government is popular with all classes, and there is scarcely an Arab inhabitant of the city who would not prefer the reign of the Osmanli or Turkish authority to that of any Arab Sheikh, and who would not take up arms to defend it.

The Armenians of Bussorah do not at present exceed fifty families, though formerly they were much more numerous. They are here, as throughout all the rest of the Turkish empire, a sober, industrious, and intelligent race of people, engaged in occupations of trust as brokers, and doing business also for themselves as merchants. Their dress differs in nothing from that of the rich natives of the place, except that they confine themselves to dark-coloured cloths for their garments, and wear blue, black, and brown Cashmeer shawls for turbans, never assuming the gay tints reserved for the adorning of the faithful; though at this place there seems more laxity in the execution of the law enforcing distinctions of dress and colours to be worn by people of different faiths, than in most other Turkish towns that I have seen. The Armenians communicate with each other in their own language; but in general they speak Turkish, Persian, and Arabic, equally well; and some few add to these, English, Portuguese, and Hindostanee, which gives them great advantages, in their mercantile transactions. They have a small church, and two or three priests attached to it, and their community is respectable and happy. An instance was related to me of their strict attention to the reputation of their body, which

deserves to be recorded :—A young widow, who had been left without a protector, and was sufficiently handsome to have snares laid for her virtue, yielded to temptation, and lived for a short time as the mistress of a rich person, but without further prostitution. The circumstance becoming known, it was decided by the Armenians that their nation was scandalised by such an occurrence ; and their influence was sufficient to get this fair sinner banished from the town, and sent to Bagdad, where they furnished her with a maintenance from their body, to prevent a recurrence of the necessity which she pleaded as an excuse for her past transgressions.

The Jews of Bussorah are also less numerous than they formerly were, though at present they are thought to amount to more than one hundred families. The heads of these are all merchants and traders ; and as they add to the sobriety, industry, and perseverance of the Armenians, a meanness, a cunning, and a disregard of principle, which are peculiar to them, they insinuate themselves into all affairs of business that are transacted even between strangers, and are not only in general the greatest gainers in every affair, but often derive a profit as brokers and agents, when the principals for whom they treat may lose. They form here as separate a body as in all other parts of the globe, living only among themselves, and preserving, by intermarriages among their own immediate offspring, that peculiarity of features as well as of character, which distinguishes them from the one end of the world to the other. Their dress differs very little from that of the wealthy natives of the place, except in their confining themselves, like the Armenians, to dark-coloured garments. Their turban is, however, peculiar ; and instead of the overhanging tarboosh and full shawl of the Armenians, it is formed of a flower-striped silk and cotton cloth, bound tightly round a red cap in flat folds, with sometimes a border of fringe at the edge. The rich, of whom there are many, are always well dressed ; the poor go from mediocrity down to filth and rags ; and all classes wear their beards and the hanging side-locks which distinguish their sect from all others. Their common language is Arabic ; though among themselves, and in correspondence with other Jews, they write this in the Hebrew character ; but of Turkish, Persian, or any other tongue, there are few who know enough to transact the most common business, which forms a great feature of difference between them and the Armenians.

The Catholic Christians are much fewer in number than either of the last mentioned, and do not at present exceed twenty families. Some of these are natives of Bussorah, and others are recent settlers from Bagdad and Aleppo. They are all merchants and traders, and are distinguished from the mass only by their wearing dark turbans ; since, in manners and language, they resemble the other inhabitants of the place. These have a church attached to the hospital of the Carmelite Friars, which has long existed here. There

were formerly several friars of that order attached to the Convent as missionaries ; and, until within these few years, always two of them. At present, however, there is but one, who is an old Neapolitan of about sixty, and has been here altogether nearly thirty years, having visited Europe once only in that interval. He is one of the most uninformed members of his order that I remember to have met with, and, after so long a residence in the country, can scarcely speak the language of it intelligibly. His solitude was so insupportable when he lost his last companion, that he became a most abandoned drunkard in endeavouring to cheer it by the bottle. So scandalous was his behaviour during the period of constant inebriation, that his flock bound him by the most solemn oaths, made at the altar, never to taste the alluring poison again. To this he rigidly conforms ; but it costs him, according to his own confession, the sacrifice of the only consolation which he enjoyed on this side the grave !

The Subbees are a sect of Christians, who call themselves disciples and followers of John the Baptist, and their community consists of about thirty families. They dress so exactly like the Arabs of the place, that there is no means of discovering them by their exterior, and their language and general manners are also the same with those of the Mohammedan inhabitants of the town. The chief seat of these Subbees is Kourna, at the conflux of the Tigris and Euphrates ; and at that place their bishop, and upwards of a hundred families, reside. There are also some few at Shookashoah, a large Arab town higher up, and they are scattered over the plain country of Khusistan, at Shooster, Dezhpool, and other places there ; but their limits are very narrow, and their whole body collectively is thought to be less than a thousand families. They possess a Gospel of their own, which is written in a dialect of the Chaldaic, but with characters peculiar to themselves, of which Mr. Niebuhr has given an alphabet, though he seems to have collected no other information regarding them. This gospel enters at large into the genealogy, birth, and education, of John the Baptist, with his separate history until the time of his baptizing Jesus, when the histories and acts of both are treated of in continuation ; but in what particulars their version accords with, or differs from, any of those received among us, I could not learn ; as, in the first place, the book itself is not easily to be procured from their priests, and in the next, it would require either a knowledge of their language, or a translation of it by them into Arabic, to understand it, neither of which was it in my power to obtain. This gospel is attributed by them to John the Baptist himself, and it is their sole authority in all matters of faith and doctrine. They have besides, however, a book of prayers and precepts, with directions for ceremonials, which they ascribe to the learned men of their sect, who immediately succeeded their great leader. They admit the divinity of

Jesus, as Christ, the son of God, and conceive that John the Baptist is to be honoured as his fore-runner, and as the person selected by God to perform the most holy sacrament of baptism on his child; but what are their notions regarding the Trinity I could not learn. They are distinguished from all other Christians by their frequent repetition of this sacrament on the same person, who, in other churches, would receive it but once. It is said, even, that every individual of their body is baptized annually on some particular occasion; but whether this is a fixed day for all, or peculiar festivals chosen by the individuals themselves, does not appear. This, however, is certain, that on all important changes, or undertakings, or events of their life, baptism is re-administered. The child at its birth is baptized; when named it is baptized again; on completing the age of puberty it is also baptized; and whether contracting marriage, becoming the parent of children, undertaking a journey, recovering from sickness, or any other important event, as well as after death, and before interment, baptism is re-administered with all the solemnity of the first occasion. The prayers used at their marriages and funerals are said to be long: the first is a ceremony performed among themselves in some degree of privacy; but the latter is conducted openly, without their being interrupted in it by any one. *They have no standing church, since their places of worship must be newly erected for every new occasion. It is, therefore, usual with them, when these occasions occur, to make an enclosure of reeds, when, after a most tedious process of purification, the ground becomes consecrated, and they perform their worship therein, secluded from the eyes of strangers, after which the building is pulled down and destroyed. Their attention to the purity of their food is carried to an extraordinary degree, and equals that of the highest caste of Bramins in India. No water that is not drawn from the river by themselves in their own vessels, and even after that suffered to subside, and be otherwise purified by their own hands, can be drunk by them. If honey, or similar articles, are purchased by them in the bazaar, it must have purified water poured on it, and remain a certain time covered to be cleansed before it can be eaten; and even fruit, though fresh from the tree, must be similarly washed, to be purged of its defilement. It is, however, singular enough, that while they carry this attention to religious purity of food to a degree unknown to all other sects of Christians, abstinence and fasts should be held in abomination by them; and that contrary to the general Christian notion of this being always acceptable to God, and tending to purge the soul, as well as the body, of impure passions and desires, the Subbees regard it as a heinous sin, and as a profanation of the gifts which the Creator has so bountifully provided for his creatures. In their moral character, they are neither esteemed more upright nor more corrupt than their neighbours. One of their most distinguished virtues is mutual confidence in each other; and a breach

of trust in any way is said to be regarded by them as a more damning offence than murder, fornication, and adultery, combined. It is, no doubt, this peculiar tenet, added to their notions of defilement from strangers, and the constant intermarriage of their sons and daughters with each other, which keeps them together, like the Jews, and all other unsocial castes of religion, who seek not to augment their numbers by converts, yet, by the selfishness of their institutions, preserve them from being lessened by mingling with others. The heads of the few families of Subbees here are mostly mechanics and handicrafts, more particularly as smiths and workers in metals; and even in the towns enumerated, where their community is more extensive, they generally confine themselves to the exercise of these and similar trades, without attaching themselves to agriculture or the profession of arms; in which particular they resemble the Jews of Europe, where the profession of the stock-broker, or loan-raiser, the art of the goldsmith or jeweller, and the occupation of a pedlar, are those mostly followed, rather than the Jews of Asia, who confine themselves to dealing in general merchandise, and are seldom seen as mechanics or handicrafts in any way.

The Indians resident in Bussorah are chiefly Banians, and are all employed as merchants on their own account, and as brokers and agents for others. They enjoy, as well as the Armenians, the countenance and protection of the British Resident; the heads of both, indeed, are actually attached to the service of the East India Company at their factory. Some of them have direct communication with merchants of their own caste at Bombay; but more of them trade through the medium of the Banians settled at Muscat, and few or none have any immediate transactions of trade directly with Bengal. To conform in some degree to the manners of the place, the turban peculiar to the Banians of India is laid aside, and generally a red one, half in the Arab and half in the India form, is substituted in its place. The rest of the dress is a mixture of the Persian and the Arab, without being exactly either; though no part of Indian costume seems to be retained, and by most of them even the sectarial mark on the forehead is omitted to be worn. There is, besides all these approximations to foreign usages, a sufficient laxity to show that the scruples even of Hindoos are not unconquerable; and that, as among all other sects and people, these take a colouring from the usages around them: so that they unbend from their primitive rigour before the slow but certain influence of long-continued example and intercourse with those of another faith. The sepoys of the factory guard are also mostly Hindoos; besides which, there are some mechanics attached to the establishment; and these, as they live more among themselves, preserve their Indian habits more unchanged. Some few have their women with them; but by far the greater number, both of

the Banians and the soldiers, live without wives. Their collective number may amount to about two hundred ; and, as they enjoy as free exercise of their religion as could be had without actually possessing a place of public worship, and are not in any way molested, either by the government or by individuals, they live in ease and content.

The few Koords who are found in Bussorah are not sufficiently numerous to form a distinct body ; but they are mostly engaged in inferior offices of trust under the Turks, and in the profession of arms, for which the habits and character of these mountaineers are admirably adapted.

Of the European factories here, the only ones remaining are the French and the English. The former of these has merely a nominal existence, since the Baron Vigoroux, who holds the appointment, resides at Bagdad ; and, except the hoisting of the white flag, which is done by the Catholic Carmelite friar on Sundays, there is no other duty which a resident would have to execute. Some hopes of a renewal of the French trade were excited here about a month since, by the arrival of two vessels from the Mauritius to Muscat, under that flag ; but the end of their voyage was a disastrous one. They were represented to be a ship and a schooner ; the former armed for self-defence, the latter sailing under her convoy, but having mostly treasure on board, intended for the purchase of cargoes for both. On passing Ras-el-Had, and conceiving an danger to be over, the ship sent on the schooner, which was the fastest sailer, towards Muscat, when, it falling calm, they became separated widely apart. At this moment, some Joassamee pirate-boats pulled down on the schooner, and, finding no resistance, plundered her of every dollar, and stripped even the vessel and her crew of every thing that was portable. The commander, complaining of this treatment towards the subjects of a nation who were not at war with them, was told, that he might congratulate himself on being known to them as a Frenchman, since, if they had been even suspected to have been English, their throats would have been cut without distinction. It appears that there was a supercargo on board, who had been formerly in the service of the Imaum of Muscat, and who understood Arabic sufficiently well to communicate with the pirates, which was the means of their lives being spared. The Joassamees were not content, however, with plundering the vessel, but endeavoured to scuttle her ; and men were employed both on the outside under water, and on the inside below, to effect this, which they were unable to do from the firm way in which the vessel was built, and their want of proper implements. The French ship, in the mean time, remained becalmed at a distance, unable to render any assistance to her consort, and both the vessels afterwards reached Muscat in safety ; yet the object of the voyage

was entirely frustrated, and the hopes of a revival of the French trade at Bussorah consequently declined.

The English factory dates its origin from the first visit of British vessels to Bussorah, which was in the year 1640; and it has continued to exist almost without interruption ever since. The building itself, or the residence of the chief of the factory, has been frequently changed, since it was, at one time, in the very centre of the town; at another, remote from the city altogether, on the banks of the river, at a place called Margill; and it is now seated on the southern side of the central creek, leading from the river up through the town, and at a convenient distance from the dwelling of the Governor, and from the public custom-house. The present factory, which is by far the best building in all the town, was constructed chiefly by a former Resident, Mr. Manesty, on the foundation of an old building, bought chiefly for the situation it held, and improved and added to in such a way as to make it a convenient abode for the Resident and all his dependants, and accessible to the boats of all British vessels arriving in the river. The establishment maintained here by the East India Company is most respectable, and the expense of supporting it equal to about 5000*l.* sterling per year; to compensate which, the only advantages derived, are the safe and speedy transmission of dispatches in time of war, and protection and accommodation to private traders coming here from India; since the Company are thought to lose rather than gain by the articles which they send here for sale. These are but few in number, and in no large quantities, being mostly confined to metals and woollen cloths, which they are obliged to export from England, and which they send wherever they can get a market for them, even at a certain loss.

There was formerly a Resident at Bussorah who was a member of the Civil Service of India, with an army-surgeon attached to him; but the present Agent of the Company, who acted in the capacity of surgeon to Mr. Manesty, being himself a medical man, is constituted what is called a Resident in charge, and receives the emoluments of both. There are, besides, a proper number of brokers, interpreters, chaoushes, and inferior servants, and a jemindar, or Native officers' guard of sepoys, from the Marine Battalion of Bombay, lodged in barracks attached to the house. The influence enjoyed by the Resident is considerable, as might be expected from the respectability of his establishment; the frequent arrival of the Company's armed-vessels; the extensive trade with India in British shipping; and the presence of a superior at the Court of the Pasha of Bagdad, to whom immediate application can be made for redress of grievances; and all these advantages are still further strengthened by the personal character of the present Resident, Dr. Colquhoun, who has sufficient urbanity to extend his protection to both Jews and Christians, without fear or favour;

and yet sufficient firmness to resist all encroachments on his privileges, and to enforce the rigid observance of all existing conditions between the Government and the nation, of the Company, whom he represents.

The situation of Bussorah is so highly favourable for trade, that, under every obstacle which a bad government, and unsafe passages to and from it by sea and land occasions, it continues to enjoy a commerce sufficient to enrich many by its profits, and to furnish the means of subsistence to a large population. The history of this trade is not easy to be gathered from even the oldest residents here, since few people care about preserving memorials of the past; and the governors, as well as their dependants in office, change so frequently, that no records of a very old date remain for the examination of their successors. A period is spoken of, about fifty years ago, when the trade of Bussorah was most flourishing, and the amount of the imports in India produce, and of the exports in treasure, is stated at a sum so enormous, as to prove its origin to have been in the warm imagination of some one fresh from the tales of Haroun el Raschid. From more authentic documents it appears, that in the year 1805, the trade of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Surat, with Bussorah, left a balance of about half a million sterling in favour of British India annually. This trade is rather increased than diminished, and the value of the articles entering into it makes it amount to more than the number of vessels employed would seem to warrant. During the last year, there have been, altogether, fifteen ships from Bengal and Bombay, averaging from three to four hundred tons each. These brought Bengal muslins and piece-goods, pepper, spices, drugs, rice, sugar, indigo, silk, and cotton-yarn, Surat manufactures, shawls, china-ware, china-paper, dye-woods, coffee, lac, beads, sugar-candy, and other articles, as the produce of India; with lead, iron, cutlery, quicksilver, tin, steel, cochineal, and other articles, as the European exports to that country. The returns were made chiefly in Arabian horses; treasure in various coins from Europe; pearls from Bahrein; dates from Arabia; copper from Tocat; gall-nuts from Koordistan; lamietto, or gold-fringe, and coral from the Mediterranean, by the caravans from Aleppo; gums from Arabia; rose-water from Bussorah; assafoetida, almonds, dried fruit, and sometimes horses from Bushire, as the port of Persia; and occasionally, some few articles, in addition, from Muscat. Gold and silver coin forms, however, by far the greatest amount in actual value, and pays the most profitable freight to ships; the rate being four per cent. *ad valorem* to Bengal, three per cent. to Bombay, two per cent. to Muscat, and one per cent. to Bushire; and instances have occurred of the whole amount of treasure sent in one ship yielding a freight of 5000*l.* sterling, and consequently amounting to 150,000*l.* in capital.

Horses form the most important return next to the precious

metals. These are brought into Bussorah from all the surrounding country; but those of Nedjed are generally preferred. There is a standing order of the Porte prohibiting the exportation of horses from any part of the Turkish dominions, on the old principle of confining what a nation is likely to want within itself. The consequence of such a regulation, while it was adhered to, was, that no one bred horses but for his own use, or just in proportion to the demand of the market, if for the use of others. For this reason, about twenty years ago, fifty Arab horses could not have been collected in a year, for any purpose, except a military one. The exportation of them to India, offering, however, a considerable profit, the Governor of Bussorah was prevailed on by bribes to wink at their being sent off in English vessels. The precedent being once established, there was no difficulty in obtaining the same privilege every year: for the Turks have such a regard for old customs, that they will do more in favour of a former precedent, than by virtue of an order even from the Porte. The one is held sacred in proportion to its immemorial usage; the other is frequently evaded, particularly when it enjoins any thing in the light of a novelty or an innovation. From that time to the present, the exportation of horses has increased to such a degree, that during this last year about 1500 have been sent to Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. About one-half of these go to the former place, one-third to Bengal, and the remainder to Madras.

The average prime cost of those sent to Bombay is about three hundred rupees, the freight one hundred, and the expense of groom and maintenance, from the day of purchase to that of sale, one hundred more. Added to this, is a duty of fifty Ain piastres per head, paid to the custom-house here, besides occasional bribes for permission to ship, and other incidental expenses; making the average cost of each horse landed in Bombay about six hundred rupees, independent of insurance and risk of loss by death, which that does not cover. The average sale-price of horses at Bombay is about eight hundred rupees each; from which about one hundred will be probably deducted, for expense of landing, maintenance until sold, brokerage on sales &c., leaving a clear profit of one hundred rupees only per head.

The horses sent to Bengal are always of a finer kind and higher price. The greatest number of these are sent from here by the British Resident on his own private account, and the average cost of these is at least 1000 rupees each. The freight to Calcutta is two hundred rupees per head, and the duty to the custom-house from Mohammedans fifty roomies, the same as for Bombay; but from British subjects only twenty roomies. The expense of grooms and maintenance, from the day of purchase to that of sale, may be reckoned at two hundred rupees, and one hundred allowed for insurance, risk of loss by death, agency, &c.; so that the average

cost of each horse landed in Bengal is at least 1500 rupees. The sales are effected at a medium of 2000 rupees, or 200*l.* sterling, which is more than is made on sending them to Bombay.

The horses sent to Madras are few, and these only when a ship can conveniently touch there on her way to Calcutta. These are equally expensive, and of the same class of fine animals which are sent to Bengal, the freight and other charges on them being exactly the same; but, from their arriving there but seldom, they produce in general a greater profit on the sale.

The usual way of conveying these horses from Bus-sorah to India is in stalls, constructed by rough stanchions between the decks of a ship, while the hold is appropriated to general cargo. The stalls run along the whole length of the deck on each side, making two ranges, and admit of a third between them going right fore and aft, amidships, interrupted only by the hatchways, masts, &c. A length of six feet is allowed from the ship's side, towards the centre of the deck; and along this the stanchions are fixed, at a breadth of two feet from each other, that being the greatest room allotted to each horse, though in some ships they reduce this to seventeen inches. The front stanchions have then a cross one nailed athwart them, about three feet six inches from the deck, so as to form a breast stanchion to the horse, and prevent his coming out. This is the way in which the side ranges of stalls are fitted up. The central range resembles them, except that, from being open before and behind, there is a row of stanchions in front, with one cross, one for the breast, and another row in the rear of the horse, with a cross-piece for his hind-quarters, to prevent his moving either forward or backward.

When the horses are placed in their stalls, they have their heads towards the centre of the deck, for the sake of breathing more freely the air from the hatchways, and for the convenience of being fed and watered. Their heads are secured by a double halter: one end of which is tightened short, and fastened to the upright stanchion on each side of them; and the two hind-feet are fastened by double foot-ropes to a strong eye-cleet, securely fastened to the deck. When thus stowed, there is very little space between their sides; and they occasion much trouble by their gnawing through the stanchions, breaking their ropes, and, when it is possible, biting each other. There is usually one groom sent with every five horses, and he has often an inferior assistant. These are all maintained at the ship's expense while going to India, and furnished with a free passage back if the ship returns. The provisions for the horses are put on board by the respective shippers of them; and though the barley and straw necessary for a ship's full number take up at least fifty tons of room, yet it goes free, or is included in the freight paid for the horses. Each groom, having his own portion of provisions, feeds his horses at his pleasure; but it is usual generally

to give them chopped straw twice, and barley once in the day, which is towards evening.

The quantity of water requisite to be furnished by the ship, is four gallons per day for each horse; so that a large stock must be laid in. During the long voyages and hot summers, in the Gulf of Persia, many horses die from confined air and want of water; and on these no freight is paid, since the payment of freight for horses is always made in India, and is then given only for the number landed. A well-authenticated instance was related to me, however, of some horses in the ship *Euphrates*, which drank seawater, sweetened with dates, for three successive days, after all the fresh water was exhausted, and it produced no other effect on them than a gentle purging; but it sufficed their thirst till they reached a place where they could renew their supply.

In blowing weather it is usual to place mats under the horses' feet, to prevent their slipping and falling on the deck; but they are never slung by the middle, as is done in English horse transports, for the purpose of giving them rest. With Arab horses, it is so usual a thing for them to sleep standing, and to do so for years in succession, without ever lying down, except when sick, that their standing posture for a whole voyage is not objected to, as an inconvenience, nor do they seem to suffer from want of exercise. Ships intended for conveying horses should have a good height between decks, never under six feet; and if reaching to seven, it is still better. A regular tier of ports, going fore and aft, is also a great advantage; since, from the close stowage and great confinement of animal heat, a free passage for air is always desirable. If ports are not in the ship, large scuttles should be cut in lieu of them, and windsails for the hatchways should be used to increase the circulation of air below.

Of the horses exported to India from hence, the general age is about four years; those above seven are seldom sent, and colts under two, rarely or never, except by express desire of any one ordering them. Mares are by no means so easy to be procured as horses; since the Desert Arabs almost every where prefer them for their own riding, from their giving less trouble on a journey; they keep them also for breeding; but it is not true, as has been asserted, that no consideration will induce an Arab to part with his mare, or that he would as soon think of selling his wife and family. The fact is, that mares are more useful to them than horses, and, being less beautiful and less in fashion to ride on in India, are less in demand by the purchasers at Bussorah. But a person desirous of procuring a mare might at any time obtain one for the payment of its estimated value in the country; and this would be but little more than that of a horse of the same class. It has been thought, too, that there was a law prohibiting the exportation of mares from Arabia; but this, as has been already explained, extends to horses.

of every description. Such an order is as permanent as ever, and remains unrepealed at Constantinople: but since the Pasha of Bagdad, though not versed perhaps in the doctrines of political economy, perceives that the supply of horses actually keeps pace with the demand, and that, though 1,500 are exported annually, as many can be raised for the service of the government as could have been done when not one was allowed to be sent away, his fears on that head are quieted. A more powerful motive, however, for his winking at the non-observance of this decree of the Sublime Porte is, that the exportation is productive of great returns to the Custom-house here, and increases the funds of the Governor of Bussorah, who holds his place under him, and whose wealth, however acquired, he one day hopes to enjoy, as the Sultan, who is above him, does that of the Pasha.

A custom has of late crept in, of the shippers of horses demanding from the captain or owners of the ship, an advance of a hundred rupees per head, which is lent to them without interest; and neither this sum nor the freight is paid until arriving at the destined port, when, if the horse on which this advance is made, dies on the passage, both the sum thus lent and the freight are lost. Injurious as this practice is to the shipping interest, it seems to be fixed beyond alteration, and has been owing to competition among Arab *naquodahs* and agents, who, in endeavouring to outdo each other in the number of horses they could obtain for their vessels, have established a custom highly prejudicial to themselves. The average number conveyed in each ship from hence was formerly about eighty, but it is now a hundred.

The duties on imports from India are regulated by the tariff established between the nation to which the owner of the goods belongs, and the Porte; and if the trader claims no such privilege of tariff, he is considered as a subject of the Empire, and pays accordingly. The tariff of the English fixes the duty on all their imports from India at three per cent. *ad valorem*, and this is regulated by the price at which the commodity has actually sold in Bussorah; so that the duty is not payable until the sale has been really effected. British subjects have the privilege of landing their goods either at the factory, or at their own dwelling, or warehouse, which they may hire at rent during their stay, without taking them to the Custom-house, where the goods of all others are obliged to go. The confidence placed by the Turks in the integrity of the English is such, that their own account of sales is taken without a check on them, and their ships' boats are allowed to pass and re-pass from the city to the river without examination; though both of these privileges are often abused by Arab supercargoes sailing in vessels under British colours.

The duty on imports paid by all those who are not subjects of any nation having a tariff established by treaty with the Porte, is

seven and a half per cent. *ad valorem*. This, however, is not regulated by the price at which the commodity sells, as is done with the English, but by an old standard of valuation contained in a Dufter, or book of estimates, made, as some think, several centuries ago, but certainly antecedent to the earliest period of the English trade here. By this standard, the value of most Indian articles is fixed at less than half their present selling price, some even at one-fourth, and all of them at least a third below their real value at the present day. Yet such is the veneration of the Turks for old customs of this kind, that though their power to accommodate this standard to existing circumstances has never been doubted, the interest both of the individuals in office under the government, and of the government itself, have not furnished a sufficiently powerful motive to break in upon an established usage. By this means, though the nominal duty of the English is less than that of the other traders here, the real duty paid by them is often more; as, for instance, on a chest of indigo, by the old valuation, the duty of seven and a half per cent. makes just nine piastres and a half; but as good indigo sells on an average at from 800 to 1000 piastres per chest, the English duty of three per cent. amounts to thirty piastres!

One cause of this extraordinary difference between the old estimate and the present value, independent of the real increase of price in the article from that period to the present one, is, that the size and contents of every package is increased; and, as the old estimates were neither made by measure nor weight, a chest is still considered to be a chest, whether large or small; and all other packages are numbered in the same way. Some of the native merchants here tried a similar experiment in exporting goods to Bengal, by packing up two bales together, and, to save the duty, calling them, in their manifests, only one: but the officers of the customs at Calcutta, not being such slaves to old usages as the Turks, opened these double bales, and taking the duty on one of them, as before, seized the others, and condemned them as smuggled goods; by which, it is said, there was a loss of two lacs of rupees, or 20,000*l.* sterling, sustained by these shrewd experimentalists of Bussorah.

It has been observed, that all nations having a tariff established by treaty with the Porte, have their duties regulated by this; and that all other traders, of whatever country or denomination, are included in the laws and regulations applying to the subjects of the Empire. This was exemplified in a late instance of the arrival of two American vessels here, on a voyage of speculation and inquiry, who brought with them a variety of articles for sale, and money to purchase returns, if no market could be found for their imports. As these were not English, the Turks were at first a little puzzled to decide whether they could be considered as Europeans, or as their

own subjects. Unfortunately for their deliberations, inquiry proved them to be neither. Yet they were certainly Fringhis, or Franks, as every one might see : but they came from the Yenghi Doonya, or the New World, which, according to the opinion of some of the most learned sages of the town, was itself dropped from the moon about four hundred years ago. The Book of Estimates at the Bussorah Custom-house was made, as they all agreed, long before this New World had existed ; so that no provision was made in it for the subjects of such a country : and as to their nation, as Americans, they knew of neither an ambassador from, nor a treaty with them, existing at Constantinople ; so that they were, from all these considerations, a sort of nondescript people, whom they knew not how to class. Fortunately, however, for the Americans, the British Resident possessed influence enough to turn the scale ; and, by his suggestion, they were considered as Franks, and dealt with accordingly, being subjected only to the duties paid by the English.

The duties on exports are differently regulated. On dates and grain a small duty is paid by Natives to a coasting custom-house near the entrance of the creek, which is farmed by a different person from the one who holds the great custom-house above. This duty extends, however, to such dates and grain as are shipped from the creek, or immediately opposite to Bussorah, as the same articles taken on board in the river, about a quarter of a mile below, or at Minawi, are not liable to it ; and this exemption continues throughout all the river below, even to the bar. The English pay no export duty on these or any other articles, which may serve as, or can be considered in the nature of, provisions, whether shipped from Bussorah, or any other part of the river. On the export of copper, gall-nuts, lametta, and all goods brought down from Bagdad, which is the point of union for all the land caravans, there is a duty of five and a half per cent. paid by the Natives, and three per cent. by the English ; and, as the valuation in both cases is nearly the same, the advantage is on the side of the British trader. Cochineal and coral, which come in large quantities across the Desert from Aleppo, are equally subject to this duty of five and a half per cent. *ad valorem* ; but, though these are annually sent from this port to India to an amount of many thousand pounds in value, they are invariably smuggled off to the ships ; and, though the government are aware of the extent to which this is carried, and are defrauded by it of a large sum yearly, yet no steps are taken to put a stop to the practice ; nor are any boats or persons seized with it, though its conveyance is always effected openly, and in broad day. On treasure, whether in coin, bullion, pearls, or precious stones, no duty is exacted ; and, if it were, it would be still more easily evaded than that on the two last-mentioned articles, since the packages are always of less bulk and compass.

The naval force of Bussorah was once sufficiently powerful to

command the whole of the Persian Gulf; and the Turkish fleet, as it was called, in the time of Suliman Pasha of Bagdad, consisted of about twenty well-armed vessels, which were kept in actual service in that sea. These have now dwindled away to five or six old and unserviceable vessels, not one of which could be considered as seaworthy. At present, indeed, no attempt is made to send them to sea; but they are moored in different parts of the river, under the pretence of keeping it clear of robbers, while one lies at the mouth of the creek of Bussorah, to act as a guard-vessel for the custom-house; and the Captain Pasha, who is a person of very little consideration, has his flag-ship abreast of Minawi, to return the salutes of vessels passing her, and to announce, by a discharge of cannon, the visits of the Mutsellim. It was about the time of Suliman Pasha, or nearly half a century ago, that the Gulf was infested by pirates to a greater degree than even at present, when, for the important services which the vessels of the Imaum of Muscat rendered to the Pasha of Bagdad, in assisting to clear the sea of these marauders, and to give safe passage to the ships of trade, the Imaum himself was permitted to send three vessels annually to Bussorah, from his own port of Muscat, and all his own goods imported in them were suffered to be landed free of duty. This was, however, too great a privilege to last for ever, and it has been since commuted for the payment of an annual sum of one thousand tomauns, which, however, is still thought to be less than the tenth part of the gain actually derived from this exemption.

The country around Bussorah has no beauties to recommend it. On the banks of the Euphrates, on both sides, for a long way above and below the town, there are sufficient date-trees and verdure to relieve the eye; but the country is every where so flat, and so few villages or people are to be seen, that there is a tiresome, monotonous, and gloomy silence throughout its whole extent. The tract immediately surrounding the city towards the land is a desert, with a horizon as level as the sea; and as it is covered with water from the overflowings of the river on the one side, and of Khore Abdallah on the other, for about six months in the year, it may be more frequently taken for sea than for land. This water is sometimes sufficiently deep to admit of the passage boats from Bussorah to Zobier, a town about ten or twelve miles distant in a south-western direction. When this water disappears by evaporation, and the remainder is imbibed by the earth, the Desert continues for a long time almost impassable, as the soil is here a clayey earth, altogether free from sand; and when it becomes entirely dry, a crust of salt is left on the surface, of sufficient thickness to yield supplies of this article to the town and neighbouring villages. It is this salt which, whether it is inherent in the soil, or comes from the Khore Abdallah as an arm of the sea, renders the whole tract of many miles in length and breadth barren and unproductive.

It is the practice to enclose portions of this plain, near the city walls, within mounds thrown up for the purpose, and to water them from the canals of the river which supply the town. During the first year nothing is produced, but the soil freshens, and in the second year is cultivated. Its fertility increases, however, progressively; and after the water of the Desert has been effectually secluded for a few years only, the enclosed portions become fine garden-plots, capable of producing any thing congenial with the climate. If the government were a provident one, and the character of the people so influenced by it as to ensure greater attention to their own interests, and some consideration for their prosperity, the whole of the tract which is now desert, and extends as far as the eye can reach to the westward from the highest towers of Bussorah, might be changed to waving fields of plenty and abundance, and teem with a population made happy by their own exertions. At present, however, in riding round the walls of the city, and particularly on the western and southern sides, nothing is seen but a dreary waste, to which the imagination can place no well-defined limits, when it conceives that the Desert reaches, almost without interruption, to the borders of Syria; and within the range of view from hence there is nothing to break the sea-like line of the visible horizon, excepting only the tops of the houses of Zobeir, just seen above it, with a few modern watch-towers in the neighbourhood of that place, and the range of Gebel Senam, covered with a light blue tint, like a thick bed of clouds just rising in the west.

The climate of Bussorah is excessively hot during the summer, or from April to October; but yet not so hot as at Bagdad, where the thermometer rises above 120° , while here it is seldom above 110° . Its greater nearness to the sea may be perhaps one cause of this difference, and also the occasion probably of the greater moisture of the air, and of more refreshing dews during the hottest weather. The autumn is acknowledged to be generally unhealthy, and few people escape without fevers, many of whom are carried off by them. The winters and the springs are however delightful; for there is a sufficient degree of cold in the first, to render the use of warm clothing, carpeted rooms, and an evening fireside delightful; and in the last there is but little rain to interrupt the enjoyments of morning rides and free exercise in the open air. It is usual for invalids to come from India to Bussorah, for the restoration of their health; and if the seasons were properly chosen and attended to, there are few constitutions that would not benefit by the change.

The extreme filthiness of the town, which surpasses that of all other Turkish or Arab ones that I remember, is a great hindrance to perambulation through it; and in the summer it is insupportable, from the heat of the air, the confined alleys, and the discharge of refuse into the streets themselves, all which must, no doubt, affect the health as well as the comfort of the passengers; and in winter, riding on horseback without the walls is sometimes interrupted for

several days together after only a slight fall of rain. The worst evil, however, which would be likely to be felt by an Indian invalid, who made this his hospital, would be the total want of society, except the members of the factory at which he might be lodged. Independent of the present Resident, there is not another individual in all Bussorah, whether male or female, native, or stranger, whose company could be enjoyed after the manner of European society; and there is consequently no one whose intercourse amounts to more than a ceremonious visit for half an hour in the morning, and none of these understand English, or any other European language. These are evils which, even an hospitable host, a good library, and a numerous stud of horses, can hardly overbalance; and for want of these, no doubt, the advantages of a bracing winter climate, abundance of the best provisions for the table, including fine fruits, variety of vegetables, and a constant supply of the choicest game, are not felt to their full extent; since there can be little doubt that agreeable occupation for the mind has as powerful an effect as any bodily remedies in restoring the tone and vigour of health to the constitution of an Indian invalid.

The character of the Arabs of Bussorah, as well as of those settled along the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, partakes more of that of the Desert Arab than is elsewhere found in towns and cultivated lands. The citizens are respectful towards strangers; and there is no place that I have ever yet visited, where the English are held in such estimation, either by the government or the people. There is an unusual degree of tolerance also towards all those of a different religion, and, regarding them as Mohammedans, a striking indifference about religious matters generally. Notwithstanding the unavoidable distinctions of rank and wealth among the inhabitants of so commercial a city as this, there is, nevertheless, a sort of Desert rudeness and independence among the lower orders of its inhabitants, which is never found among a similar class in Egypt or Syria. Hospitality is seldom wanting, and protection is claimed and given in cases even of crime; while the laws of retaliation by blood, and the severest punishments of fornication and adultery, are observed here with nearly the same rigour as in the heart of Arabia. There were, during my stay in the house of the British Resident, some of the Mutesellim's own servants, who had fled there to claim *dukhiel*, or protection; and this being granted, they remain in safety till their crimes are forgotten or pardoned. Persons offending against the Resident have also flown to the house of the Mutesellim for *dukhiel*, and have been received and sheltered there; so that a sort of account-current is kept between the parties granting this protection; and there is either a release of individual for individual, like an exchange of prisoners in Europe, or at the removal or change of the people in office, or the death of the private citizens who may afford them such shelter, there is a tacit act of grace, like a general jail-delivery.

An instance of Arab hospitality between avowed enemies, which occurred in the neighbourhood of Bussorah, will show how far habit and usage can conquer the feelings which are natural to us. The Montefik Sheik Twiney, who possessed nearly the whole of the country from Hillah to the sea, and Sheik Gathban, who had the district of Chaub, both on the opposite banks of the Shatul-Arab, were enemies to such a degree, and for so long a time, that it became a proverb in Bussorah, when any one would express the violent hatred of another, to say, 'It was like the hatred of Twiney to Gathban;' as if the feeling was thought to be hereditary and inherent in the government of the provinces themselves. A reverse of fortune dispossessed Twiney of his sheikdom, when he fled for refuge to the porch of his oldest enemy in the Chaub district. The Sheik Gathban, having heard of his flight, and receiving news of his approach, rose and went out, attended by all his principal dependants, to meet him. The interview was as that of the oldest and most sincere friends. The fugitive Sheik was set on the horse of his protector, and, being conducted to his residence, was placed there in the seat of honour, when Gathban, taking his ring and seal from off his finger, placed it on that of Twiney, saying, 'As long as you remain beneath my roof, you are not only in perfect safety, but I constitute you, by this seal, the Sheik of the Chaub, and woe be to him who spurns your authority!' This chief remained some time in *dukhiel* with his enemy, who, after the most strenuous efforts, at length effected an accommodation on his behalf with the Pasha of Bagdad, who had dispossessed him; and Twiney was again restored by the influence of Gathban to the full authority of his own sheikdom, and, with it, to the former enmity between the Montefiks and the Chaubs, which continued with the same force as ever.

Among the Sheiks of the Desert, many similar instances are recounted, and of the fact of their happening, there can be no doubt; but in analysing the motives and the feelings of individuals so conducting themselves towards each other, there is considerable difficulty in assigning satisfactory explanations to them. A striking instance was also related to me of the slavish obedience to one chief, which marked the days of the Sheik-el-Jebal, or Old Man of the Mountains, as he is called in our histories of the Crusades, and which still continues in some degree to be a feature of the Arab character. This same Sheik Twiney, who after his restoration was the greatest enemy to the Wahabee cause, was followed by his whole tribe with a feeling of attachment and obedience that united them as one man; and his name not only held all his dependants firmly together, but struck terror into the hearts of his enemies whenever it was mentioned. Sheik Abdallah Ibn Saood, who was then the Wahabee chief, was desirous of accomplishing the death of Twiney; and called his slaves around him, to demand from them a proof of their fidelity to their master. Of these, he is said to

have had about fifty blacks from Soudan, who were always ready for the most daring enterprises of murder, and seemed to glory in imbruing their hands in human blood. • The assassination of Twiney was proposed; and, though immediate death was the certain consequence of such a task, the execution of it was contended for among the slaves, with all the ardour of persons seeking the most honourable distinctions. It was confided to the most favoured one, and he accordingly set out on his errand. Arriving at the tent of the Montefik Sheik, he was received with the hospitality invariably shown to strangers; and, remaining there until the time of evening prayer, he stole behind the Sheik while he was prostrating himself, and, on his rising, thrust him through the body with a spear. As this was done in the midst of the tribe, he was soon cut into a thousand pieces, and his body given to the dogs of the camp to devour. The consequence of this event to the tribe itself, was their entire disunion and dispersion; and according to the expression of one of the Arabs belonging to it, who was a witness of the scene, 'the very hearts who, under Twiney, were firm as those of lions, and thought that they were equal to the conquest of the world, now trembled like the leaves of autumn; and those on whom the sun rose as heroes, fled from their own shadows ere he set.'

The Wahabee chief himself, in the plenitude of his power, possessed an influence and an authority quite equal to any thing known in former or in present times; and a mandate issued beneath his seal was all-powerful from the Nedjed to the borders of Yemen, and from the shores of the Red Sea to those of the Persian Gulf. But now that he had received some signal defeats from the Egyptian army under Ibrahim Pasha, he had become a fugitive from castle to castle, and post to post; and those who in the day of his prosperity were his most zealous adherents, had now, in the hour of adversity, become his most inveterate enemies. Nothing seems to have been more erroneous than the light in which the union of the Great Desert tribes to the Wahabee interest has been generally viewed. It was thought that the doctrines of Abd-ul-Wahab had been the torch that kindled the flames of a new crusade, and that religious enthusiasm was the bond by which these new reformers were united. But there is too little of holy zeal in the character of the Desert Arabs, who are notoriously indifferent to both the doctrines and practices of religion, to suppose that it was this alone which stirred them up to enthusiasm in the cause. The field of plunder, always alluring to them, from habit and long-established usage, which this new war opened, was a more powerful temptation than the conversion of souls; and the pillage of the shrines and temples of the corrupters of the faith by land, and of the richly laden vessels of Indian idolaters by sea, was of more weight with them than even the destruction of unbelievers by the sword. A hundred facts, of alliance and treaty, as well as of war and

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peace, both among themselves and with strangers, might be cited to prove that their views and their motives were chiefly temporal; and that, if spiritual reasons were assigned, it was rather as a cloak for excesses, which nothing but religious wars have ever yet given rise to, and nothing but a misguided zeal in a supposed holy cause would ever seek to justify.

At present the Wahabee power is fast declining; and Abdallah Ibn Saood, who, but a year or two since, ruined nearly the whole of Arabia by his signet, is now forsaken by his friends, pursued and harassed by his enemies, and contemned and despised by both. It has been thought here that the Pashas of Bagdad and of Egypt might at any time have put an end to the war, and crushed the Wahabee power in an instant; and it is asserted that they now suffer Ibn Saood to exist, as the pretence of keeping up a force against him furnishes them with excuses for the delay of tribute, and for balancing their accounts with Constantinople, by a display of long arrears of war expenses, which never actually took place. The Wahabees are reduced to a state, however, in which they are incapable of doing much injury by land; and it wants only the extirpation of the Joassamee pirates by sea, to complete the annihilation of their power. For the execution of this task, all eyes have long been directed to the English; and the inference drawn from their neglect is, either that their trading interest is promoted by the hindrance thus offered by the pirates to all native vessels in the gulf, or that they are afraid of attacking them from apprehension of defeat.

This plundering or piratical disposition is so general among the Arabs of these parts, that during the recent government of Bussorah by an Arab Sheik, it was really unsafe to pass from the city to the river by the creek after four o'clock, as boats were attacked and pillaged in open day, and after sun-set no one stirred from his own house; while, at any time during this government, no one ventured beyond the precincts of the town, without an armed party for his defence. The police of the city, under the present Mutesellim, is so well managed, and a general confidence is so well established, that it is safe to visit any part of it at any hour of the night or day. This man himself takes a peculiar pleasure in perambulating the streets, and going along the creek in a canoe, disguised and accompanied only by an ugly Abyssinian slave. They often effect wonders, though alone, even before they are discovered; and when it is once known who they are that dare to interfere in rectifying abuses, the dread that they inspire is sufficient to disperse a host.

There was an order issued but lately by the Mutesellim, forbidding arms to be worn by Arabs who came into the city from without; and so much was his authority respected, that the observance of this prohibition was very general. Some persons were

found, however, by the Governor and his slave, during their evening rambles, who had disregarded the mandate; and the next day they were taken, first to the Jisser-el-Meleh, or the Bridge of Salt, near the British Factory, where they were exposed to public view, by having their ears nailed to a post for several hours; they were next taken before the Palace in the Corn-market, and received several hundred strokes of the bastinado on the soles of the feet; after which they had their beards and mustachios shaved off, and were ultimately turned out of the city, and forbidden ever to enter its walls again.

Though this severity preserves sufficient safety in the town and its immediate neighbourhood, there are, nevertheless, many robbers by water on the river, both between this and Kournâ above, and between this and Debbeh below. On the banks of the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Hve, and the Karoon, it is still worse; for there are whole tribes who encamp along them, for the sole purpose of attacking richly laden boats passing the stream. During fine weather, while the boats can keep in mid-channel, they are in general safe; but strong southerly winds oblige them sometimes to take shelter near the land, when their plunder is almost inevitable. The following instance of this occurred within the present month only.

A large boat, descending from Bagdad, with all the treasure of the Damascus caravan, to the amount of ten lacs of rupees, or upwards of 100,000*l.* sterling, principally intended to be sent by a ship to Bengal, was driven by a strong southerly wind into a bight of the river on the north-eastern side. After anchoring, the captain went on shore to reconnoitre the ground, and meeting with three or four Agabs, inquired of them whether a portion of the Beni Lam, who are great robbers, was not encamped near. He was assured that they were not, but that, on the contrary, the Sheik of a tribe whom he knew to be friendly, had pitched his tents just behind the trees, and was invited to go up and pay his respects to him. The captain consented; but had no sooner turned to go on his way with them, than he was seized by these four men, and bound hand and foot. The crew, seeing this transaction from the boat, and observing the small number of his assailants, jumped on shore, with arms in their hands, to rescue him, when instantly two or three hundred men rushed from among the bushes, seized the boat, and put all those who resisted to death. The treasure, which was chiefly in gold and silver coin, was landed in an hour, and carried off into the Desert, and the boat scuttled and destroyed. The captain, whom I myself saw, and who related to me the whole affair, was left bound on the earth, and wounded in three places by a sword and a spear in resisting the first four traitors who seized him; but, after much difficulty, he loosened himself from his bonds, got to

a neighbouring village, and came by slow journeys to Bussorah, with his wounds yet unhealed.

The Mutesellim sent his young son off with a party to the spot as soon as he heard of the affair, but the robbers were by that time at a secure distance; and, indeed, as the Desert is open to them on each side of the river for a retreat, preventives are more practicable than remedies, and the slightest precaution to avoid the evil, is of more worth than collected hosts to retrieve it, when once it is done.

In stature and general appearance the Arabs of Bussorah and its neighbourhood are stouter than those of Yemcn, Oman, and the Hedjaz, but not so large as those of Egypt and Syria. In person, both men and women struck me as uglier than either; for, besides the pale blue stains, or tattooing on the face, the women are dark, squalid, blear-eyed, and haggard. before they are thirty, and the men have a look of care and misery, which wrinkles their brow more than age. The general poverty of their dress, and the filth which is observed through all classes and conditions, except that of the very highest, increase the effect of their deformities.

The cutaneous eruption of the skin, which commences at Aleppo, and extends through Orfa, Diarbekr, Mardin, and Moosul, to Bagdad, is not known here; but there are many afflicted with leprosy, who live in huts apart from the rest of the inhabitants, on the banks of the creek leading to the river, and who subsist entirely by casual charity.

Upon the whole, therefore, the general impression likely to be made on the mind of a European visiting Bussorah, would be, that it is an ill-built and half-ruined city, seated in a climate which is for half the year intolerable, defiled by filth enough to engender of itself the most pestilential diseases, and inhabited by an ignorant, a wretched, and an ugly race of people,—without any other advantages to set against these evils, than that of a favourable situation for trade, an agreeable winter, and an abundance and variety of provisions.

ON INDIA.

Facit indignatio versum.

WHERE bright Aurora strews her earliest beams,
From where broad Ganges rolls his turbid streams,
To where Himala rears his giant mound,
A splendid realm there is, and all around
The teeming plains with Nature's gifts are crown'd.
What'er the fervour of the solar ray
Can most of vegetative power display,
What'er the sickness of a tropic soil,
Subjected to the slave's unceasing toil,

Pours from the West, distained with drops of blood,
 Might flow from India in a deeper flood,
 A ceaseless, swelling tide, the liberal meed
 Of Freedom's flaring and prolific seed,
 And arts that only are evolved, and thrive
 In equal Freedom's thronged, industrious hive.
 There Britain's sons have earned a deathless fame,
 Of Lawrence, Clive, or Lake, the honour'd name
 Still fills the youthful breast with generous zeal
 To urge, for glory's wreath, the public weal.
 But what avails it that boon Nature's powers
 Are wasted in a wilderness of flowers,
 If laws restrictive curse with general sloth,
 And rob the stunted fields of half their growth?
 If fell Monopoly exert her skill
 To blast each pregnant germ, each bud to kill,
 To war with every patriot thought and deed,
 With conscience seared to make the martyr bleed,
 Steadfast in wayward and sinister mood,
 To nurture Ignorance's squalid brood,
 And look, with Apathy's anshrinking stare,
 On Superstition's fanes, and fires that baleful glare!
 Is there, midst all the shapes of human woe,
 Acuter anguish, or a heavier blow,
 Than when connubial ties are struck with blight?
 What pity is the desolate widow's right,
 Reft of her stay, her comfort, and her guide,
 With young, unconscious orphans at her side?
 Yet her—this bruised reed—of 'wilder'd mind,
 We see to torturing flames by savage hands consigned!
 What boots it that the generous and the brave
 Should rush victorious to an honour'd grave,
 If still authority its power should wield
 To inflict the ills from which it ought to shield,
 To hold o'er all Oppression's ruthless doom;
 And shroud th' unhappy land in deepest gloom!
 O! for an orator with voice like thunder,
 To rouse the senate, and to burst asunder
 Bonds incompatible with the wholesome strife
 Of those who, treading various paths of life,
 Of all professions, and in every clime,
 Ascend to Honour's envied heights sublime.
 Him every tongue would bless, his name would shine
 Resplendent founder of a rescued line,
 Succeeding ages would repeat his praise,
 Unnumber'd hands his monument would raise.

Calcutta, June 28, 1828. •

M. B.

IMPOLICY OF FIXING ANY LIMITS TO THE RATE OF INTEREST FOR MONEY.

CHRISTIAN theology has long proscribed the custom of lending money on interest. This was but natural. In the earliest ages of Christianity, loans were only made from the rich to the poor; the poor borrowed in order to subsist. It was natural, then, that lending on interest should be condemned by a religion which inculcated charity, and made it the basis of all duties. To be consistent, however, Christianity ought not to have confined itself merely to the forbidding the loan of money on interest, but ought also to have struck with the same anathema all contracts of sale in which the poor were to be purchasers. The absurdity of this was too glaring; logic was therefore sacrificed, and the proscription limited to the loan of money on interest. We must seek for the source of this proscription, which now appears to us so strange, in an almost inevitable exaggeration of the sublime precept of charity.

In penetrating into the laws, Christianity did not mark the distinction between those duties which belong only to the moral system, and those of which the law ought to prescribe the accomplishment; every moral duty became a legal obligation, every offence was transformed into a crime. Such was the natural result of the confusion of the civil and religious orders.

Lending money on interest, amongst other sins, was prohibited by the civil laws, as well as by the canons: the lenders were threatened with severe penalties, and denounced to the hatred of the public under the infamous name of usurers.

Throughout the reign of the feudal system, the barons, who formed, at this epoch, a considerable class of borrowers, took no steps to set aside the decree of the church on the loan of money at interest. They scrupled not to violate the law by borrowing. And still less to make it a shield for avoiding repayment. The lenders, exposed to the endurance of every kind of injury and ill treatment, in lieu of payment, were obliged to exact enormous interests. This excited redoubled hatred against them among the public; the slave of its prejudices—the multitude—heaped on the lenders that blame of which, in reality, the conduct of the debtors was the true cause. Added to which, during the middle ages, the principal money-lenders were Jews; and to the contempt attached to the profession of usurer, was united the reprobation with which the whole Jewish race was afflicted.

Things changed with the progress of commerce. Commerce lives but by credit, and commercial credit has this peculiarity, that it enriches the borrower as much as the lender, and often even in a still greater proportion. Merchants were, consequently, interested in obtaining

a revocation of the laws which prohibited loans. The barons, thinking little for the future, and caring only for the debts which they had contracted, were delighted at being enabled to throw them off by bankruptcy;—this was, for a long time, the course pursued by governments; but the same method could not suit the interests of merchants, who always require to possess the power of borrowing, and can only obtain advantageous loans by securing inviolate the rights of the lenders. The laws against usury, that is to say, against lending money on interest entirely put a stop to credit, by substituting charity in the place of commercial contracts. From the moment that commercial interests assumed an importance in the state, one of the necessary effects of such a revolution of society was the authorising stipulations for interest.

It was under Elizabeth that the loan of money on interest was finally made legal in England. The parliamentary statute which authorised it, sufficiently marks the situation in which the legislature then found itself. In the enactment of the statute, the lending of money on interest is declared legal, whilst the preamble qualifies it as a horrible and detestable sin, absolutely forbidden by the law of God. In France, until the Revolution, it was only permitted on condition of the alienation of the capital in perpetuity; but custom tolerated what was proscribed by law; like all other absurd laws it was violated in a thousand different ways; its rigorous execution would have annihilated commerce, the slightest attempt to enforce it caused such disorder that the supreme authority was compelled to interfere and command that the laws should remain dormant. Always eluded, it was not, however, expressly revoked; but by the decree of the 2d of October, 1780, which permitted stipulations for interest without an alienation of the principal, *without its being understood as an innovation of the usages of commerce*. In the 5th Thermidor, year IV. of the Republic, another law proclaimed, 'that in future every citizen was free to make any contract that should appear good to him, and that the obligation to which he might pledge himself should be executed in the terms and to the amount stipulated.'

The legality of lending money on interest, is not now a disputed question; thus far the legislature has abandoned the cause of the theologians and jurisconsults. Their arguments were too weak to endure examination, and have long since received their mortal blow from political economy. Nothing can be more absurd than the reasonings put forward by them on the subject. Their principal reason for interdicting it is the unproductive nature of money itself. 'Animals reproduce their species,' said the adversaries of loans; 'a sheep engenders sheep; but a piece of money gives not birth to another piece of money.' The penetration of these learned personages did not extend so far as to discover that with money,

sheep and other things susceptible of rendering a profit to their possessors might be procured.

But in removing the interdiction which had been placed on the lending of money on interest, governments did not give it full liberty; a rate of interest was fixed above which it was made illegal to lend. In England, absolute liberty on this point has never existed. In France, it enjoyed a reign of some years; but, ancient prejudices were soon revived; and the civil code, by the act of establishing a legal interest, stamped them with its sanction. Such is the system which now prevails: the act of lending money at a higher rate than that determined by the law, is a crime punishable by the tribunals of justice,—and latterly, especially, processes and condemnations are constantly multiplying.

Whilst this practice of lending money on interest was altogether forbidden by the laws, every loan on the condition of interest was usurious, every money-lender a usurer. Since the laws have changed, the signification of the words *usurer* and *usury* have undergone an analogous change; he only is now considered a usurer who exceeds in his contracts the limits traced out by the legislature.

In fixing a legal interest, governments have at various periods acted under different views. At first they imagined that they might determine at their will the rate of interest, and that to effect this, a simple decree, worded and promulgated in the form willed by them would be sufficient. Afterwards, as they believed a low rate of interest to be in itself a good thing, they endeavoured, with the intention of favouring the accumulation of public riches, to fix that rate below the current interest which was established by the free exercise of commerce. This political conception, recommended in England, towards the end of the seventeenth century, by several distinguished writers, is now appreciated according to its just value; amongst those who govern, there are no longer any, with the exception of a few uninformed men who believe that the rate of interest can be diminished by violence. It is now almost a popular axiom that society no longer submits to be thus fashioned at the will of governments.

In the present age the legislature no longer indulges the absurd idea of forcibly reducing the course of interest. What then is its object in establishing a legal rate of interest at all? It is this: many persons entertain an opinion, that if unlimited liberty were allowed in stipulations of interest, serious evils would arise from it to society. These evils are very imperfectly defined, but they are comprehended in the word *usury*,—a kind of traditional phantom, against which, under pain of being wanting in respect to his ancestors, every good citizen is bound to arm himself. There is, they say, but one method of preventing the crime of *usury*; which is to determine a *reasonable* rate of interest, according to the current

standard of commerce; and to interdict, severely, under pain of heavy penalties, all contracts at a higher rate. This wise precaution can only serve as a barrier to the fortunes of individuals, prove a source of misery to borrowers, and, in fact, be prejudicial to the public morals. Such is the spirit in which the law is now conceived; the question at present is not the prohibition of loans on interest, or the reduction of the natural course of interest, but merely the prevention of contracts which the law pronounces beforehand to be *unreasonable*: the opposition of a legal barrier to a rate of interest, which the legislature, a better judge of the affairs of individuals, than they themselves, declare, in virtue of their superior wisdom and more enlightened experience, to be *excessive*.

Is this assumption of the legislature well founded? Is it right in fixing a rule for stipulations of this nature, and punishing such as violate this rule? are the points to be now examined. This question, always one of high importance, is now, however, an object of most special attention.

Before entering on a comparison of the advantages and disadvantages which result from the crime of usury, one idea naturally offers itself to the mind, which is, that the contract designated under the name of *loan*, is the only one in which the legislature so officiously charges itself with guiding the judgment of the parties concerned in it. It has never occurred to its members to fix a *reasonable* rate for the letting of houses, or rent of lands, or to punish as a usurer, any one who, for a lease, should stipulate for higher terms. They never interfere in regulating the price of merchandise; but generally leave the purchasers to settle their own conditions with the sellers, and take no further part than to enforce the execution of the engagements contracted. Every one acknowledges the propriety of thus acting, and feels that to attempt to subject all traffic to a legal rule, would be most injurious to commerce, and would put an inevitable check on its prosperity. Whence comes it then, that in the case of money being paid as interest on capital, both the government and the multitude change their opinion, and regard the introduction of authority as useful? Are there, in the nature of these things, differences which justify a contradiction apparently so singular?

The only one which, at the first view, presents itself, is entirely in favour of unrestrained liberty in the loan of money on interest. Of all articles of merchandise, money, which is the one employed in loans, is that of which the value is most easily recognised, and consequently that in which fraud is the most difficult. Experience in business is necessary to guard a person from being deceived in the value of a house, or article of furniture, or any other commodity; but where is the man whose knowledge is so limited, or who is so ignorant of general affairs, as not to be acquainted with the current interest of the day? There is no commercial fact that is accompa-

nied with so much publicity, or that is so accessible to every body. If, then, on the principle of preventing fraud, a distinction should be made between loans and other kinds of contracts, it does not appear to be the former which should be loaded with shackles; since, from the very nature of its object, it presents natural guarantees which no other kind of transaction offers in an equal degree; an additional reason for accusing both laws and opinions of absurdity!

But, before pronouncing judgment, we must examine the case in all its details. Thus far, we have only proposed the question; we will now proceed to demonstrate and justify the solution given to it by political economy.

It is now no longer admissible in political economy to defend the old laws which prohibited loans altogether; all economists are now agreed in condemning them; and yet, most extraordinarily, the prejudices on the subject of *interest* on loans still continue to maintain their strength almost unshaken. Every year, fresh instances occur of condemnation by the courts for the crime of usury, and these condemnations are applauded by the largest portion of the public. There are few questions the scientific solution of which is so clear, and yet there are few on which popular opinions have been so long at variance with the precepts of science.

What conclusion is to be drawn from this? Not that science is wrong, and that prejudices are to be relied on: science, as we will shortly prove, has facts on its side; but prejudices have only opinions on theirs, possession almost immemorial, a confusion of ideas sufficiently plausible, and some specious arguments. Science ought not, therefore, to shrink back before the obstinacy of prejudices, but rather to redouble its efforts to destroy their empire, to apply itself to the reconciling their sophisms, and especially to take from them the support of the generous sentiments of humanity.

Bentham arranges under four heads the principal arguments employed in his defence of the Laws on Usury. This classification, which is very complete, comprehends almost all the advantages which can be attributed to the restrictive laws, and all the defects of which the system of indefinite liberty can be accused. If we are to believe the partisans of the former, the good effects of their system are,—firstly, the repression of prodigality; secondly, the security afforded to indigence against extortion; thirdly, the placing a barrier to the avarice of speculative men; fourthly and lastly, the protection of simplicity from fraud. Such great advantages cannot, they say, be too dearly purchased; and the legislature cannot renounce them without compromising public order, and failing in its most sacred duties.

No one denies that prodigality is an evil; but in what manner can the laws on usury operate against it? Prodigality consumes many more capitals belonging to spendthrifts than borrowed capi-

tals, particularly those borrowed at a usurious rate of interest. Now the law, supposing it to be efficacious, can only prevent the destruction of this last class of capitals. • Two cases present themselves : either the man who is prodigal is successful, or he is ruined. In the first case, as long as he can give securities, such, for instance, as the mortgage of lands, he will always find funds to be borrowed from, at the current rate of commercial interest ; and, as his mere prodigality does not dispose him to borrow on conditions less favourable than those which it is in his power to obtain, the law is, in this case, without effect. But, suppose the prodigal ruined, who would lend to him on any condition ? Would he find even a usurer to enter into a contract with him and share his ruin ? The law, which does not prevent the ruin of the prodigal, has no longer any object when once that ruin is accomplished. Let us, for a moment, grant its efficaciousness ; how many ways are there not of eluding it ? Will it prevent the prodigal from purchasing merchandise on credit ? And can he not as easily ruin himself by these purchases as by loans ? Nothing, then, can be more chimerical than the attributing the repression of prodigality to the laws on usury.

Turgot remarks, with truth, that ‘ the only usurers who are really baneful to society, are those who make a trade of lending to young men whose affairs are deranged. Their true crime, he adds, is not that of being usurers, but of facilitating and encouraging, by this means, the irregularities of young men, and driving them to the alternative of ruining or dishonouring themselves. If they deserve punishment, it is on this head, and not on account of the usury they have committed. But the true precaution against this evil is in the law which declares minors incapable of entering into any engagements, and not in those against usury, which have no power to arrest it.’ The stipulated rate of interest is not, indeed, the source of the evil ; it is only to be considered as an aggravating circumstance ; it would not the less exist, even when the lender should have confined himself to the limits affixed by law.

Powerless against prodigality, does this prohibition offer, as it is pretended, a tutelary support to indigence ? Examination proves the weakness of this second reason, which, like the first, rests on a complete illusion. As a man in indigence is not, on that account merely, a man without understanding, it is probable that, if he consents to pay a higher interest than that which is legal, it is because he cannot meet with any more advantageous means of borrowing. What effect, then, does the prohibition produce ? It entirely prevents his borrowing ; for it cannot make the lender prefer, on the same conditions, the hazardous investment offered him by the poor man, to the secure ones which he is certain of meeting with from the rich. But, if the poor man has a pressing occasion for money, which, as we do not suppose him imbecile, may well be presumed, can he bless a law which leaves him without any resource, and

which, from the love of a vague abstract question, condemns him, perhaps, to inevitable ruin.

Observe how little the legislation is consistent with itself. Professing the intention of protecting the indigent against the seduction of a disadvantageous traffic, it forbids them to borrow on certain conditions. But how many other kinds of traffic are there at least as important as that of money-lending, and in which, nevertheless, the law does not interfere? Is there any of greater importance to the poorer classes than the purchase of corn? Now, does the law fix a *maximum* for the price of corn? Let us again examine another kind of contract—the exchange of labour for a salary. The labourer who solicits employment is, from his situation, at least as much dependant on the master, as the borrower finds himself at the mercy of the lender; add to which, that the sale of labour is, in reality, but a species of loan. The labourer yields, in consideration of a salary which he actually receives, that which ought, at a later period, to return to him in the produce of labour and capital. Why, then, does not the legislature, pursuing its system of protection throughout, establish a *minimum* for the price of labour. Ought not all those who think the legislature is right in not doing so, if they would not incur the reproach of inconsistency, to blame it for interfering in fixing the rate of interest for money?

The manner in which the greater number of loans among the poorer classes are conducted, comes also to the support of our opinion. They almost always borrow on pledges; if they were to offer no guarantees they would find no lenders at any rate; but a pawn being the most solid of all securities, it is evident, that in a loan made on this condition there is no motive for large interest, which is only demanded as a compensation for the chances of loss. The law, even supposing its system good, has no occasion, in this case, to occupy itself with determining the rate of interest; its sole object should be to regulate the loan of money on pledges, according to the principles of right and equity. But what a strange contradiction! it prohibits contracts for an interest above 5 per cent.; and, at the same time, it permits, in the pawnbroking establishments which it authorises, conditions far more oppressive,—an interest even double the legal rate to be imposed on the borrowers!

To conclude Bentham's classification, it remains to be seen if the laws on usury are necessary to protect imbecility against fraud, and to prevent the ruinous speculations of those rash men who are called *schemers*.

Suppose a man in a state of absolute imbecility, and incapable of conducting his own affairs; it is evident that he ought not to be allowed the power of borrowing, but neither ought he to be suffered to contract any engagement whatever. There is no occasion for a law to protect him from usury; but a general law to protect incapacity. The case of *imbecility* excepted, why should not weak-

mind and unenlightened men borrow as well as rent, purchase, or sell? Is not the most stupid individual always a better judge of his own interests than the legislature, who, ignorant of the particular circumstances of each loan, can only give a blind and hazardous opinion?

As regards speculation, if the prohibition prevents the bad, it equally tends to arrest the good. Every new project offering necessarily the chances of failure, whoever borrows money for its execution ought to submit to paying a higher interest than the merchant who is occupied in a branch of industry long known and established? The fixing a *maximum* of interest must then, in many cases, be prejudicial to an incalculable number of beneficial enterprises.

Now, as political economy does not, like some statesmen, admit the principle that evil produces more evil, than good produces good, as, on the contrary, it professes the opposite doctrine, it does not regard the restraint put on bad speculations as a sufficient compensation for the obstacles opposed to useful projects. On an examination of the facts, it will be found, that out of the totality of projects executed, the number of those which succeed is very much greater than of those which fail, if it were otherwise, societies would never enrich themselves. This is true, even of projects which the inventors execute with their own resources; it ought, therefore, to be still more so of those put in operation with borrowed means. If, on one side, credit furnishes projects with the means of execution, on the other, it submits them to proofs, and imposes judges on them; the idea must, in fact, please the lender, more impartial and less prepossessed than the inventor; every enterprise, therefore, supported by credit, carries with it two guarantees, because it has received the approbation of at least two individuals.

We see, therefore, to what the reasons alleged in favour of the laws on usury, are reduced. All the dangers which are made to appear so formidable, vanish on a closer inspection, almost entirely, or if they still retain some shadow of reality, it is at least evident that it is not by the laws of usury that it is possible to prevent them.

To the assumed advantages, let us now oppose the real disadvantages. A radical evil in the laws on usury, even supposing their principle good, is the facility of eluding them. With whatever severity they may pretend to arm themselves, there are always a thousand ways of avoiding their menaces. But as, in spite of their impotence to effect their object, they do sometimes strike, it hence arises that, powerless as they are in a general sense, they do not the less subject to great risks the lenders who attempt to violate them. They foresee these risks, and, in general, public opinion rather exaggerates than softens them. What then do they do? Always finding the means of violating the law, and yet not being secure of impunity,

they stipulate in their conditions, under the form of interest, for a premium which shall insure them against the risks to which the law exposes them. Thus, whilst the aim of the law is to prevent high rates of interest, its effect is to increase them by as much as is requisite to cover all risks. It proposes to itself the protection of borrowers; and instead of ameliorating their situation it renders it still worse, and creates new embarrassments for them.

It is not only by the risks to which it exposes the money-lenders, that the law tends to heighten the rate of interest to all those who are unable from particular circumstances to borrow at a legal interest; it also produces the same effect in another way. It is sufficient that a law exists, whether it be founded in reason or not, to prevent men of strict probity from violating it; and this repugnance is still stronger and more general when the law is in accordance with powerful prejudices. The prohibition from lending, above a certain rate of interest, tends, then, to weaken the competition on the side of the capitalists who might be disposed to lend above this rate. At the same time it leaves, in this class of lenders, none but men whose morality is not very scrupulous, and who, consequently, offer less security against fraud than ordinary money-lenders. Under this new head, therefore, the effect produced by the law on usury is still that of injuring the interests of borrowers, and increasing the evil they were destined to prevent.

It may be affirmed, without the fear of contradiction, that almost all the cases of contracts, at an enormous interest, which are cited by the partisans of the laws on usury, in support of their opinion, have been provoked by those very laws. Do we not see in history, that interest diminishes or increases in proportion as contracts are more or less rigorously executed? Nothing is more simply logical than that interest should rise in proportion to the risks. When the barons of the middle ages, from whom large interests were demanded, complained against the lenders, it was themselves alone whom they ought to have accused; for, if they had been accustomed to be exact in their payments, they would have borrowed upon much easier conditions. By far the greater number of examples alleged in favour of the prohibition were caused by that prohibition itself.

But not only is the prohibition destitute of beneficial effects, and in direct opposition to the end proposed by its defenders; it is founded on an entirely false principle; and hence arises innumerable defects of the greatest importance. The principle of the laws on usury is this, namely, that there is in the nature of things an invariable *maximum* of interest capable of being determined by the legislature, and beyond which every contract is in itself unreasonable, and essentially prejudicial to the borrower. The limit fixed by the law is accounted the exact criterion of the prudence and wisdom of engagements. In other terms, the legislature, ignorant as it must

necessarily be of the situation of the individuals concerned, pretends to be more capable than they themselves of judging of their own concerns, and pronounces their reason inferior to its own on the subject of their personal affairs. It is sufficient to express such a proposition for its full absurdity to be felt.

One of two things must happen, either the legal limit is so high that no one is tempted to exceed it ; or, it is so low, as to shackle a great number of contracts, and then it is undoubtedly injurious. Such is the character of the laws which, in France and England, fix the rate of interest. The standard of this legal interest they determine by that which is generally paid by those borrowers who can offer solid securities. Hence it results, that if they were strictly adhered to, they would entirely shut out the resource of credit from all who were unable to give similar guarantees. Is not this a great evil ? Is it just and wise to deprive of the power of borrowing all those whom chance has not placed in a fortunate condition ?

Nothing can be more absurd than to pretend to determine before hand, and under the form of a general rule, what *maximum* of interest can be reasonably paid under all circumstances. Interest ought to vary and does vary, according to individuals, the personal situation of the borrowers, times and places, and the state of commerce in a given quarter and epoch. No one consents to pay a high interest from caprice, or to ruin himself for pleasure ; it may be presumed, and this presumption is sanctioned by the laws of all other contracts, that a man arrived at the age of maturity, enjoying a sound mind, acting freely and with a knowledge of all the circumstances, does not contract an engagement but on a just view, as much so at least, as is possible for him to take, of that which is for his own advantage. Such is the general rule ; the examples which may be opposed to it are but exceptions, and those even rare. Now the law ought not to sacrifice the general rule to the exception. If a man consents to pay a higher interest than that which is legal, it must be believed that he has a reasonable motive for so doing, and that he is only decided by the belief that the loan will be advantageous to him, notwithstanding the apparently oppressive conditions attached to it.

Two different motives may determine a man on contracting a debt ; the desire of obtaining a profit, or that of avoiding a loss. In both cases it may be profitable to him to borrow at a higher rate than the legal interest ; and he alone is a competent judge of whether it is likely to be for his advantage or not. New enterprises furnish an example of the first hypothesis ; as, in general, in cases of success, the profits yielded by them are large enough to admit of those who undertake them paying considerable interest. As regards the second motive, does not every one know how frequently occasions occur in which it is advantageous for a merchant to borrow at a very high interest, rather than be compelled to sell his

merchandise at a loss? It is especially in a great commercial crisis that the absurdity of this law is more particularly proved; capitals are then held back, and it is difficult to meet with any money lenders; at the same time that the great surplus of goods beyond the demand which produces the crisis, and which time alone can dissipate, makes it of the greatest importance to merchants to obtain credit. The effect of the laws on usury have been especially seen in the late panics of England, and their abrogation has therefore been loudly called for, and not by the lenders, but by those who have occasion to borrow. So true is it that the establishment of a legal interest is a thing contrary to reason, that governments themselves, in their loans, never respect their own rule. The legal rate in France is five per cent.; but the public loans are invariably contracted at a higher rate. Thus it has happened that the French government has received for five francs of interest fifty francs of capital; but never has it received ninety, and exactly the same thing has happened with the various descriptions of British stocks. Is it not a singular inconsistency in a government that it should consider that to be prejudicial for individuals, which for itself it esteems profitable?

The laws on usury are then prejudicial from placing an obstacle to all useful contracts, the condition of which, regulated by various circumstances, is the stipulation for a higher interest than that which is established by law. The very basis of the system on which they rest is wrong; it is one of the remains of ancient prejudices, which attribute to governments the right of regulating and directing every thing. The empire of these prejudices is destroyed as far as regards labour, and the various sales and exchanges which form the interior commerce of a state. Why, then, should it still subsist in the case of loans, which is but a species of exchange, and which ignorance alone could desire to subject to a particular regulation?

Thus far we have only taken into consideration the interest of the borrowers, and of commerce in general; we must now turn our attention to that of the lender. 'The loan of money on interest,' says Turgot, whose high philosophical doctrines place the sacred notions of justice above every other argument, 'is lawful on a more general, and a still more important principle; since it is that which forms the basis on which the edifice of society is raised, I allude to the inviolable right by which every one is the absolute master of his own property, which secures him from being despoiled of it but with his own consent, and which enables him to put such conditions on this consent as he may judge proper.' Is it not indeed just that the proprietor of a capital should have the power to exact an interest for the sacrifice which he makes of the enjoyment of that capital for a certain length of time? and is it not also equitable that the interest should be so much higher as the risk of losing the capi-

tal is greater? What would a landed proprietor say if the legislature attempted to reduce the rent of his estates, or prohibited him from receiving more than a stated sum per acre?—would he not exclaim against it as a violation of the rights of property? The laws on usury violate, in an equal degree, the rights of capitalists. Absurd as regards borrowers, they are iniquitous towards lenders.

Thus the right of capitalists, the interest of borrowers, the inefficiency of the legislative power, the fallacy of the arguments used in defence of the restrictive laws, all show that the laws on usury are bad, that the loan of money ought, like all other contracts, to be perfectly free, and that the very term of usury, as indicating a crime, should be blotted out from the criminal code. Such is the conclusion to which we think all these arguments tend. The only means of protecting lenders, and giving them the power of lending at a low rate of interest, is to make the fulfilment of contracts prompt and exact. By this method, that portion of interest which forms a premium of insurance would diminish, and the rate of interest itself would become as low as the state of society would bear.

If we believe that the laws ought not to punish *usury* as a crime, does it therefore follow that those who are called usurers never offend against morality? Most undoubtedly not; and this explanation ought to reconcile upright and scrupulous minds to our opinions, at which they may, perhaps, have been astonished. But a distinction must be made between morality and law. The capitalist who exacts a high interest from a poor man in want, is not the less an immoral man because he confines himself within the limits of his right; he is wanting in benevolence, he sins against charity; but it is not for having exceeded any particular rate of interest that morality condemns him: circumstances may occur in which it would be equally culpable to exact any interest whatever, and in which even he ought to give freely. Such is the duty which morality frequently imposes; this duty cannot be prescribed by law: charity is preached, but not commanded. If a man should pass an unfortunate being, perishing from extreme want, without offering him some relief, would not his hardness of heart be revolting to you? And yet do you think that the law ought to dive into his purse, and compel him to give? The proprietor who, in time of famine, enhances the price of his corn to poor wretches expiring with hunger, and profits by their misery to enrich himself, does he not merit public contempt as much as the usurer? But, at the same time that he is despised, every one acknowledges that the law cannot interfere, and force him to sell at a particular price. Morality is one thing, and law another. It does not belong to the law to prescribe the accomplishment of every duty; it can only exercise its authority where right is violated, or injustice committed. Now, to be wanting in charity is not to commit an injustice, or violate a right. There are still other ways in which a usurer may be immo-

ral, and without falling under the cognizance of the law. When he encourages the follies of a spendthrift, or the passions of a debauchee, he commits an immoral act; but would not the simple lender, in a similar case, be equally worthy of reproach? The immorality does not arise from the rate of interest, it arises from his being a sort of accomplice in the vices of the borrower. Now, as these vices are not punished by law, it is clear that the accomplice in them ought not to be more severely punished. The law does not punish the publican who sells more wine to men who are already drunk; and yet, at the tribunal of reason, would he not be pronounced guilty of encouraging, or even being an accomplice, in this vice?

In conclusion, we must remark, that the greatest part of the actual immorality of usurers is the creation of the legislature. All prohibitions dictated by a false principle give birth to a corresponding class of vicious men which would not have existed but for them. It is thus that the restrictions laid on foreign commerce have engendered smugglers. Such laws are too absurd not to be violated, and yet those who infringe them can scarcely be looked upon as upright men.

THE SOLDIER.

A WARRIOR lay on the sun-bright strand,
 In the glory of war and the robe of fight,
 And he clench'd his sword in his red right hand,
 With the fiery grasp of the dying brave.
 The plume of battle waved madly o'er,
 As the squadrons rolled in their ebbing strength;
 But He slept in his rest on that gore-fringed shore,
 While the whooping peons wandered by.
 His heart's-blood gushed in a torrent tide,
 From the yawning gash which the lance had made;
 And the eye hath lost the glance of pride,
 Which blazed, in life, with a world of light.
 But mark! the dark-webbed silk of that brow,
 And the silent powers of that nerveless limb,
 And the haughty smile, that was straying now
 O'er the querulous shake of that quivering lip.
 Oh! mark him well, as his plume and sword
 Are the only honours oppression left,
 When the tyrant's spear and a foreign horde
 Had call'd him away from his father's home.
 Bright Isle, that gems the ruby west,
 Thy son is sleeping his dreamless sleep;
 And Erin's child is happy and blest
 In the land that gives him a soldier's grave!

D. S. L.

REFLECTIONS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF BRITISH INDIA.

A VERY able work has just been announced, under the title given above; and having been favoured with an early copy in sufficient time to give it a hasty perusal before our sheets are closed for the press, we shall endeavour to present our readers with a brief outline of its purpose, and give them an entire chapter from its instructive pages. By whomsoever the work may have been written, whether in England or in India, it evinces a perfect knowledge on the part of the writer, of every branch of his subject, and cannot fail to take a very high rank among the many useful and excellent books which have recently appeared on the subject of India and Indian affairs. We again congratulate our readers on the evidently increasing interest taken by the well-informed classes in England, in all that relates to our Indian empire, and we sincerely and confidently believe that this will go on with a rapidly accumulating force, as the discussions on the renewal of the Charter draw near.

In the first chapter of this work, which may be regarded as a general historical introduction, necessary to a clearing away of the difficulties to general readers, the writer maintains, in opposition to Sir John Malcolm's inference, that almost any European power would have made equally rapid strides in the subjugation of India with ourselves, if left to their own exertion without European competitors. Sir John is angry with those who appear to undervalue the exploits of the English in India, and dedicates his book to his friend the Duke of Wellington, as if to vindicate the character of Indian warfare. Viewing the matter philosophically, however, it seems pretty certain that the weakness of the Native powers being once thoroughly understood, India became, as a matter of course, the prey of the first European state which, after surmounting the obstacles opposed by its own *caste*, found itself at leisure to organise and carry into effect a regular system of territorial aggrandizement.

On the subject of a Russian invasion of India, the consideration of which occupies the second chapter, a great deal has been written; and those who are disposed to pronounce such an event almost impossible, and certainly destined to meet with defeat if attempted, seem hitherto to have the best of the argument. But the irresistible force of facts has lately been too much for these reasoners. We have seen a Russian army of adequate strength to form a nucleus to an invading force, enter Persia in spite of all opposition, and, in a short campaign, so completely lay open the road to the capital, as to put it out of the power of the Shah to stop their progress to it otherwise than by negotiation. We have seen, too, so much disaffection, so much implied treachery, such materials and disposition for intrigue, that no man can doubt the power of Russia

at the present moment, or on the death of the present monarch, to secure to itself as great an ascendancy in Persia as we now exercise at the court of the Great Mogul. The next Shah, whoever he be, will not have strength and influence enough to establish himself on the throne, without the assistance of a foreign power : if one party claim the assistance of Great Britain, the other will obtain that of Russia ; in which case the possession of India will be contended for in the heart of Persia. On the other hand, if a successor to the present Shah be nominated by the paramount influence of the Russian court, Persia will, in effect, be in the occupation of a Russian force, and there will be no barrier but the Indus between the mighty rivals for Asiatic supremacy. At all events, therefore, it behoves us to look seriously into the state of our military force in India, and to endeavour to ascertain what chance of success our armies in that quarter would have in the expected struggle.

With very few exceptions, the Indian army may be said to have contended hitherto only with enemies vastly inferior to itself in military organisation, as well as in that prowess for which the several branches of an army should be distinguished. The cavalry of the Native powers, though undoubtedly the *elite* of their armies, seldom made or met a charge when opposed in line ; their infantry, notwithstanding the instructions and occasional presence of European officers, has never manœuvred in front of our line, nor attacked any but the smallest detached party, nor withstood an attack in the open field, though sometimes, when covered with breastworks or fortifications, it has stood with considerable firmness ; and the same may be said of their artillery ; in a general engagement it has seldom stirred from the spot where it was first planted, excepting perhaps in an awkward attempt to retreat ; it has never (as far as we can recollect) been manœuvred offensively in the open field against a British line ; the directing of its fire has displayed no skill, nor the composition of its ammunition any science and resources beyond the rude materials of powder and ball in their coarsest and most simple forms.

To counterbalance all these disadvantages, however, it should be observed, that the forces of the several Native powers with whom we have contended, have always greatly surpassed us in point of number ; and that whilst their ignorance and inertness have afforded us every opportunity of displaying our superior skill in military combination, the achievements of the Indian army have never been effected without the exertion of great courage and ability, under difficulties considerably enhanced by climate and the nature of the service. Without, therefore, in the smallest degree derogating from the character of the Indian army, it may be said that their triumphs, though undoubtedly brilliant, and earned only by a series of arduous exertion, yet afford but a feeble criterion of their fitness to sustain a struggle with a European force of their own strength,

possessing all the resources which science and experience could give them.

The almost unvaried success which has attended the Indian army in field engagements, though calculated to inspire it with the greatest confidence, as long as the system against what it is accustomed to act continues unchanged, may have a contrary effect when it meets with serious opposition, attended with those vicissitudes from which the best disciplined troops, when fairly balanced in the field, cannot expect to be exempted. The easy victories gained by the French over the Spanish armies, contributed not a little to unfit them for contending with the troops of Wellington; and it is undeniable that in military ethics a certain portion of adversity is necessary to that perfection of character which constitutes a truly formidable army. The forces in India, having so seldom been compelled to act on the defensive, have little or no experience on many points requiring the display of some of the most valuable qualities which light disciplined troops can possess. In the event of a sudden change in the nature of the service on which they were employed, a new system of war, then suddenly unfolded to their view, would have all the effect of a surprise, and before they could adapt themselves to it, the most disastrous consequences might be entailed. Nor have examples of this kind been entirely wanting in India, even under the advantage which superior science and discipline confer. In the Persian Gulf, in Nepal, and recently in the Burmese war, each of the Indian establishments has in turn evinced the effects which unwonted resolution on the part of their opponents is likely to produce upon our troops; and there can be little doubt, that if circumstances, of the nature alluded to, were to occur in the presence of an enemy capable of profiting to the fullest extent by such an indication of unsoundness, the event might be decisive of the fate of our Indian possessions in a single campaign.

These considerations, if just, sufficiently explain the precarious terms upon which our Indian Empire is held: it must and ever will be so with valuable provinces kept under military sway. He who holds possession of a country by force alone, challenges the whole universe to dispute his claim,—when a stronger arm appears he must be prepared for a change of fortune; and, like the gladiators of old, he will neither meet with support nor sympathy in his fall, except the people rise with one accord in his favour, an event, however, which in an Indian arena is, for obvious reasons, not very likely to occur. But be this as it may, it behoves us at the present moment, pending the application of that moral strength to the Indian community, which Colonization alone can confer, to look narrowly into the composition of our Indian army,—to divest ourselves of that overweening opinion of its superiority which is calculated to lull us into a fatal security; and instantly to adopt such alterations in its organization and habit of discipline as may in a

great measure compensate for those deficiencies under which it now unavoidably labours.

In the fourth chapter of this work the author has endeavoured to show, that from the people of Hindostan we may select materials for as fine an army as any in the world; but that until our government rests its base upon the interests and affections of the people at large, our armies will always partake of that mercenary character which ought justly to impair our confidence in their fidelity. But men are nothing in a regular army without those aids which, providing for their ordinary wants, leave them at liberty to devote their entire energies to the service of the state; and in these aids, he has shown, in the second chapter of the work, that the country is singularly deficient: the want of horses to mount the cavalry and artillery, or for draft, the general deficiency of land carriage, and of cattle fitted for transport, and even for slaughter, we do not think he has at all overated, even for the troops of either arm now on foot. But if a force principally composed of Europeans were to attack the English in India, very different must be the army from its present state. True, the internal discipline of the several regiments composing the Indian army, assisted as it is, for the most part, by the habits and dispositions of the Native soldiery is admitted on all hands to be highly creditable; their parade movements, as well as their general duties, are well performed, but, as an army, they are inexperienced in field movements on an extensive scale; and of late years they have seldom been called upon to act excepting in small detachments, isolated and independent of any general system of combination. Such, indeed, from the ill-judged economy of the government in military matters, has been the want of troops for several years, that corps when detached to distant posts, and even subdivided and spread over a considerable space of country, instead of being relieved, and ordered, after a reasonable period, to repair to some large station where their discipline might be re-established, have been transferred from one line of outposts to another, and have thus remained for years without enjoying the benefits of reunion, or of brigade exercise. Nor are the bad effects attendant upon this system confined to the mere discipline of the regiments,—their efficiency is impaired in other respects, and the duty expected of the men individually, is so much harder than the routine of a well-regulated service would require, in consequence of the troops being so much divided into detachments, that many of the best sepoys have become disgusted with the army, and have left their places to be supplied by men of decidedly an inferior description, both in a moral and physical point of view. Whilst, therefore, discipline suffers on the one hand, there is, on the other, a deterioration in the class of men from which the ranks are recruited; so that even on a recurrence to a better system of duty and organization, much time must necessarily elapse ere confidence in its being per-

manent would induce the better sort of the fighting castes again to enrol themselves.

On these considerations, although the infantry is certainly the best part of the Native army, it would be wise to consider it as unequivocally inferior to any European troops likely to be opposed to it in the event of invasion. This branch of the service, therefore, which at all times must constitute the bulk of a regular army, should be supported by the strongest cavalry and artillery which the resources of the state will enable it to organize. Were the fine plains of Hindostan to be open to the invasion of an army of fifty thousand Russians, comprising the usual proportion of cavalry, together with attendant Cossacks and auxiliary Persian and Afghan horse, we have no hesitation in saying that all the cavalry which the Indian government could bring against it, regular and irregular, would be swept away in one campaign, unless supported by a numerous but lightly-equipped artillery capable of following it in all its movements. Instead, however, of attending to these points, the government are reducing the strength of their corps of cavalry, and substituting bullocks for part of the artillery, which, by a late improvement only, had been drawn by horses. It would be edifying to conjecture how many of these bullock artillery guns would accompany the pursuit of the enemy in case of victory, or how many would escape from the field of battle in case of a defeat. We suspect that in both cases our infantry would be left entirely to their own resources.

Upon the whole then, the invasion of India is a consideration which cannot occupy public attention too much; the crisis may be distant, it is true, but the bare thought that, after what we have lately witnessed in Persia, it may be close at hand, is enough to rouse the mind of every man who is alive to the honour of our name, or to the happiness, if indeed we ever mean to study it, of the inhabitants of India.

It has been observed that an invader of Hindostan would march with the stream of natural feelings in his favour; and the same may be said even after his crossing the Indus. The position of India is, as it were, reversed; the moral and physical strength of the country, as far as the population is concerned, reside in the north, whilst the strength of the government we have chosen to fix in the south. In Bengal centres almost the whole opulence of our Eastern possessions,—it is the Egypt of our empire, and, as it was the policy of imperial Rome to conceal that province from the scrutiny of the world, so it would have been an evidence of their sagacity, if the British government had sheltered Bengal, by making it a subordinate province, and covering it by the whole strength of the metropolitan government placed in Upper Hindostan. The consequence of this not having been done, will necessarily be that foreign invasion will have to encounter less energy in its first onset, whilst

every step it advances, will add prodigiously to its moral, as well as physical strength. It will approach Delhi, the ancient and natural capital of the empire, as an almost neglected outwork, and the possession of that city will place at its disposal the revived energy of the whole population of the most warlike part of the country; whilst the government, though in possession of the most fertile provinces, and of all the riches of the interior, will yet have nothing but the legions of Pompey to oppose to the hardy warriors of the west and north.

In the third chapter, the author has treated upon the subject of a permanent settlement: and although this has been more fully treated by other writers, and especially by the intelligent author of the work, '*On the application of the principles of Colonial Policy to the government of British India*,' yet we do not recollect any writer except the present, who has taken due notice of the money-getting propensity of the Company having induced them to add to the unexpected evils of the permanent settlement, by taxing that appeal to justice which they previously had done all in their power to encourage. They neglected to increase the number of their law courts as they ought to have done, and then profited by their own wrong, by exacting a stamp at every stage of their law process. Some of the details given towards the end of this chapter, will serve to show the extreme wretchedness which prevails even in the very neighbourhood of our capital.

The fourth chapter seems to have been written chiefly as a caution against relying too much on those partial statements which are occasionally put forth under the guise of general descriptions; and the fifth is wholly dedicated to the subject of Colonization, that grand remedy upon which we have already thought and written so much, that there is no small difficulty in thinking or writing any thing that has not been urged before. The second chapter, which treats '*On the danger to which British India is exposed from invasions*,' will, perhaps, excite the greatest interest among political and military men; but we prefer transcribing the third chapter which is headed '*On the Condition of the People of Hindostan*,' as being likely to interest men of all classes, and therefore possessing stronger claims to our immediate attention:

'In the last chapter, it has been shown that the defence of India against the attacks of a really formidable power would require not only a more efficient army than that which is now distributed throughout its provinces, but that even the best organised force would find it difficult to subsist in any part of the country without being as detrimental to its prosperity as if it were on hostile ground. With the exception of a few tribes, not very respectable as to numbers, we have, perhaps, little to apprehend from the open assistance which the people of the country might be disposed to afford the common enemy: but even their lukewarmness, their indifference to the

fate of the present government, would be pregnant with the most disastrous consequences. If, indeed, it be doubted whether any country can be conquered when its inhabitants resolve to be free, it must follow that no foreign occupant can successfully defend it, unless the inhabitants range themselves unequivocally on his side. It is, therefore, of the first importance to endeavour to ascertain the actual condition of the people, and what is their attachment to the soil they cultivate, and to the government under which they live.

The habits of the Mohammedan conquerors of Hindostan leading them to indulge in pomp and sensuality, the love of ease and pleasure soon influenced their demeanour towards the vanquished; and, if the feelings as well as the interests of the Hindoos were generally disregarded, they at least derived some consolation from seeing their fellow-countrymen occasionally raised to high dignity and power, both in the civil and military departments of the state. It is true that this was too frequently the consequence of forced alliance and polluted blood; but the patient idolator, as soon as the sense of personal degradation was overcome, did not disdain to profit himself and his kindred by the influence thus obtained. On the other hand, if wealth to an enormous amount was wrested from them, often under circumstances of the greatest cruelty, still that wealth was dissipated as freely as it was obtained, and the greater part of it flowed back in refreshing streams upon the industry of the country. It may be remarked, too, that the Mohammedans, though differing as much as Christians do, in religion, from the Hindoos, were yet of the same flesh and blood; in the great family of nature they were kindred; and the same sun that shed its genial influence upon the one cheered and animated the other: but, with the English, every thing is different; the climate of India is looked upon as foreign and ungenial; to them the country is forbidden ground; they are only allowed to reside in it as sojourners anxious to regain their native homes; and, whilst their exactions surpass those of all former rulers, they individually support a smaller expenditure than the natives can be induced to believe is consistent with the stations they hold, and the wealth appropriated to their support. With every allowance for variation of national character, their expenditure in India is, generally speaking, on the lowest scale of decent subsistence, according to their several ranks; their surplus income is remitted to Europe, and they, as well as their employers, appear to look upon Hindostan as a patrimony granted to them for the support of their families on the other side of the globe. Almost the whole of what is wrung from the people, ostensibly in requital for the protection afforded them by the government, instead of being laid out in *bona fide* state expenditure, for the advantage of the country, is devoted to the payment of the interest of debts contracted by the Company in their character of merchants, and in the past or present support of foreign establishments, such as Prince of Wales's Island, Bencoolen,

and St. Helena, maintained avowedly for commercial purposes. Add to this the depression of the higher classes, (which was the unexpected consequence of the territorial system of revenue,) and their exclusion from places of trust and emolument,—the little employment given to the natives in general, in consequence of the economical scale of our Indian establishments, and the small number of our troops compared with the countless multitudes of an armed force, constituted according to Asiatic notions of parade and splendour, and we may easily comprehend how infinitely more severely our Christian rule must bear upon the condition and prosperity of the people than that of any previous conqueror. It is to this account that we should have to place the apathy of the inhabitants, in the event of any serious danger threatening the Anglo-Indian government—the impoverishment of the country might not be revenged upon us in deeds of insurrection and blood, but theirs would be the *vox silentio ténnis*, which, though not heard in the whirlwind or in the earthquake, would speak dismay and ruin to the hearts of their oppressors; and the reckless indifference with which they would behold the struggle, even if they abstained from open hostility, would be decisive of the fate of their present rulers; for no army ever yet withstood the energies of a powerful invading foe, if unsupported by the sympathy of the country which it was endeavouring to defend.

‘From what has been before remarked respecting the territorial acquisitions of the Company, it will readily be conceived that nothing could have been less calculated to encourage the expectation of any improvement in the condition of the people, than the principle of actual pecuniary profit upon which those acquisitions were made. Without pausing to reflect that the several powers then holding possessions in India, if not in open rebellion against their legitimate sovereign, were certainly foreigners and intruders on the soil, whole tracts and provinces were accepted as gifts, or conquered by force of arms, as if the aboriginal inhabitants were not more worthy of consideration than the trees and other productions to be found on the surface. According to the barbarous computation of oriental despots, countries were only valuable in proportion to the direct land revenue they yielded; the happiness of the inhabitants never entered into the calculation, and the slow and often interrupted progress of arts and commerce afforded no other available source of income. The occurrence of wars and revolutions rarely permitted any hope of improvement in the amount, and as amidst the scenes of pillage that took place under a system of graduated plunder, from the prince down to the smallest functionary, every thing was destroyed or dissipated that came within the reach of man; the land, which appeared to be the only indestructible element of production, came to be considered as the sole property of the ruler. It was of this principle, which in itself exhibited the very essence of

anarchy, ignorance, and misrule, that a Christian establishment, emanating from a community in which civilization and refinement were supposed to have attained their highest point, were not ashamed to avail themselves. Following the worthy prototypes which the history of Asiatic barbarism and tyranny afforded them, the India Company declared that the farmers' dues were in effect those of the state; and, subsequently, when under the reforms introduced by Lord Cornwallis, they ostensibly bestowed proprietary rights upon the zemindars, they first appropriated to the state the whole produce of the soil, after paying the expenses of cultivation, and one-tenth of the rental to the newly created landholder. In addition, however, to Asiatic principles and precedents, and to the learning and research bestowed by Patton,* so prove that the sovereign was sole proprietor, or, which amounts to the same thing, the sole disposer of landed property, arguments were not long undiscovered, whereby to confer on this principle the sanction of more competent authority, and Blackstone is quoted by one of the writers in support of the Company's prerogative to prove, that if a "subject in England has only the usufruct, and not the absolute property in the soil; or, as Sir Edward Coke expresses it, he has *dominium utile*, but not *dominium directum*—a ryot in India may rest contented with an usufructuary right." But, besides that this principle in the law of England—resting as it does upon the doctrine of escheats, by which the sovereign of the state succeeds to all inheritance to which no other title can be found, and by which lands, like all other property, revert to and vest in the King, who, in the eye of the law, is the universal lord and original proprietor of all the land in his kingdom—is declared by Blackstone (ii. 50) to be, "in reality, a mere fiction;" it forms part only of that constitution by which the King is solemnly sworn to govern his people according to the statutes in Parliament agreed on. If, therefore, the ryot of India is bound to rest contented with the same title to his ground that a subject of England possesses, to make the analogy complete, a free constitution should be given, and the quota of land-tax to be paid should be settled by his representatives in Parliament assembled.

Nothing, in truth, could have been more idle than the whole controversy concerning the right of property in the soil of India: the natives, whose very subsistence depended upon the issue, were unable to take any part in the discussion; and it is quite evident that the will of government, which was alone commensurate with its power, was the only rule by which it was determined. Arguing from a state of things which had been produced by ages of plunder and desolation, the East India Company saw that the only rational mode of restoring the prosperity of the country, would interfere

* 'Principle of Asiatic Monarchies.

with the pecuniary aid which their commercial embarrassments rendered necessary, besides compelling them to abstain from all attempts to increase their rents until order was restored, and with it the peaceful and industrious habits of the community. Their interest as traders was, in fact, incompatible with the real interest of territorial rulers, supposed to have a sympathy with the prosperity of the country. The financial difficulties in which the Company's government had involved themselves, did not allow them the necessary leisure to take a just and magnanimous view of the great and interesting question, which the wonderful course of events had submitted to their decision; and, unhappily, the great Council of the Nation, and the ever-watchful eye of the British public, were too distant to admit of effectual interference to save the inhabitants of India from the continuance of a system, which, even under the more lenient sway of Mohammedan rulers, had plunged the greater part of them in hopeless poverty.

When, however, the India Company and their government ordained a permanent settlement of the land revenue in 1793, there is no doubt that it was their intention to renounce all claim to the proprietorship of the land in favour of the zemindars; but in omitting exactly to define, in the first instance, the relative situation of zemindar and ryot, the door appears to have been left open to so many alterations and interferences on the part of government, as in a great measure to have reduced the proprietary right to a mere name. The interests of the ryots being in direct opposition to those of the landholders, the latter were soon found complaining that, unless they were armed with power, as prompt to enforce payment from their renters, as government had authorised the use of in regard to its own claims, it was impossible for them to discharge their engagements with punctuality. Notwithstanding this appeal, however, government appears to have been sceptical as to the ill effects of the system, until its interests were likely to be affected, by the farther progress of the evils complained of exposing portions of the land sold to the hazard of a reduction in the rates of assessment.* It then interfered for the protection of the zemindars; and a regulation was enacted, "for better enabling individuals to recover arrears of rent or revenue due to them," [the opening of the preamble to which is to the following effect: "Government not admitting of any delay in the payment of the public revenue receivable from the proprietors and farmers of land, justice requires that they should

* "Much the same reasons were given by Timur for protecting his subjects from ruin; "for the ruin of the subject causeth the diminution of the Imperial treasures:" a passage upon which Mr. Patton (*Principles of Asiatic Monarchies*,) makes the following observation:—"This intimate connection between the interest of the sovereign and the prosperity of the husbandman (the immediate tenant of government,) is the surest pledge of his security." Such were the opponents of the permanent settlement in Bengal!

have the means of levying their rents and revenues with equal punctuality, and that the persons by whom they may be payable, whether under farmers, dependant talookdars, ryots, or others, should be enabled, in like manner, to realize the rents and revenue from which their engagements with the proprietors or farmers are to be made." By this regulation, the delays which a defaulter was enabled to oppose to the distrainer in enforcing payment of arrears of rent or revenue, as far as the amount was realizable from his crops or his personal property, were avoided, and the distrainer allowed, under specified conditions, to put up the property of the defaulter for sale, and to cause it to be sold, to make good the deficiency, and in some cases to confine the defaulter until he discharged the claim against him, together with interest at twelve per cent. Thus the protection afforded to the cultivators by the permanent settlement was in effect withdrawn, and the landholders had it again in their power to practise all those oppressions and arbitrary exactions, which it had been the object of that settlement to abolish for ever. "It became the interest of the zemindar," as is observed by Mr. Thackery on another occasion, "not to assist but to ruin the ryot, that he might eject him from his right of occupancy, and put in some one else on a raised rent;"—and such was his power in this respect, that the cultivators, unable to bear up against their renewed oppressions, were frequently induced to abscond, in order to avoid imprisonment, in addition to the forfeiture of their whole property. It was from the operation of these two causes—the efforts of the landholders, on the one hand, to retain their station, and, if possible, to raise their share of the rents; and of the ryots, on the other, to secure a fair remuneration for their labour,—that justified the following appalling picture, drawn by the Collector of Midnapore, February, 1802. "They (the zemindars) all say, that such a harsh and oppressive system was never before resorted to in this country; that the custom of imprisoning landholders for arrears of revenue was in comparison mild and indulgent to them; that though it was no doubt the intention of government to confer an important benefit on them by abolishing this custom, it has been found, by melancholy experience, that the system of sales and attachments, which has been substituted for it, has, in the course of a few years, reduced most of the great zemindars in Bengal to distress and beggary, and produced a greater change in the landed property of Bengal than has perhaps ever happened in the same space of time in any age or country, by the mere effect of internal regulations." Estates were everywhere sold for default of revenue; and the purchasers, who supplanted the first proprietors, being in their turn unable to support themselves under such a system, the land was sold and resold, until it at length fell into the possession of a set of men who were content to act merely as the receivers of the land-tax, without having any farther interest in their estates, or incurring any risk but that of losing their office.

This was, in fact, the natural result of the anomalous position in which the zemindar was placed in respect to government and to the ryots; responsible to the former to the whole amount assessed on his estate, and necessarily at the mercy of the latter, when the least delay in realizing that amount occasioned a sale of his property to make good the defalcation, he was gradually deprived of every thing he possessed, besides the tenth share of the rents, which formed his commission for collecting the whole. No individual thus circumstanced could be supposed to have the power, even if he had the will, to attend to the comforts and prosperity of his tenants; and whilst, for want of capital, no attempt could be made by the latter to improve their condition, without overwhelming them with debt, no subsequent effort could release them; because every advantage which was gained excited the covetousness of their landlord, and induced him to make use of all the means in his power to dispossess them, and procure a higher rent from their successor. This consideration operated as a complete bar to improvement; and, in fact, the only reasonable prospect which offered itself to such of the landholders as still possessed sufficient capital, was to turn their attention to the cultivation of such waste land as lay within the boundary of their estates, and the produce of which, agreeably to the spirit of the act of permanent settlement, was not liable to farther taxation.

‘ In a climate like that of India where vegetation is so rapid and where inundations are so frequent, ground very soon runs to waste and becomes overgrown with brushwood. Colebrooke estimates the proportion of land tilled in Bengal and Behar at only one-third of the whole surface; and gives it as his opinion, in an extreme case, that a period of thirty years scarcely covers the barren sand with soil—when inundations have been caused, as sometimes occurs, by rivers breaking through their banks or changing their course. It requires, indeed, at all times a considerable expense of money and labour to clear wastes that are overgrown with jungle; in most cases, two or three years must elapse before it is discovered how much of the ground, so cleared, will yield a sufficient remuneration; and if to these considerations be added the ill effects of poverty and ignorance, in persevering upon an exaggerated estimate of profit, some idea may be formed of the difficulty of reclaiming land under similar circumstances, and of the degree of encouragement which it would be desirable to hold out for such employment of capital. Instances, indeed, have not been wanting, of individuals having entirely ruined themselves, after a perseverance of upwards of twenty years, in their endeavour to reclaim waste lands in different parts of India. Fortunately, such instances are rare; but they serve to show the difficulty attending improvements of this nature. The Indian government, however, still adhering to the principle, that all profits derived from the land are in effect those of the state, have not only allowed themselves to be prevailed upon, in consequence of this very partial improvement of the condition of the

landholders, to withhold the benefits of a permanent settlement from the ceded and conquered provinces, although under the most solemn engagements to grant them, but they have endeavoured, and are still endeavouring, by a sort of *quo warranto* process, to assert their right to share in the augmentation of income, which some zemindars have procured at so much expense and hazard to themselves individually. In regard to the north-western provinces, in particular, nothing can be at once so unjust and so impolitic as such conduct. The whole population of that part of the country, which is most exposed to foreign aggression—a race of men well known to be more robust and more prone to military habits than in any other part of India—instead of being well affected to the government, by being attached to the soil which they ought to protect, are kept in an unsettled and discontented condition, ready to believe that nothing but a change of masters can free them from the state of impoverishment in which they are plunged;—whilst the great landholders are deterred from attending to the happiness and prosperity of their tenantry, by the apprehension that government will step in and appropriate all the profits, as they are thought to be doing in the rest of their dominions.

The effect of these circumstances in discouraging agriculture it is unnecessary to insist upon; but the injury thus inflicted upon the country is greatly enhanced by the change which a few years have wrought in its commercial prospects. When British influence was first established in Bengal, the country was literally crowded with manufacturers and artisans of all descriptions. The various officers, both of the Mogul court and the subordinate principalities and governments, with their numerous retainers, occasioned an immense consumption of every article which luxury could desire, or the ingenuity of the country produce; and some of these, on account of their beauty and costliness, formed the basis of a considerable export trade. But on the substitution of a comparatively economical European government, the demand for productions of this nature almost entirely ceased; the industry of the country everywhere met with a sensible check; and the finishing blow was put to many of those manufactures, for which India had been so long celebrated, by the fabrics of Europe being made to rival them in delicacy of workmanship, and even to surpass them in cheapness. Nothing was then reserved for the industry of the natives but such articles as were too coarse or too valueless to excite competition, and the great increase of the import trade soon converted India almost exclusively into a market for raw produce. This great revolution in the commercial interests of the country was calculated to arouse all the vigilance and call for all the forbearance of a government which had the welfare of its subjects at heart. The great change which had taken place in the condition of the people, who, from being composed of a mass of manufacturing classes, sufficient

to furnish ample employment for the agricultural class, became suddenly transformed into a nation of cultivators, called imperiously for the fostering hand of government to increase and improve the produce of the soil, by the adoption of every expedient which industry, skill, and capital could apply to it, and to create such other employment as the nature, wants, and habits of the people would admit. In all countries where the great bulk, of the inhabitants gain their subsistence by cultivating the soil, the natural increase of population will soon exceed the demand for employment, and the wages of labour will be gradually reduced to the lowest possible rate. Nothing can avert or even retard the general distress and misery consequent upon this state of things, but the extension and improvement of agriculture, the encouragement of industry to furnish employment to the surplus population, and the diffusion of education and intelligence; by the operation of which, new wants and new tastes will be engendered, sufficient to impart a stimulus to the industry and ingenuity of all classes. The Indian government, however, as we have seen, acted upon diametrically opposite principles. When the amount of the land-tax had been fixed, in perpetuity, at a rate which there was every reason to suppose would drain the surplus earnings of the whole agricultural community into the coffers of the state, a permanent settlement with the ceded and conquered provinces, though distinctly promised under the governments of Lord Wellesley and Lord Minto, is withheld from time to time, in the hope of gradually enticing the landholders to make such improvement as may afford an opportunity of approximating to the maximum assessment which the produce of the soil will admit; because, in a few instances, the landholders of Bengal and Behar have been able to accumulate more wealth than could reasonably have been anticipated. Nor is this indecent appetite of revenue confined to the regulations enacted of late years—regulations which appear to be passed for no other purpose than to be subjects of perpetual discussion and illusive amendment,—but it is made to apply retrospectively even to rights and privileges which existed before the acquisition of the Dewanny, and which had been recognised by every successive government; for the tenures by which certain lands have been held rent free, from time immemorial, have come at length to be questioned, and many of them have lately been resumed, whilst others are, at this moment, under sequestration.

When the English first appeared upon the plains of India, there were so many Native princes and chieftains in the exercise of sovereign power, and these personages were so easily induced to alienate their rights for the sake of immediate advantage, that it is probable the custom of granting lands rent free continued even after the Company had unequivocally assumed political rule. It was necessary, therefore, to inquire into and put a stop to an abuse which threatened to make such serious inroads upon the fiscal

jurisdiction of the state ; and accordingly, as far back as 1783, a regulation was passed, that all rent-free land, in whatever quantity, unless held under the sanction of a grant from the Governor and Council, or, unless possession thereof had been obtained antecedent to the Dewanny grant, were resumable. To this regulation no reasonable objection could be made ; though such is reported to have been the number of claims for land which then called for confirmation, that it is supposed a very great portion of them was left unadjusted by the committee empowered to carry the above resolution into effect.

‘ These lands are chiefly of four descriptions,* the Devutter and Pirutter, granted for the endowment of Hindoo and Mohammedan temples, respectively. Bramutter, lands appropriated for the maintenance of Bramins ; and Mohutran, or honorary grants to individuals. The two latter descriptions may be sold, or otherwise disposed of ; but the two first are for ever devoted to the purposes for which they were originally granted ; and an order of government, on the occasion referred to, prohibited the granting of land for religious or charitable purposes in future, without the express sanction of the state, though existing proprietors were confirmed in their possessions. Affairs remained in this situation for many years ; but at length an order was issued, decreeing that rent-free lands should be resumed, unless the proprietors of them could produce their sunnuds, or grants, for the inspection of the collector of the district ; when those found to bear unequivocal marks of validity were to be confirmed, and the others rescinded.† As, however, much of the land in question had been granted many years, and in some cases centuries, before the establishment of the Company’s government, it was scarcely probable that sunnuds and titles could have been preserved, amidst the scenes of violence and commotion which had so frequently occurred ; neither public nor private registers could be supposed to have survived the general wreck ; though the known habits of the people were perfectly consistent with the belief that such property continued to descend in the families to which it had been originally given.

‘ To these evils, arising out of the extreme uncertainty of their

* ‘ See Mr. Grant’s Analysis of the Finances of Bengal. Fifth Report, Appendix, p. 290 and 318.

† ‘ By a subsequent regulation, rent-free land, not exceeding ten biggahs in extent (about three acres,) are exempted from the operation of this decree, upon proof being produced of such lands having been in the possession of the family now holding them for a certain specified period. There is little doubt, however, that the revenue records, which were deposited in the Khalsah when the permanent settlement was made, do actually contain the registry of most of the rent-free estates which are now about to be resumed.

rights, where every privilege is assumed to be held by sufferance, liable to the revision or resumption of government, without even the form of open investigation, must be added the imposition of stamp-duties, bearing with peculiar severity upon the under tenants and cultivators, and which were a direct consequence of the act of permanent settlement.

'The Natives of India, but particularly the inhabitants of what are termed the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency, cherish a very general and sincere veneration for the character of Lord Cornwallis; and with reason look upon him as the champion of their rights, and the founder of the few privileges which still remain to them. His professed desire to make their protection depend solely upon the laws, and not upon the individual character of their rulers; and his consequent separation of the financial from the judicial functions, and making public officers, in the former department, responsible for their conduct to the courts established in the principal cities and districts; his regulating courts of appeal and last resort; his abolition of judges' fees, as well as all other charges which set a price upon justice, and made it difficult of access, in proportion to the poverty and helplessness of the suitor; his recommending and laying the foundation of a code of laws prescribing rules for the conduct of all, and specifying the mode of attaining speedy redress for every injury; and the care he took to explain the grounds of every regulation he enacted, and to appeal to the good sense of the people upon all subjects affecting their rights, persons, or property, called for, and still command, their fervent admiration, and justly entitled that distinguished nobleman to the gratitude not only of India but of all mankind. Accustomed, as the Natives of India are to look up to their rulers with a deference and respect little short of adoration, they hailed with heartfelt gratitude these manifestations of a kind and beneficent mind; but in proportion to the sincerity of this feeling, is the dismay with which they have witnessed the almost total abrogation of measures, the reasons of which had been so fully and satisfactorily laid open to their understanding, and a system infinitely more severe and inflexible than any they had before seen substituted in its place. Innumerable are the traditions current throughout the provinces, concerning the love of justice, and the strictly impartial mind, for which Lord Cornwallis was celebrated; they consider his regulations as having established and conveyed to them benefits till then unknown, or only existing in their legendary abstractions, of what a perfect ruler should be. His equal administration of justice, by rules which professed to disregard the persons and qualities of men, and to be free from the influence of the government itself, gained all their confidence; and if the land-tax appeared to be so great, as to leave the ostensible proprietor an inadequate share of the rents of his estate, still the amount taken was "fixed, and for ever," and

admitted of relative diminution, by the effect of increased industry. This certainty of exemption from future demands, notwithstanding the disadvantage under which they laboured, in being, in a great measure, excluded from taking any part in the government of their country, and in being debarred from receiving assistance and instruction from the settlement of intelligent Europeans amongst them, still offered considerable inducement to them to improve their property by cultivating the more valuable articles of produce, and by clearing waste or uncultivated lands,—like the lever of Archimedes, industry only required ground to stand upon, to enable it to move the universe; and that ground they beheld in the security to persons and property, which it was his lordship's anxious wish to establish.

‘It is singular, however, that although Lord Cornwallis successfully combated the reasons for delaying, for ten years, the final announcement of a permanent settlement, which Mr. Shore had adduced, he never appears to have entertained a doubt as to the prior right of the zemindars to the property of the soil. “Mr. Shore has most ably, and, in my opinion,” observes his lordship, “most successfully argued in favour of the rights of the zemindars to the property of the soil.” * But if the value of permanency is to be withdrawn from the settlement now in agitation, of what avail will the power of his arguments be to the zemindars, for whose rights he has contended? They are now to have their property in farm for a lease of ten years provided they will pay as good a rent for it; and this property is then to be again assessed, at whatever rent the government of this country may at that time think proper to impose. In any part of the world, where the value of property is known, would not such a concession of a right of property in the soil be called a cruel mockery? The interest of the zemindar was, in point of fact, too intimately blended with the proprietary right to be easily separated; but nothing is more clear, throughout the whole controversy, than that the position which he occupied constituted a disturbing cause by which the plumb-line of justice, in making the proprietary recognition, was warped from the perpendicular, and the entire calculation affected with error accordingly. The ryot was the real proprietor—he paid the rent of the land to the zemindar as an agent of government only. The zemindar was a civil officer of police, as well as revenue; he was bound to make good his stipulated payment of revenue, under penalty of suffering an equivalent loss of property, or of being deprived of the whole; it was his duty to preserve the peace of the country, and his services were required for the defence of the state, against rebellion or invasion, according to his means of furnishing that assistance. From all these duties, however, excepting the collection of the rents, our system of government relieved him; and, in principle, he had no farther right than that which the justice of Lord Cornwallis conceded to those who

* Fifth Report, Appendix, p. 473.

were likely to suffer from the resumption of the *sayer*. "As to the question of right," observes his lordship, "I cannot conceive that any government in their senses would ever have delegated an authorised right to any of their subjects to impose arbitrary taxes on the internal commerce of the country. It certainly has been an abuse that has crept in, either through the negligence of the Mogul governors, who were careless and ignorant of all matters of trade; or, what is more probable, the connivance of the Musulman aumil, who tolerated the extortion of the zemindar, that he might again plunder him in his turn. But be that as it may, the right has been too long established, or tolerated, to allow a just government to take it away without indemnifying the proprietor for the loss; and I never heard that, in the most free state, if an individual possessed a right that was incompatible with the public welfare, the legislature made any scruple of taking it from him, provided they gave him a fair equivalent. The case of the late Duke of Athol, who, a few years ago, parted very unwillingly with the sovereignty of the Isle of Man, appears to me to be exactly in point." * The situation of the zemindars bore a still greater resemblance to the case here brought forward by his lordship; the extent and condition of their tenure varied from those of a jagheerdar, or feudal chieftain, to those of a government agent for the collection of the rents, invested with authority over the ryots, to enforce the cultivation of the lands, and to yield them, at the same time, his protection. In all cases, and under whatever designation, the collection of the revenue, and the appropriation of a part of it for defraying the local expenses, was the principal stipulation; and the amount which remained after these payments, over and above the remuneration allowed by the state, was paid into the treasury, either in the form of an offering, or present, on renewal of the jagheerdar's commission every three years, or of tribute, or simply in the form of land revenue. If this view had been adopted by the Indian government at the time of making the permanent settlement, and if the zemindars had been compelled to grant pottahs to all the farmers or under-tenants, and ryots, who could command sufficient capital to enable them to keep their lands in cultivation, the otherwise insurmountable difficulties arising out of a vain endeavour to reconcile the existence of proprietary rights, with a denial of that control which a landholder everywhere possesses over his tenants, would have been in the first instance avoided; and the zemindar would have fallen into his natural and correct position, of assistant to the collector of the district, in remitting through him the net land revenue to government, after paying the authorised local expenses.

'In addition, however, to the various arguments by which the question of the permanent settlement, and the persons with whom that settlement was to be made, had, not undesignedly, been per-

* Fifth Report, Appendix, p. 475.

plexed. Two other considerations were not without their influence upon the minds of the Court of Directors and the principal members of the Indian government. The first was the actual necessity for realising quickly and certainly the greatest possible revenue from India, in consequence of the commercial embarrassments into which the Company had fallen; and the Court of Directors were only too happy to close with a plan which yielded even more than they had calculated upon, without feeling disposed to attend to the development of any other system, the operation of which might not turn so speedily advantageous to their interests. The other,] a consideration which may be supposed to have had much weight with the Indian government, and to have induced them to recognise the zemindars as proprietors of the soil, in preference to the ryots, was, that the government itself stood in the position of a zemindar in respect to its salt as well as to its opium monopolies; and, whilst in this capacity, it reserved to itself the right to alter the tenure of the ryot in the Salt Mehals, &c., it could not with any consistency consider the proprietary right to be vested in any but the zemindars.

Notwithstanding, therefore, the concurrence of all parties in the necessity for protecting the ryots, the latter were placed in subordination to the zemindars, with no other stipulation in their favour, in the act of permanent settlement, than an article, declaring, that it was a duty at all times indispensably required from the proprietors of land to conduct themselves with good faith and moderation towards their dependant talookdars and ryots, and that government reserved to itself the power to enact, whenever deemed proper to do so, such regulations as might be thought necessary for the protection and welfare of the dependant talookdars, ryots, and other cultivators of the soil.* Regulations to this effect were indeed subsequently framed; and there is little doubt that, if the same coolness of judgment and strict impartiality which had so much influence in enacting the permanent settlement, had superintended its operations for two or three years, it would, in spite of the disadvantages under which it laboured, have answered every reasonable expectation;† but the departure of Lord Cornwallis to Europe so

* Colebrook's Supplement, p. 358.

† Mr. Tucker, however, seems to be of a different opinion; not only does he think that the several Governors of India were peculiarly suited to the particular times and circumstances in which they happen to have been placed, but, in the ardour of his optimism, he asserts that Lord Teignmouth followed in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor, and, with scrupulous good faith, gave effect to plans which, as a member of Lord Cornwallis's government, he had felt it his duty to oppose. This is the first time, perhaps, that the individual by whom a plan was to be carried into effect, has been thought peculiarly suited to that task by his personal hostility to the measure. Whatever may have been the good faith of Lord Teignmouth, whether to his own or to his predecessor's

soon after the great change had been effected, left the new system in the hands of some of its bitterest enemies, and the want of cordial co-operation on the part of the civil functionaries, by which the measure had all along been impeded, quickly ensured its virtual abrogation. Accordingly, we find that a regulation (VIII. of 1763), which directed that landlords should prepare forms of pottahs, or leases, for the collector's approbation, and tender such pottahs to their tenants, on pain of being fined if they neglected to do so, was suspended in the following year in a great number of zillahs; and it was then declared, that the approbation of the collector extended only to the form of pottahs, "any dispute regarding the rate being referred to the civil courts."* Here, then, we have at once the true cause of the vast accumulation of law-suits in the several courts: the pottahs, which the ryots had been taught to expect were so much waste-paper, until their terms had been settled by an appeal to law; and, as it is probable that it did not happen in above one instance in ten, that both parties agreed upon the subject, almost the whole agricultural population were actually compelled to appeal to the courts. Mr. Mill, in his "History of British India," attributes the accumulation of undecided cases in a great measure to the mischievous prejudices of lawyers, "one of the most remarkable of which is that of rendering judicial proceedings intricate by the multiplication of technical forms,† &c.;" and certainly the description of the forms and delays, including repeated translations of law-papers, given by Mr. Shore in his first minute, (already referred to,) is sufficiently formidable.‡ The 5th Report, indeed, expressly informs us that the judicial rules upon which those still in use in Bengal are founded, "had the advantage of being framed by professional talents;" but this the historian seems to think is, *per se*, any thing but a recommendation. The habits, ideas, and associations of professional men are so inseparably connected with precedent and authority, that they are seldom well qualified for striking out new paths in legislation: blinded, like horses in a mill, they are apt to imagine that they are making great strides in advance, when they have only been travelling, in the old beaten track, to the little circle to which they have so long been yoked. On this subject, however, the historian appears to be somewhat at variance with himself, for he informs us that "there was in India nothing which, in reality, deserved the name of law," forgetting what he had just said of the powers, ingenuity of lawyers, and that he had shortly before told his readers, that "justice had always been distributed in the method of simple and rational inquiry," among the people of Hin-

opinion, certain it is, that the regulation which drove the ryots into the civil courts, to ascertain their rate of lease, destroyed the very cornerstone of that fabric which Lord Cornwallis had been so intent upon rearing.—*Tucker's Review*, &c., p. 216.—See also Fifth Report, p. 486-7.

* Regulations II. and IV., of 1794.

† History of British India, p. 283, *et seq.*

‡ Fifth Report, Appendix, p. 190.

dostan. We have the authority of the 5th Report, for the fact of the people of India having been governed by a system in which they apparently acquiesced with cheerfulness, and that the customs of the Hindoo and Mohammedan law were known, if not to all the European judges and magistrates, certainly to the Native law and ministerial officers, whose services, we are told, were common to all the English courts, district as well as city: the Mohammedan laws, with respect to Mussulmans, and the Hindoo with respect to Hindoos, being considered the general rules by which the judges were to form their decisions in all civil suits, and the Mohammedan law of the Koran, as explained by the commentators, the general rule for criminal justice; with such alterations and modifications of its sanguinary punishments and mutilations, as the milder spirit of British criminal justice dictated. With regard, however, to the principles on which English practice was engrafted upon Indian law, and particularly to the introduction of paid advocates, (vakeels,)* it is impossible not to agree with the historian in his general view of the law, not indeed in India only, but even in the mother country.

‘The absurdities by which English law still continues to be encumbered, arose in the course of ages out of peculiar states of society, and are retained apparently from no other motive than the instinctive horror of innovation, which the timid of all persuasions are too prone to entertain. The structure of society has undergone many and great changes, but the common law is still “in the rearward of the fashion,” and retains its antiquated costume, as if unconscious of the ridicule with which it is covered. It evinces, however, a constant endeavour to reconcile new feelings and new circumstances to its own preconceived notions; and thus, by a sparing adoption of such modern improvements as bear a strained resemblance to ancient practice, it has become a thing of threads and patches,† utterly incomprehensible to ordinary men. Authority and precedent are its avowed foundation; and its professed aim is to furnish a plain and certain rule for the guidance and protection of all. Yet new decisions of individual judges, grounded upon fanciful analogies to some former case, are constantly erected into maxims of law, and an adherence to remote sources of authority, in opposition to the plain standard of reason and common sense, involves every fresh question in inextricable confusion. Thus, whilst the stability of the law is relied upon in theory, its uncertainty is notorious and apparently inevitable

* ‘Lord Cornwallis is not responsible for the introduction of vakeels into Indian courts of justice, as might be inferred from the passage of Mr. Mill’s history here adverted to; his Lordship found them already established there by the regulations of 1781, and all he did was to reform the abuses connected with their practice and appointments.

† ‘Questi sono, (says Beccaria,) gli espedienti delle nazioni deboli, le leggi delle quali non sono che istantanee riparazioni di un edificio ruinoso, che crolla da ogni parte.

in practice ; and decisions, in fact, depend more upon the personal character of the judge, than upon any fixed or ascertained principles. Under the hollow pretence, indeed, of shielding us from the tyranny or corruption of judges, by referring everything to precedent, it, in reality, creates the worst of tyrannies,—a varying and uncertain law ; and it sets, as it were, a premium upon the ingenuity of lawyers, to reconcile present circumstances with past decisions. Thus it furnishes a constant bar to its own improvement, by discarding everything that has not some previous sanction in its favour, without advertg to the circumscribed state of knowledge and experience at the period when that sanction was pronounced ; and it has a tendency to encourage litigation by holding out almost as fair a prospect of success to the wicked as to the innocent. What is termed common law, is, in fact, to be found only in reports of cases and in the *dicta* of judges, forming together an immense heterogenous mass, which, on the one hand,—may be made to assume any form by means of what is technically called a fiction, and from which, on the other, the ingenuity of a practised lawyer can extract authority for almost any doctrine however absurd. Right and wrong, in short, became in a great measure subordinate considerations ; the sole question is not what is just, but what is law, and that law is to be found not in any written enactment, but in the ever-varying opinion of presiding judges.

‘To fix this wavering mass, to give firmness and consistency to the loose elements of the soil, is, indeed, a great desideratum, not only in India, but in England also. All writers are agreed, that since the adoption of the Code Napoleon, the number of lawsuits for real property (precisely that department in which English law displays the greatest number of subtilities,) has been greatly reduced in France. Indeed, the mere compression of existing laws into a small compass, is of itself a benefit conferred upon the community ; it not only brings the law within the comprehension of all, but it confines the subject matter of future comment, and restrains the authority of the judge within its just bounds, those of a faithful interpretation of the laws. For the framing and institution of such a code in India, an excellent opportunity was undoubtedly lost when the reforms of 1793 were carried into effect. The submissive character of the Hindoos, their acknowledged hereditary prostration, and their habits of looking up to their rulers as to their father, and, under Providence, their god upon earth ; were no less favourable to the calm and dispassionate investigation which such a measure would have demanded, than to the superintendence of its operation in the hands of the most considerate and well-informed servants of the India Company. We are told, indeed, that it was necessary to respect the prejudices of the natives, and to adhere as much as possible to their laws and customs, in framing a system of government for our eastern possessions ; but a very slight inspection of the regulations which have

been passed under this solemn injunction, will convince any man, that the only prejudices which have been respected are certain cruel and disgusting observances of their religion ; * which, in their operation, are rather calculated to assist than to impede the fiscal views of government ; and that, in other respects, very little attention has been paid to the feelings or opinions of the people. We found the inhabitants of India, it is true, immersed in the most profound ignorance, and a prey to the most absurd and revolting superstition ; but security of property, and redress of grievances, are substantial benefits, which address themselves to the business and bosoms of men of every intellect and of all persuasions ; and certainly the conduct of the people of Bengal, in appealing to our law courts, did not evince any slowness, to avail themselves of the protection which was offered to them, even by the very incomplete reforms effected at the period now referred to. This conduct, as the government justly observes, indicated a change of circumstances which ought to be received with satisfaction, inasmuch as it evinced the protection intended to be afforded by an equal administration of justice, to be real and efficient ; and showed that the care and attention which its directors, with so much solicitude, had urged the government to observe for preventing the oppressions formerly practised by the most powerful landholders, had not been exerted in vain ; and that, in the success of those exertions, a foundation had been laid for the happiness of the great body of the people, and in the increase of population, agriculture, and commerce, for the general prosperity of the country.† But the government, with singular inconsistency, instead of acknowledging the confidence thus shown in the uprightness of their intentions, by redoubling their efforts to administer strict and impartial justice to all parties, first did all in their power to promote litigation, and then loaded the redress of grievances with such heavy duties as amounted to a denial of it altogether to the great majority of suitors. If the liberal and enlightened observation just cited had been followed up by an increase in the number of courts, or by the appointment of commissioners, with power to settle all disputes arising out of the new order of things, upon the known and recognised principles of equity to the parties, it cannot be doubted, that the rage for litigation would quickly have subsided, and that the permanent settlement would have realised the most favourable expectations, without that revolution in property,

* See, amongst other instances, Regulation IV. of 1806, for the care with which the most cruel and abominable superstitions practised at the Temple of Juggernaut have been sanctioned and organised, with a view to the pecuniary profit which they yield to our Christian Government ! The number of lives annually supposed to be sacrificed, in consequence of the Juggernaut pilgrimage, is too great to mention ; the surrounding country is literally whitened with human bones.

† Revenue Letter, October 31, 1799.

and those appalling scenes of distress, with which its operation has been accompanied. On the contrary, however, in less than a month after passing a regulation for the relief of the zemindars, another was published for re-enacting the payment of the institution-fee, abolished in 1793, and for establishing fees on exhibits, so as to render the proceedings costly to the party cast or nonsuited, without (it is said) discouraging recourse to them, where the cause of action might be well founded. The preamble states, that, "in consequence of there being no expense in the first instance, and but a moderate and limited one ultimately, many groundless and litigious suits and complaints have been instituted against individuals, and the trials of others have been protracted, &c. ; whereby the judges have been prevented from determining causes with that expedition which is essential for deterring individuals from instituting vexatious claims, on refusing to satisfy just demands, &c. ; and that the establishing of fees on the institution and trial of suits, and on petitions presented to the court, being considered to be the best mode of putting a stop to this abuse of the ready means now afforded to individuals of availing themselves of the exercise of the laws, without obstructing the bringing forward of just claims, the following rules are enacted, &c. ;"—"The imposition of this expense," it is stated in the Fifth Report, "was expected to repress litigation in future ; but, with respect to the large accumulation of causes already on the judge's file, they were got rid of by an *ex post facto* law, which directed, that the fees required to be paid on the institution of suits hereafter (April 10, 1795,) shall be paid under the like rules and exceptions in all suits or appeals now depending in the zillah or city courts, &c. &c., which may have been instituted subsequent to the 1st of May, 1793, unless adjusted by the parties ; and such suits, unless withdrawn, or the fees are paid within one month, to be dismissed." In thus endeavouring to repress litigation, however, most of the fees were carried to the account of government ; and their amount, no doubt, suggested the expediency of turning what was now considered a national characteristic to the advantage of the state by further impositions. Accordingly, a regulation to this effect was passed in 1797 ; but, in thus converting the vices of their subjects into a species of traffic, the Indian Government seems to have been aware that some apology was due ; and, on that account, the abolition of the police tax is made, in some measure, the excuse for increasing the fees on the institution and trials of suits, and for establishing a stamp duty on law papers. Difficulties, it is said in the preamble to the regulation in question, (VI. of 1797,) having been experienced in determining what persons were liable to be charged with the police tax, and frauds and exactions having, in consequence, been committed by the assessors and collectors, to the vexation of the contributors as well as to the diminution of the produce of the tax, the Vice-President in Council has therefore resolved to abolish this tax ; and, with a view further to discourage the preferring of

litigious complaints, and the filing of superfluous exhibits, and the summoning of unnecessary witnesses on the trials of suits, and also to provide for the deficiency which will be occasioned in the public revenue by the abolition of the police tax, as well as to add to the public resources without burthening individuals, he has resolved, &c.

‘Passing over the singular manner in which the discouragement of litigious complaints is joined with the abolition of a totally distinct tax, acknowledged to be nearly unproductive, it may be observed that, as the fees and stamps were here made payable alike by those who might prefer just complaints, as by those who might be termed litigious, it is difficult to understand how such a tax could be considered as not burthening individuals. On the contrary, no tax burthens individuals so much as a tax upon law proceedings, to which no person resorts but in asserting or defending a right, of which he is, or is threatened to be, unjustly deprived. A police tax, on the contrary, being nothing more than a general contribution for a common benefit, is, under equitable regulations, an imposition every way unobjectionable, and, by municipal arrangements, might certainly be collected and disbursed, not only to the advantage of the state, but to the great comfort and security of the public.

‘The difficulty of keeping pace with the demands for redress, does not appear to have been sensibly diminished by the above mentioned regulations; on the contrary, their tendency being to encourage injustice by hopes of impunity, the natural consequences ought to have been rather an encase than a diminution of suits at law; but it was not till the year 1803 that the proper remedy was applied, by adding to the number of judges throughout the provinces, and enlarging the jurisdiction of the Native commissioners, or munsiffs. This remedy, however, was applied on so small a scale, as to be totally inadequate to the end proposed; and the usual consolation for such a failure was again sought in an augmentation of the revenue by means of further stamp duties. Accordingly, * Regulation I. of 1814, followed up by others after a short interval, increase the rate of stamp duties, and extend the use of stamped paper so greatly, that without them, no complaint can be filed, no grievance taken cognizance of: on the contrary, if any suitor neglect to provide himself with the necessary stamps, and present documents written on common paper, he is sentenced to a fine of twenty times the value of the stamp omitted, and a rejection of his complaint until the fine be paid, and the prescribed stamps supplied.

‘Meantime, however, the power of distraint had been greatly increased by Regulation VII. of 1799, by which it was declared that under-tenants of every description were to be considered defaulters

* ‘Harrington’s Analysis, vol. i. p. 162, apparently cites this regulation as first introducing the use of stamps “for raising a revenue;” but the preamble above, quoted from Regulation VI. 1797, shews the principle to have been avowed on that occasion.

for any arrears of rent withheld beyond the day on which the same might have been payable, and liable to immediate distress, if all such arrears were not paid on demand. A commission of one anna in the rupee on the amount sales of property sold was also authorised to be charged to the account of the defaulters, in addition to the other expenses attending the attachment. The power of the collector was also strengthened by his being allowed to imprison defaulting landholders, and to charge interest for the amount of the monthly instalment remaining undischarged, at the rate of one per cent. per mensem from the date at which the arrear became due, without waiting for authority from the Board of Revenue so to do, unless he think proper to apply for special instructions. He was authorised and directed, however, to suspend the exercise of these powers in cases of drought, inundation, or other calamity of the season, and where the defaulter was entirely blameless, reporting circumstances to the Board of Revenue. But whether from the board having condemned this indulgence where shown, or from the natural inclination of men in official stations to exceed the bounds of their authority, the collectors did, notwithstanding, attach and distrain to such an extent, as to call for the interference of government * to prohibit their doing so during the three first months of the year, whilst the landholders and farmers were adjusting their settlements with the ryots. By the regulation here referred to, however, it was directed that, in order to limit the division of property, when an estate was attached, the whole of it, and not a part, was to be sold, the surplus produce of such sale, after discharging the amount of arrears, interest, and fines, to be given to the proprietor, *unless otherwise especially directed*. It was moreover ordained that whenever the collector *thought* the revenue was wilfully withheld, or the arrear ascribable to neglect, mismanagement, or misconduct, the *board* might impose an additional penalty of one per cent. per mensem, to be paid from the time when the arrears became due till discharged, or till the farm or estate was attached, together with distress and sale of personal property where accounts were not forthcoming. If, however, the proprietor at any time antecedent to the sale delivers in his account, the sale is not to take place, but instead thereof, as a punishment to the defaulter for withholding his accounts, the Governor-General may impose such fines as he may judge proper, in *addition* to the former ^{le}.

‘ Here then may he said to have terminated the long struggle between the zemindars and the ryots, on the one hand, and the government and the zemindars on the other. At first the zemindars were relieved from the liability to imprisonment and other arbitrary punishments for non-payment of their revenue, but portions of their estates were ordered to be sold to make good their defalcations: when, however, they complained of this, the power of

* Regulation I. of 1801.

imprisonment was restored, and their personal property, as well as their whole estates, rendered liable to sale. In like manner, the ryots were apparently secured in the possession of their ground, by the zemindars being directed to grant them pottahs, or leases, and they were encouraged to appeal to the law when oppressed by their landlord. Their availing themselves of this privilege, however, occasioned the imposition of law taxes; the restoration of the power of distraint and imprisonment, formerly held over them by the zemindars, and eventually the establishment of stamp duties, to such extent and amount as almost to constitute a total denial of redress under any grievances they might suffer.

There can be no doubt, however, that the permanent settlement, though ruinous to the greater part of the old zemindars, has greatly contributed to extend cultivation; and that the present zemindars, as a body, and indeed with the exception of those whose waste-land estates are now in fact under sequestration, are in a very prosperous condition. This circumstance indeed is so well known that, as before remarked, it has excited what was termed by Mr. Shore "the cupidity of government" to demand a portion of the excess. It must not, however, be supposed, because some individuals have prospered greatly under the new order of things, that, therefore, the land-tax is moderate; for as yet the scanty and penurious husbandry of the country has experienced no general improvement. The advantages referred to have been mostly confined to those estates which contained a large portion of uncultivated land, or the boundaries of which had been but loosely ascertained, or, in which the cultivation had been improved by the unexpected demand for more valuable produce. In all these instances it is probable that a rise of rents was accomplished without much difficulty, but the number of cases in point in which any great degree of improvement was attended with an augmentation of the zemindars's income, must have borne but an inconsiderable proportion to the general mass. It may be observed, too, that in addition to the slowness and uncertainty of returns from the cultivation of waste lands in general, the appropriation of pasture land is attended with a diminution of apparent profit, by the increased expense and difficulty of subsisting the cattle used for agricultural purposes, particularly during that period of the year when the crop is on the ground. But even were the fact otherwise, were it certain that every zemindar had doubled his income by the improvements effected on his estate, how unworthy it is of the character of a great government to endeavour, by every means in its power, to deprive its subjects of their hard-earned profits, because after so many years of risk and labour, those profits turn out to be greater than could have been expected, under so severe an assessment. How much more wise, as well as humane, it would be, to rejoice in the unexpected prosperity of the country, to encourage accumulation, and with it increased activity of trade, and a sincere attachment to the government which secured to them the enjoyment of so many blessings. Instead of this, however, the

Natives are continually alarmed by inquisitions, actual or threatened, into the validity of their titles, and correct measurement of their estates; and swarms of Canangoes, or native revenue surveyors, are spread over the surface of the country, ostensibly for the protection of the ryots, but, in reality, for the purpose of discovering and reporting unassessed land. These men, who are virtually released from responsibility, partly by their own obscurity, but chiefly by the small number and inaccessibility of the English functionaries under whom they act, extort money almost at will from the individuals with whose lands they have any concerns, and, by indulgences to one and menaces to another, afflict the unhappy people with endless vexations.

In order more clearly to point out the condition of the ryots, the following table of the produce of one biggah (about one-third of an English acre), together with the usual rent, according to the annual settlement, and expenses of cultivation, is here inserted. A comparison with the estimate given by Celebrooke (Husbandry of Bengal) will shew, that whatever may be the case with other classes, the situation of the ryot has not improved. All the articles here inserted, with the exception perhaps of paddy, are susceptible of great increase, and some garden lands, particularly in the vicinity of large towns, produce five and even ten times as much; but taking a large extent of country, the average is not greater than what is here given: this point, however, is not of such importance, regarding the whole calculation, from the small proportion of land appropriated to the sort of produce in question, one-tenth of the whole cultivated surface being considered much more than its utmost extent.

Description of Produce.	Expense of Seed, Cultivation, Reaping, Weeding, and Storing.	Rent.	Total.	Value of the Crop.	Cultivator's Surplus.
	Rupcs. Anna.	Rup. An.	Rup. An.	Rup.	Rup. An.
Paddy { Old Land	3 1	1 8	4 9	8	3 7
Paddy { New Land	3 0	0 1	3 12	7	3 4
Sugar Cane	10 4	5 0	15 4	20	4 12
Tobacco	9 12	5 0	14 12	20	5 4
Ginger	9 4	5 0	14 4	20	5 12
Cotton	6 4	5 0	11 4	18	6 12
Onions	10 4	5 0	15 4	22	6 12
Potatoes	6 12	5 0	11 12	13	4 4
Garlic	10 4	5 0	15 4	21	4 12
Curry, Herbs, &c.	6 12	4 8	10 12	16	5 4
Jute	4 12	2 0	7 4	11	3 12
Hemp	4 12	4 0	8 12	14	5 4
Turmeric	7 12	4 0	11 12	17	5 4
Mustard	4 12	3 8	7 12	12	4 4
Mulberry	5 12	2 8	8 4	12	3 12
Pulse, of sorts	5 4	2 8	7 12	11	3 4
Wheat	5 12	2 8	8 4	13	4 12
Barley	5 8	2 0	8 0	12	4 0
Cucumbers	9 12	5 0	14 12	21	6 4

'If, then, we suppose a farm to consist of about 25 biggahs, or $8\frac{1}{2}$ English acres, which is as much as one man and his family can manage, the cultivator's surplus, at the above average, will be about $12\frac{1}{2}$ rupees for the garden land, and $74\frac{1}{2}$ for the rice land, making altogether 87 rupees, or 8*l.* 7*s.* per annum, or seven rupees four annas for the monthly subsistence of himself and family.

'The following is a statement of the monthly expense of living for a family of five persons, on the lowest scale, consistent with bare subsistence.

	Rupees.	Annas.
Rice, four-fifths of a seer, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. for each person, at 30 seers per rupee.....	4	0
Pulse, one pice (less than a halfpenny) per diem each,....	2	$5\frac{1}{2}$
Salt and condiments do. (salt at five maunds per rupee) ..	1	$2\frac{3}{4}$
Oil, two chittacks (about two oz.) at 10 rupees per maund .	0	15
Total.....	8	$7\frac{1}{4}$

'To this must be added something for clothing, scanty as it is, besides occasional expenses for repairs of hut, fees, &c. Charity should also enter into the account, but as this is generally bestowed in the form of victuals, it is difficult to estimate its exact value; as, however, it actually diminishes the above allowance, and that in no inconsiderable degree, it should not be lost sight of, in forming an opinion of the condition of the people. The item of charity, indeed, is much larger than can readily be conceived by those who are unacquainted with the habits of an Indian community. The class of people living entirely upon alms, whether given from motives of superstition, or from mere compassion, is exceedingly great. Crowds of sturdy beggars, generally of a religious caste, parade the country, and extort a plentiful subsistence more from the united effect of fear and superstition, than from any other feeling of the inhabitants. Every village, also, has its separate band of religious mendicants, who make their rounds every day, demanding a handful of rice from each householder, and if to these we add the really destitute objects, who from disease or infirmity have a claim upon the compassion of their more fortunate brethren, we shall have a mass of charitable demands, from which the almost unhoused Hindoo has no refuge but by granting a portion of his scanty meal, almost equal to the poor's rate in England, burthensome as that is acknowledged to be.

'The only methods which the poor husbandman has of eking out his miserable existence, are by disposing of the produce of such fruit-trees as may be upon his farm, or by keeping cows, and selling their produce, or, lastly, by endeavouring to raise a second crop of some kind in the intervals of the usual harvests. But from all these sources of profit, so much must be deducted for interest of money, or encroachment upon other branches of his industry, that little or no benefit can be expected from them, in the present state of the country. Thus the produce of trees may be valuable in

many cases, but they are prejudicial to the growth of other articles, and the ground they cover forms a serious deduction from the quantity of land cultivated;—some indeed are attended with loss, unless more care is taken to strengthen the soil than a poor ryot can afford; of this kind are plaintains, which, in addition to the usual fallow of one-fourth or even one-third of the lands yearly, exhaust the soil in three or four years, and render it useless for a period much more than equal to the advantage to be derived from their culture. In like manner the profits of the dairy are realised at the expense of that share of the produce consumed by the cattle, together with the additional trouble, whatever it may be, of watching and milking them. In circumstances so straitened even the smallest item becomes of importance, and the miserable hut in which the cultivator resides, must be considered as diminishing *pro tanto* the quantity of his productive land.

‘If by the above table we endeavour to ascertain the present situation of the zemindars, the following will be the calculation, assuming that the encrease of rent since the permanent settlement has not much exceeded the proportionate increase in the cultivation of the more valuable articles of produce, which is generally supposed to be the fact. The zemindar’s share of the rent of the 25 biggahs, above mentioned would be only 6 rupees 5 annas per annum;—but supposing him to possess 1000 biggahs, or about 334 acres his income would be $252\frac{1}{2}$ rupees, and the amount of land revenue paid by him to government $2,272\frac{1}{2}$ rupees. But to his income must be added the profit arising from any uncultivated or unassessed land, which happened to be upon his estate at the period of the settlement, and from which he has since been able to raise a rent by bringing it under tillage. The quantity of land exempted from taxation (rent free), and that which was appropriated to pasturage, taken together, was calculated by Mr. J. Grant at no less than two-fifths of the whole surface in 1786, whilst the land in cultivation was but one-half that amount, or one-fifth of the whole; and as Colebrooke (Husbandry, &c.) apparently estimates the rent free lands as in the proportion of three to four to the waste land, we have upon these data the average quantity of reclaimable land in each estate, equal to something more than one-third of the whole. ‘But as it was clearly the interest of the landholder to cultivate as much of his ground as possible, during the several settlements which were made immediately previous to, and which formed the basis of, the permanent settlement in 1793, (since he paid rent for the whole) it is reasonable to suppose that a considerable portion of it was rendered productive during the seven years which elapsed between the periods referred to. Allowing, however, that this may not have been the fact, and calculating upon every spot of ground, even to the total absorption of pasturage, having been cultivated by the present proprietors, it will only amount to about 340 biggahs in 1000,

which, upon the average rent given in the foregoing table will make 852½ rupees, which added to the former 252 will amount to 1110½ rupees (111l. per annum) or 92½ per mensem, a very small income indeed for the support of the zemindar and his family, and the payment of the expenses necessarily attendant upon his rank and station.

‘But, besides what the above calculation is obviously an extreme and improbable one, it is generally believed that a very great majority of the present landholders pay no more than 500 rupees yearly to government; they consequently have only 55½ rupees for their income, out of the rents collected upon the assessment; and if to this we add* half the amount as a reasonable average for tax-free cultivation, their miserable pittance is not more than that of the poorest class of ryots. Upon the whole, then, we may conclude, that with the utmost possible advantage that can be obtained under the present circumstances of the country, the great majority of landholders, as well as ryots, can realize nothing more than a bare subsistence from their ground; and that from the impoverished state of the cultivating classes in general, there is no probability that their unassisted exertions will enable them to accumulate capital for the improvement of their stock, or for the encouragement of new branches of industry.

Hitherto the poverty of the cultivating classes, men who have both property and employment, has alone been adverted to; but the extreme misery to which the immense mass of the unemployed population are reduced, would defy the most able pen adequately to describe, or the most fertile imagination to conceive. The extremes to which they are driven for subsistence, may be judged of from the following facts, which, it is to be presumed, are well known to those who have resided for any long period in India; but the number of helpless wretches who daily sink under the effects of misery and starvation, no attempt can be made to estimate.

‘On many occasions of ceremony in the families of wealthy individuals, it is customary to distribute alms to the poor; sometimes four annas (about three pence), and rarely more than eight annas each. When such an occurrence is made known, the poor assemble in astonishing numbers, and the roads are covered with them from twenty to fifty miles, in every direction. On their approaching the place of gift no notice is taken of them, though half famished and almost unable to stand, till towards the evening, when they are called into an enclosed space, and huddled together for the night, in such crowds, that notwithstanding their being in the open air, it is surprising how they escape suffocation. When the indi-

* ‘According to Colebrooke, their incomes are tripled, and in some instances they are said to have been even decupled; but both cases must be exceedingly rare, the consequence of some extraordinary local circumstance.

vidual who makes the donation perceives that all the applicants are in the enclosure (by which process he guards against the possibility of any poor wretch receiving his bounty twice), he begins to dispense his alms, either in the night or on the following morning, by taking the poor people, one by one, from the place of their confinement, and driving them off as soon as they have received their pittance. The number of people thus accumulated generally amounts to from twenty to fifty thousand; and from the distance they travel, and the hardships they endure for so inconsiderable a bounty, some idea may be formed of their destitute condition.

‘In the interior of Bengal, there is a class of inhabitants who live by catching fish in the ditches and rivulets; the men employing themselves during the whole day, and the women travelling to the nearest city, often a distance of fifteen miles, to sell the produce. The rate at which these poor creatures perform their daily journey is almost incredible, and the sum realized is so small as scarcely to afford them the necessaries of life.* In short, throughout the whole provinces the crowds of poor wretches who are destitute of the means of subsistence, are beyond belief. On passing through the country, they are seen to pick the undigested grains of food from the dung of elephants, horses, and camels; and if they can procure a little salt, large parties of them sally into the fields at night, and devour the green blades of corn or rice, the instant they are seen to shoot above the surface. Such, indeed is their wretchedness, that they envy the lot of the convicts working in chains upon the roads, and have been known to incur the danger of a criminal prosecution, in order to secure themselves from starving by the allowance made to those who are condemned to hard labour.’

Such, then, is the actual condition of the great mass of the people subject to the British rule in Hindostan. The picture is drawn by a carefully discriminating, as well as an able hand. The whole of the chapter we have quoted is full of such details as must satisfy the most scrupulous of the conscientious care with which the information has been collected, compared, and revised. It is not an injured person or an inflammatory writer who says all this; but a witness who gives abundant evidence of his calmness as well as of his knowledge of the subject. We entreat the English public to ask themselves, therefore, whether such a state of things is not a disgrace to the British name? and whether every friend of his country, or of the human race, ought not to assist in effecting a reformation? We are sure that every heart must answer in the affirmative.—In conclusion, we strongly recommend this excellent work as one of the best that has been published on India for a very long period.

* ‘This source of profit, insignificant as it is, together with that arising from ferries, did not escape the searching eye of government, and Regulation XIX. of 1816, and VI. of 1819, ordained taxes upon each. These taxes, however, it has since been found expedient to repeal as unproductive.’

NATURE.

NATURE, unchangeable yet ever changing,
 How wise and how unerring are thy laws !
 Their origin divine and wonderful !
 Ah ! who can dive into the lowest depths
 And trace thy secret workings ? Who can soar
 Into the realms of boundless space and view
 Thy mighty works, magnificent and vast !
 Where worlds on worlds, in beautiful harmony,
 Fly swift as lightning through the void immense,
 And not feel humbled at a consciousness
 Of his own littleness in Nature's scale ?
 How grand is this stupendous scene of things !
 Imagination droops to contemplate
 Sublime and infinite eternity !
 Man shrinks within himself, and prostrate falls
 In silent awe to worship that First Cause,
 Almighty Architect, Omniscient Power !
 Who set these myriads of worlds in motion,
 And gave them laws which are to last for ever !

How beautiful is this small spot of ours !
 Seen as the twinkling of a distant star
 To other worlds : how sweet the interchange
 Of day and night in regular succession !
 In the remotest ages of the world,
 When time had counted few revolving years,
 Spring, summer, autumn, did succeed each other :
 Winter came, shrouded in his fleecy vest,
 As now he comes, and vegetation died :
 Now do the leaves fall rustling from the trees ;
 Now the sweet fragrance of the flower is gone ;
 The howling tempest sweeps across the plain,
 And Nature wears a desolated face.

'Tis even thus with man : his spring is fleeting,
 A few short periods dwindle fast away ;
 The fading autumn of his days succeeds,
 Blasting and laying waste the leaves of hope,
 Which in his summer-time luxuriant grew.
 Then hoary-headed winter doth approach,
 Freezing and drying up his life's warm currents,
 Withering his feeble frame, and thus he dies ;
 But with the coming year his spring returns not.

Neath, Nov. 1828.

SANKEY GARDNER.

Oriental Herald, Vol. 20.

I

HINTS TO NAVIGATORS AND DISCOVERERS ON THE NOMENCLATURES OF HYDROGRAPHY AND GEOGRAPHY.

THE discoveries of the British navigators, pursued with a noble ardour in either hemisphere, furnish some of the brightest and most agreeable pages in the annals of Britain's glory.

In perusing the adventures, and following the tracks of such men as Cook, Parry, and others, our minds are not only riveted by the address and energy which they displayed in surmounting physical and moral obstacles, and in laying open, as it were, a new nature to our minds; but we naturally feel a pleasure much superior to what we experience in dwelling on the blood-stained achievements of rival admirals; and little to be envied is the constitution of that spirit, which does not rather delight to follow the *Discovery* traversing unknown seas, than the *Bellerophon* ploughing waves dyed with human gore.

Great, however, as the applause may be, due to our navigators for their skill and perseverance, in one particular, that too not unimportant, it must be confessed they have hitherto proved themselves very deficient. We allude to the generally puny and meagre nomenclatures which they have prepared and affixed to the bays, promontories, rivers, and seas, of the southern hemisphere especially. Now, of all the appurtenances of geography, few are more conducive to its dignity than a correct nomenclature; by which we would designate not only a care of avoiding repetitions of the same names, which may be called the poison of the science, but also an attention that the names themselves should correspond in some measure with the majesty of nature, and that trivial and vulgar titles should not be conferred on places which are not only destined to be engraved on our globes and charts, but probably to become the themes of the historiographer and poet.

To place the truth of this in a clearer point of view, it may not be deemed useless, by the lovers of geography at least, to take a cursory survey of ancient and modern nomenclatures.

The most ancient people recorded by the Greek geographers, appear to have been the Ethiopians. The accounts transmitted to us respecting them by Herodotus, Diodorus, and Strabo, especially, give us such clear proofs of their barbarism, that we may plausibly infer that their mode of life was too similar to what is now led by the wandering Tartars, or American savages, to allow of their having paid any attention to geography. It may be questioned whether they generally had cities.* The few travellers who have

* Strabo, indeed, mentions Meroë, Pselcis, and Psamnis, as cities of the Ethiopians; but as they were contiguous to Egypt, were they not more likely founded by emigrants from that more civilised nation?

pierced beyond the cataracts of the Nile at Philæ, have not discovered any monuments of remote antiquity of a character distinct from the Egyptian, which can be referred with any plausibility to the Ethiopians. It is vain, therefore, for us to speculate on their geographical nomenclature, or the boundaries of their territories. The slightest new hints thrown out by travellers respecting this singular people, must, however, inspire great interest, as there are some grounds for believing that they formed the nucleus of colonies that peopled Egypt, Persia, and even perhaps Hindostan.

There are few things more striking in ancient history, than the records which we possess relative to the civilisation of the Egyptians; which appears to have been centred almost wholly in the priesthood. There is an occult sublimity about this people, that may induce us to presume, that if the geography of their country was not generally known, it was laid down pretty systematically by their priests; especially when we consider that Egypt was the nurse of geometry, and that astronomical knowledge attained there so high a pitch, that the conjectures derived from the study of their monuments inspire in the learned of our times a daily increasing admiration. If, however, such documents ever existed, shut up in the gloomy corridors of the Memphian or Theban temples, we have no data as to the ancient divisions of the country previous to the Ptolemies; we know not what were the limits of the Thebais; and, if we possessed the learning of a Jablonski, it would be fruitless to attempt to decide whether the more ancient Egyptian nomenclature was meagre or full, harmonious or harsh.

The same obscurity is shed over the geography of the west of Africa, before it was colonized by the Greeks and Romans; though it may be fair to presume that a pretty full, but extinct nomenclature, was applied from Rhinocorura to the Theón Ocheema, by the Phœnician and Carthaginian navigators. But notwithstanding the barbarism which in this quarter of the globe seems almost insurmountable, many of the modern African names, whatever may be their origin, have something striking to the ear; and the grandeur of the torrid zone steals insensibly on our minds, as we dwell on the words Madagascar, Gambia, Congo, and Senegal, with other places on that brilliant coast, which the genius of Milton has darkened 'with thunderous clouds from Serra Liona.'

The ancient nomenclature of Judæa has something singularly uncouth and mean. It never sounds agreeable but through the alterations introduced by the Greeks and Romans, after the Decapolis was laid down. The territories of the tribes appear, however, to have been well defined; but the survey could have been no difficult matter in a territory so circumscribed in extent; and it was probably undertaken by the court of Hierosolyma, rather for the sake of keeping a tight rein on the tribes themselves, than for their welfare, or the improvement of geography.

The valuable information respecting ancient Persia which we derive from Herodotus, Xenophon, and the inquiries of the geographers attached to the brilliant expedition of Alexander, prove that science attained a high degree among the more ancient Persians. It is certain that they established a system of mensuration; and as Herodotus frequently alludes to their parasangs, we may plausibly conjecture that they were marked by stones, or some other indication, like our miles. We cannot, however, discover that the researches of learned orientalists have been able to prove whether the limits of the ancient satrapies were scientifically laid down or no. And how can it be hoped feasible to speculate with any fruit on their nomenclature, since recent travellers have discovered at Persepolis and in other places, inscriptions which, so far from having connection with any known ancient or modern dialects, are absolutely illegible? The modern nomenclature of Persia has something agreeable and poetic to the ear. The broad pronunciation of *a*, common to the Oriental nations, adds a noble expression to their language; and perhaps something more than the charm of the poetry of Hafiz makes us dwell with pleasure on the words Ispahau, Teherau, Schirau, and Roknabau.

The Turkish geographical names, being often but corruptions of the Greek, are among the least striking of the Oriental nations. The Armenian are nobler, and more indigenous.

The nomenclature of Hindostan is sonorous and expressive; and the useful researches of Rennell have left little to be desired, as far as regards the divisions of the modern provinces. It would be absurd to hazard conjectures on the pronunciation of the names, or boundaries, of the provinces, before the expedition of Alexander. The scientific men who accompanied that conqueror, were indeed lavish enough of names to flatter his vanity. Thus we have numerous Alexandrias scattered from Samarcand to the Mediterranean. His dog and horse, too, titled new cities; but we must not imagine that, because the Hyphasis, Etymader, and Hesydrus, were so titled by the Greeks, that such were the Indian appellations of those streams. Neither can we discover from the voyage of Nearchus, whether or no the ancient Indian princes were sufficiently enlightened to institute a geographical survey of their territories. The inquiries of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta have not been able to find any clue to the pronunciation, or even idiosyncrasy, of the ancient Indian dialects. It may, nevertheless, be reasonable to hope, that the study of Sanscrit might, peradventure, throw new lights on this interesting subject. But whatever may have been the dialects and geography of ancient India, the nomenclature of the modern is admirable. The English settlers have not disfigured it by transplanting St. Neot, St. Giles, and St. Botolph, to the banks of the sacred Ganges, or fabulous Hydaspes; and a thousand brilliant and agreeable ideas of the magnificence of the East, sport before our imagi-

nations, as we dwell on the words Benares, Delhi, Agra, Gunga, Jumna, Lahore, and Golconda.

The same observation will pretty generally apply to the nomenclature of the Indian Archipelago.

* But, of all languages, the Chinese, to European ears at least, is the worst adapted to shed dignity over geography, history, and poetry. The divisions, however, of the country are far from being bad; and the provinces, though vast, are often well defined by those best of boundaries, mountains, seas, and rivers. But the nasal bag-pipe dialect of the Chinese effectually excludes all dignity from their geographical dictionary; and the lover of euphony must regret to find such titles as Whang-ho and Yang-tse-Kiang have been bestowed on two of the noblest streams of our globe—streams fitly named for Voltaire's King Quincun and King Quancun to navigate in their junks.*

The Grecian nomenclature bears that stamp of superiority which characterizes the Greeks, to whatsoever department of science and art they directed their minds. Whether or no Pericles, or his ministers, were sufficiently adroit to institute a trigonometrical survey of their country we cannot discover; but we may collect from their geographers, Strabo and Pausanias especially, that the southern and middle states were accurately bounded. But Macedonia to the

* There is, however, in many of the Chinese institutions so much to admire, allowances being made for the cruelly redundant population, that could the government once graft on the people that repercussion of intellect which gradually perfects the sciences and arts, it is not difficult to divine that China, with her fine climate, would present one of the most striking unions of the social elements that the world ever exhibited; for there is a higher intelligence in the upper departments of the government than we might at first imagine; grounded, as it is, on the doctrines of Confucius, than whom Greece, in his way, cannot show a greater man. Their probity appears to be considerable; and if, in such a superabundant population, some disgusting and revolting spectacles occur, four-fifths of the moral ills that afflict China may be traced to that source: for there never existed a people that can show such a list of venerable patriarchal sovereigns, who are more attached to agriculture and commerce, and less addicted to those unjustifiable aggressions which are the honour of Judaic Europe.

What mines of literature must lie buried in China! The researches of Du Halde, De Pauw, and Staunton, are just sufficient to stimulate our curiosity respecting that extraordinary nation. An inquiry into their literature would probably be attended with more profit than the Egyptian, which is reduced to bare conjectures derived from the study of monuments; while the well-known patience of the Chinese has most likely transmitted in MSS. the philosophy that existed previous to the age of Confucius. Let us, in the mean while, hope that the introduction of no gloomy bigotry will disturb that general tranquillity of her religious and political system, which is so characteristic of China, which constitutes her own glory, but exasperates the rest of the world.

north, and Epirus to the east, were probably never well defined; and the researches of D'Anville have not been able to state any thing satisfactory on this point. The principal defect of the Grecian nomenclature is that heedless repetition of the same names, which may be well called the poison of geography; and the multitude of Apollonias, Heracleas, and Alexandrias, perplex, to this hour, students and commentators. In spite of this defect, it is better adapted than any other to confer dignity on the pages of the historian and poet; and we can hardly fail to recognise its superiority, whether our minds are arrested by the high-sounding *Acroceraunia*, *Oloosson*, and *Scamander*, or whether they repose in tranquillity on the peaceful banks of the *Ilissus*, *Mæander*, and *Eurotas*. The geographical names of modern Greece partake of the degeneracy of the actual inhabitant; and the obscure saints of the Greek Church take under their protection towns, rivers, and promontories, which were formerly consigned to the more elegant and cheering patronage of Jupiter, Apollo, Minerva, Bacchus, and Venus.

Scanty are the lights thrown by the researches of antiquaries on the geography of the more ancient inhabitants of Italy. Our knowledge is nearly limited to this—that the Etrurians had twelve predominating cities, the Saturnians, as we are taught to call them, five. The former have, indeed, left abundant proofs of a considerable civilisation; but the learned Micah himself cannot inform us what were the limits of Etruria previous to the reign of Porsena, nor how the nations called those cities which have been transmitted to us under the titles of Cortona, Volterra, Populonia, Fiesole, &c.

The nomenclature of Græcia Magna is as good as that of the mother country. But notwithstanding the civilisation of the Tarentines, the Sybarites, and the Posidonians, it may be questioned whether they knew how to prescribe limits to their respective territories by any other method than the erection of Termini, or the driving in of stakes. The geography of Sicily, from the vast field of observation afforded by *Ætna*, was probably earlier and more accurately known than that of the other nations of antiquity. The nomenclature, as pronounced by the natives, was, however, much harsher than that of Greece itself; for to 'sicilissate,' was in Greece synonymous with speaking harshly.

The geographical titles of the Roman Republic betray the manly and severe character of the people which they designate. The senate does not appear to have troubled itself with prescribing exact limits to the territories of the tribes which it successively attached to its control; and Augustus only appears to have divided Italy into eleven regions, to make that division speedily disregarded. Such, however, was the influence of Rome, so impressive is her literature, so much did she effect for geography, if not by survey, at least by her activity in founding and naming colonies, that her geographical

nomenclature ought certainly to be reckoned among the main bulwarks of her posthumous grandeur.

The names of modern Italy partake of that harmony which forms the leading feature of the most musical dialect of modern Europe. But that country having been the scene of more political contentions than any other, its provinces are necessarily subjected to greater change and uncertainty. The frequent repetitions of ecclesiastical names are the great defect of the Italian nomenclature; for that desire of deifying not only mortals, but cities, mountains, and rivers, is so inherent in the Vatican, that we often see the same saint extending his too zealous patronage to a dozen different places, for the edification indeed of those who are not of this world, but for the perplexity of those who attend to geography in this.

We may be pretty certain, that the limits of the territories of the German nations were not even attempted to be defined, previous to the irruption of Germanicus into the country. We discover, indeed, from Tacitus, that several tribes had their capital cities, or, to speak more probably, assemblages of sheds, the residences of their chiefs: who, perhaps, had some vague notions of the limits of their hereditary or conquered territories. Those impenetrable and gloomy forests would, indeed, have presented great difficulties to an expert surveyor of our age; and since the occupations of the ancient Germans were desultory and military, we may safely presume that the kings of the Quadi and Catti had no Strabo or Melas in their service.

The nomenclature, like the habits of the people, was no doubt sufficiently uncouth; which is the case with the geographical titles of modern Germany; and if we except, perhaps, the word *Donau*, they are but little adapted to confer dignity on the sentences of the historian or the lines of the poet. The divisions of the country, however, as settled by the treaty of Westphalia, are not ill prescribed.

The Russian nomenclature is the best of the northern nations; the European governments are well defined, and the chief towns of each are pretty generally central. Neither is their difference of extent remarkable; for if the *Gouvernaia Astrachanskaia*, with one or two others, is larger than the generality, the difference is accounted for by the vast unpeopled tracts which they inclose. The chief defect is, the immoderate length of the names, a full half of which indicate but little more than a log post-house, and shed for horses. In traversing the southern steppes, we have often smiled on finding a high-sounding *Velocherkovka* and *Alexandrovskaia* turn out nothing better.

But the rivers of the country are majestic, and generally have names expressive of their grandeur. Sometimes, as we have stood on the banks of the *Dnieper*, or those of the rude Tartarian *Volga*,

we have loved to pursue in imagination the Kama, pouring its noisy stream among woods of weeping birch, the Lena, Irtish, and Yenissei, losing their mighty floods in arctic darkness, and the Selenga destined to flow in a happier clime, blending its crystal waters with those of the Baikal sea.

The Swedish nomenclature partakes of the uncouthness of the German; but there are some names that have a classic elegance, such as Upsala and Dalecarlia. Yet we know not if a certain harshness of dialect does not correspond with the sublimity of arctic regions; and we love to imagine the sun several digits above the horizon at midnight, from the rocks of Avasaxa, the Glom winding its course among gloomy forests of fir, and the waters of Tolnaëtta tortured into foam by irregular strata of granite.

We cannot collect from the researches of Florez and others, that any geographical divisions of Spain existed previous to its conquest by the Romans. No nomenclatures are better than the modern Spanish; and though the divisions of the provinces are often unsatisfactory, few strangers can have visited that country without feasting their minds with numerous recollections of its antique grandeur, as they dwell on the titles of Zamora, Zaragoza, Medina, Sidonia, and Miranda del Ebro.

The Portuguese dialect being a corruption of the Spanish, its geographical names cannot be put in competition with those of Spain: but the provinces appear to be better laid down, though we could well spare another Estremadura.

The learned researches of the French academicians throw but feeble light on the condition of the Celts. We know not even the names of their cities, if, indeed, they had any. The accounts transmitted to us respecting them, by Aristotle especially, rather incline us to believe that they led a too unsettled life to permit them to dwell in any thing more durable than tents or sheds. We may, however, be pretty certain that their principal focus was in that part of France now called the departments of the Cantal and Puy-de-Dôme. Titus Livius, indeed, mentions Ambigatus as one of their kings, a cotemporary of the elder Tarquin; though we should have been more indebted to him, had he informed us about what period the title Celts was lost in the more general Gauls. Notwithstanding that some linguists have pretended to trace the Bas-breton to the Celtic, and thence infer, that the inhabitants of Bretagne are the descendants of that race, it can be little better than guess-work to state what were the limits of the Celtic territories, or how that people pronounced the Allier, the Dordogne, and the chain of their own Cantal. Thanks to the useful ambition of Cæsar, we have much information respecting the Gauls. We not only trace their comparative superiority in the different departments of war, but may conclude that those immense bulwarks, which cost Cæsar so much

pains to level, inclosed frequently spacious temples, and private edifices, betraying, no doubt, a far higher civilization than those of the Celts. We may also presume, that the Roman nomenclature affixed to Gaul, partook, in a more or less remote degree, of the national pronunciation.* Nothing, however, was probably done as to assigning geographical limits to the various tribes before their subjugation by the Romans; and it is but fair to conclude that King Vercingetorix gave but little occupation to his D'Anvilles and Tardieus. The nomenclature of modern France is generally elegant, and more expressive than we should imagine that the genius of the language could allow. The old provinces, though too vast, were not ill defined. But it was reserved for our age to see geographical arrangement more happily applied than to any other country, whether of ancient or modern times, by the division of France into departments, which derive their names from the most beautiful sources, the rivers, or some other remarkable feature. If, indeed, the towns are not always central, if we find occasionally a department terminating in an awkward and very acute angle; we must still confess, that arrangement was never so happily, at the same time so usefully, applied to geography.

With regard to the New World, the indigenous nomenclature is generally grand and expressive.* Confusion, however, must occur, detrimental to the simplicity of geography, by the insertion of the Spanish names, which, if they were only once repeated, might not occasion much perplexity: but when we see a full dozen of Santiagos, and a host of other saints from the Catholic calendar, repeated even to nausea from California to Cape Horn, the future historiographers of those countries will have occasion for much circumspection to make themselves understood. No river is more nobly titled than the Orinoco. Several of its palm-crowned islets, glowing with avaras in the midst of the cataracts, are also well-named by the Otomacos, as the Suripamana and Javariveni. The career of this giant flood through those Deserts of Supreme Repose, derives additional celebrity from the eloquent pen of a Humboldt.* But the titles of the River of the Amazons are various and confused. Some style it the Orellana, others the Maranhon. It would be well if future chart-engravers would abide by the name given by its first discoverers, Rio de las Amazonas, or the River of the Amazons. Imagination, moreover, loves to picture bands of female warriors starting from its magnificent forests, and brandishing their lances and targets on its banks; the existence of whom, though probably exaggerated, seems to have been believed by Condamine. Several of the Peruvian names are also good; and the sonorous titles of Tequendama, Illinissa, and Chimborazo, have been conferred on three of the most striking objects of our globe.

The Brazilian and Mexican dialects appear to us almost unpro-

* See 'The Tableaux de la Nature sur l'Orinoque;' a work in which genius, enterprise, and erudition, go hand in hand.

nounceable ; yet the dignity of geography would prefer the Tocantines, Tehuantepec, and Acapulco, to that multitude of *Senoras de los Dolores, Natividades, and Concepciones*, which have been conceived and brought forth for those regions. And let us not deem it heresy to guess, that the natives of Tecolotlan have as good a chance of salvation as those who have asserted a superior excellence by titling their city *Pueblo de los Angeles*.

The indigenous nomenclatures of the Iroquois, Hurons, and Algonquinois, as applied to the Canadas, and contiguous regions, have something wild and expressive. Who does not prefer the noisy Cadaraqui to the tortured St. Lawrence, the Saskashawan, to Cat or Stinking lakes, Niagara to Newark ? The same observation will apply to the geographical titles of the United States. The Mississippi, the Missouri, the Arkansas, the Susquebannah, the Raritan, the Monongahela, the Altama, celebrated by Goldsmith, and the Alleghanies, are national names, fitted to dignify the pages of the future Taciti, Scotts, and Byrons of the country. Several of the provinces are also elegantly titled, as Pennsylvania, Virginia, Carolina, and the Florida. But the migration of settlers from so many countries of the Old World, and their heedless repetition of European names, often, too, of an absurd and vulgar cast, render the nomenclature of the United States, upon the whole, one of the worst in the world. Never was such an *Olla Podrida* dished up for geographers ; for a stranger travelling there, may breakfast at Rochester, dine at the national village of Canandagua, and think of Hannibal at Carthage, by the great falls of the Genessee. He will presently encounter new Huntingdons, Versailles, and Greenwiches ; he may discuss the merits of the Iliad with Melesigenes himself at Homer ; he may sip tea, or enter a steam-boat, with the Mantuan bard at Virgil ; quaff grog with Cincinnatus, at the great farm which he has lately laid out in the Ohio ; and finally give Calvin and Wesley a fraternal embrace, and bid adieu to Pyrrho, at a Pseudo-Bethlehem and Pseudo-Nazareth. The chief drawback from the merit of that fine expedition to the sources of the Missouri, is the contemptible nomenclature which the travellers carried out with them ; and the future Popes of those regions will, it is to be feared, be but ill inspired by the Naiads of the Big and Little Dry rivers.

But it is vain to quibble about the genius of languages ; we must take them as we find them. Navigators, however, would perhaps do well to adopt this rule for the establishment of a geographical vocabulary, as they set out on any voyage of discovery. Let them take the terminations *ana, ena, ina, ona, una ; amna, emna, imna, omna, umna ; andra, endra, indra, ondra, undra ; atra, etra, itra, otra, utra*, with one or two similar ; let them open Johnson's Dictionary, take any of the three letters that head the columns, and add any one of them to either of the above terminations ; and it is obvious what a multitude of good combinations may be formed in this manner, and how much neater our charts will appear, than with

those numerous King Georges, Queen Charlottes, Captains Cook, and Perouses, scattered over the promontories, rivers, gulfs, and sounds, of the Pacific Ocean ; frequently so multiplied, as not only to embarrass geographers, but also the masters of merchants' vessels resorting to those seas. Neither let the discoverers imagine that their merits will be diminished by the adoption of this method ; for a clear nomenclature that shuns repetitions, will redound more to their credit, than the gratification of their personal vanity, by ascribing their own names to what land or water they may discover. Pursuant then to this plan, let us suppose a ship dropping down the Australasian shores, and that the geographer of the expedition sees a stream discharging its waters, with a thundering noise, into a small bay ; why he recollects that tonare is to thunder, he takes ton, and adding atra, calls it the Tonatra river. He next sees a bright star culminating over a nameless promontory ; why he adds anna to star, and gives us the Staramna promontory ; a good name enough, and not likely to clash with any preceding. Let us suppose the ship reaches another anonymous stream ; why as he paces the deck, he drops the *to* and *co* from his tobacco quid, adds arona, and calls it Bacarona river. A few leagues more southward, another cape is developed. 'Call it,' cries the captain with his arms akimbo, 'pretty Sally's promontory, for she is the maid of my heart.' 'No,' retorts the geographer of the expedition, 'taking only the first syllable, I'll place an andra by her side, and thus shall she immortalize the Salandra promontory, and confer a name that will suit the poet who may hereafter chaunt her praises.' An infinity of other good combinations must occur to any one capable of regulating the imagination by the judgment.

The above cursory remarks on the nomenclatures of our globe will not be deemed unprofitable by those who attach interest to the dignity of history, poetry, and geography itself.

HOME.

Oh ! my loved home ! its bow'ry vales and hills,
And the wild waters of its mountain rills,

Playing in sun-light by ;

Oh ! my loved home ! by the white ocean's tide,
Where nature slumbers, in her blush of pride,
Upon the valley's breast, as 'twere the bride

Of Nature's mystery !

There are young faces on thy happy hearth,
Bright, lovely in their own fond feeling's mirth,

To gaze with joy on mine ;

And there are those, who, innocent and true,
Would spangle my frail steps with evening's dew,
Seeking to woo them to the guileless few

Who bend at Nature's shrine.

By the blue wreath that twines the mountain's brow,
Where the mad cataracts in their splendour glow,

My path of youth has been ;
And by the glen, where the rein-deer has trod,—
By the hill altars of the living God,—
In morn of youth I've made my rude abode,
Upon each pleasant green.

When the full summer's sun lit up the sky,
And evening wrapp'd the wide world, gloriously,

• In its dark veil of mist,
How often, in that happy, holy hour,
Have I not gathered sweets from each fair flower
To sunny India known, on which a shower
• In spring-tide noon hath kiss'd.

And on the green, and 'neath the old oak tree,
How joyous were my sports of infancy,
With my fond friends and true,—
Culling all pleasures that the pure heart knows,
When its first feelings are their own repose,
Fruit from the tree, and fragrance from the rose,
Dress'd in its pearls of dew.

The rough, high mountain top has been to me
A place where I could breathe more quick and free
Than 'neath a palace dome ;
And, in communion with the rock's around,
Whose echoes sang unto my bugle's sound,
The soul's bless'd quiet I have ever found,
For 'twas my spirit home !

All through the world's strange spheres, a wayward thing,
From clime to clime, I've stirr'd my tireless wing,
And waved it through all air ;
But loving hearts, like thou, I left behind,
And faces whose regard was always kind,
Hushing soft comfort on the anguish'd mind,—
They were not, were not there !

Oh ! my loved home !—by Lough Fine's waves of blue,
How memory seeks its hope from you,
To cheer the stricken breast !
Ah ! when shall echo's thousand voices come,
Wafting a promise o'er the smiling foam,
That I shall dwell with thee, my happy home,
Again in peace and rest ?

**MILLER ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN INDIA—
• EXPEDIENCY OF PREPARING A DIGEST OF LAW FOR THE
DIFFERENT PORTIONS OF THE COMPANY'S TERRITORY.**

IN resuming our notice of Mr. Miller's work 'On the Administration of Justice in India,' we have great pleasure in repeating the opinion which we have already expressed of the impartial spirit in which it is written, and in again recommending it to our readers as the most accurate exposition of the evils of our legal system which has yet come under our review. We do not, of course, pretend that there are no passages in the pamphlet which a more intimate acquaintance with the practice of the Indian Courts, and the condition of Indian society might have improved; but after examining, on the more important points, the authorities to which we have been referred by Mr. Miller, and which contain all that is authentic on the subject; we have no hesitation in saying that little has been omitted which may not fairly be considered unimportant, that 'nothing is set down in malice,' and that whatever defect may be attributed to the want of personal observation is amply compensated by the diligence and fidelity exhibited in the collection and arrangement of the facts which are derived from the experience of others.

It is impossible for any one, whose ideas of juridical perfection are formed on the standard of our system of law, or of that of any other country in Europe, to speak of Indian jurisprudence in terms but of unqualified condemnation. Mr. Miller does not evince the slightest inclination to palliate its inherent defects, or to disguise the almost invariable failure of justice in the courts of India, and if light were as much shunned in this department of the Company's administration as in some others, his strictures would give mortal offence to the authorities at home and abroad.

The truth is, however, that a well digested plan of legal reform would not be unacceptable at the India House; the necessity of it has long been generally acknowledged, the danger of its delay very sensibly felt, and were it not for the supposed difficulty and expense of its execution, we believe some endeavours to effect it would ere this have been made. 'The Judicial and Revenue Selections,' to which reference is most frequently made by Mr. Miller, were collected and printed by the Company; Mr. Falconer, Sir John Malcolm, Mr. Fortescue, Mr. Tucker, Mr. Elphinstone, Sir R. Dick, General Leith, Sir Henry Strachey, and others, whose evidence is principally relied on, are among their chief civil and military servants; and Sir Edward Hyde East, in his introductory letter to Lord Liverpool, expressly says, 'that having submitted his suggested reforms in the Mofussil laws, courts, and practice, to the Judges of the Sudder

Dewanee Adawlut, to Messrs. Dowdeswell and Edmonstone, of the Supreme Council, and Mr. Bayley, Principal Secretary of Government; they all admitted the evil to the full extent stated, and though the proposed remedies were not in all respects approved, they were, on the whole, very favourably received.' The facilities for inquiry thus afforded, tend materially to lessen the difficulty of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion. We know that nothing is kept back, nothing distorted or discoloured, and when it is ingeniously confessed by all parties that things are nearly as bad as they well can be, the only question is as to the possibility of amendment.

Mr. Miller's inquiries into the administration of justice in India have not extended to the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay. A general outline is, indeed, given of the system of judicature there established, but we are indulged with no examination of its peculiar merits or defects. Resting as it does on the authority of Acts of Parliament, liable to be amended and modified at the discretion of the Legislature, and intimately connected with the rights and comforts of European residents, we should have been well pleased to have had the benefit of Mr. Miller's judgment of its peculiar features as originally fashioned, and of the constructions to which it has been subject in the course of its administration. The Supreme Court at Calcutta, in particular, is the only protection which its inhabitants possess against the absolute despotism of the government. It should seem to be comprised under the general title of Mr. Miller's work, and we regret that so little notice has been taken of it.

The Courts of the Mofussil, that is of the internal provinces subject to the Company, their modes of practice and procedure, and the practicability of their improvement, are the objects of Mr. Miller's investigation; and his first suggestion is, the expediency of proposing a digest of law for the different portions of the Company's territory.

If the various states and provinces into which India is divided, were governed by peculiar laws and usages to which all their inhabitants were subject, it seems impossible to suggest any objection to their consolidation; but the expense of the plan, and the difficulty of finding lawyers of sufficient ability to carry it into effect. The first of these objections it is extremely painful to advert to. Exercising uncontrolled and irresponsible power over the greater part of India, having the whole of its land revenue at their disposal, and the absolute monopoly of the chief articles of its internal commerce, it is hard, indeed, if the Company be deterred by any miserable parsimony from undertaking reforms in the most important branch of their administration. Extravagance may have crippled their resources for a time, and their treasury may have been drained for less worthy purposes than the improvement of justice; but we trust, if the necessity and practicability of the proposed

scheme were demonstrated, that no paltry suggestion of financial inconvenience would be allowed to stand in the way of measures which all parties admit to be imperiously called for by the obvious interests of British dominion, and by every principle of just consideration for the Native population. We suspect, besides, that the Directors are very well aware that a little expenditure at first, is often the best means of preventing the necessity of future advances, and the security and confidence which a system of law, equitable in itself, and satisfactory to the people might impart to the local government, would amply repay the costs of its original establishment. Nothing is, in fact, so expensive as hasty, ill-considered, and partial legislation.

We do not clearly understand whether Mr. Miller proposes that there should be one code for all our territories in the East, or that the usages and constitutions of the various provinces should be separately collected and established with suitable improvements as the written law of the districts in which they have hitherto prevailed. To a general digest, we apprehend objections might be stated which would render the safety of the proposed uniformity very problematical. Mr. Miller cannot be unaware, that the constitutions and manners of the people of the northern provinces, differ most materially from those of the inhabitants of Hindostan, properly so called, and that legal reforms received with thankfulness by the mild and gentle Natives of Bengal, might urge the untractable dependents of the Bombay Presidency to violence and insurrection. This dissimilarity of complexion between distinct tribes, was exemplified on the first attempts which were made to establish the system of circuit and zillah courts in Guzerat and Malwah.

'These people,' says Colonel Walker, have 'acknowledged the superiority of the Company's government; they have allowed us to collect the revenues of their country; but violent insurrections and obstinate wars have been the consequence of an attempt to impose upon them our judicial administration. This part of their ancient system seems to have been dearer to them than their property and independence.*'

It may be well to say, *en passant*, that it would very materially simplify Indian inquiries, and consequently Indian reforms, if writers, and travellers, and missionaries would fix the place, or at least the latitude, in which their observations have been made. If, instead of speaking of 'the Company's territories,' they would but tell us of Lahore, and Oude, and Dowlatabad, and the Carnatic, and so forth, it would add very considerably to the perspicuity of their speculations. They might as well descant on 'Europe,' or on 'Africa,' or on 'America,' as on 'India.'

* See Selections of Judicial Papers, printed by the East India Company.

Most writers, particularly missionaries, appear to advert but very insufficiently to the fact, that what may be true of one place, may not be true of another; two-thirds, at least, of the 'judicial and revenue selections,' for example, were the produce of Bengal; and to infer from the matter therein contained, any thing respecting the condition of Visnapoor or the Mysore would be just as considerate as to substitute a description of the settlement at Pondicherry for the settlement at Calcutta.

To the formation of district digests of law, for the more important ancient departments, (and we apprehend the arbitrary arrangements of the three Presidencies would be found unwieldy, if not unmanageable,) we know of no objection, but the difficulty of providing lawyers of sufficient ability on whom government could implicitly rely. This, though not in the least degree affecting the principle of the measure, would, we fear, be found a very serious impediment to the proposed consolidation. There are men no doubt among the retired judges of the Company, in whose knowledge of the laws of the districts over which their jurisdiction has extended, the utmost confidence might be placed, but the best informed among them pretend to little more than local, not to say parochial experience.

We very much fear it would be impossible to accommodate the new codes even tolerably well, to the immense variety of local prescriptions which prevail in India, interwoven as they are with the prejudices and manners of the people, without the assistance of the inferior Native agency, the moonsiffs and aumeens, whose dishonesty and corruption have already brought our administration of justice into hatred and contempt. If we are right in this apprehension, some material improvement must take place in the character and condition of the Native officers before any extensive scheme of reformation can be safely adopted.

All the defects in the present system of Indian law cannot be fairly imputed to the East India Company. If we except the miserable victims of the monopolies of salt and opium, respecting whom their ordinances and regulations are as oppressive as can well be conceived, the occasional interference of the Company to amend and improve the laws which they found established have been sufficiently commendable, and, we believe, any undue severity in their dispensation would move the displeasure of their government at home, if not in Asia. The peculiarity of their original title to the sovereign authority imposed on them the task of administering the laws as they found them, without reference to their character. When the Musulmans conquered India, or, to speak more accurately, in their successive irruptions into that country, they dismissed the Hindoo code from the courts, and substituted, in all cases where Mohammedans were parties, the jurisprudence of the Koran. The Hindoos, though compelled to submit to this arbitrary infliction of

the usages of the conquerors, adhered among themselves to the laws of their forefathers, and, in the course of time, enough of their customs crept into the Musulman courts, to confuse all principle and discredit all authority. The East India Company having afterwards acquired the dominion of the provinces of the Mogul empire, held them under the nominal sovereignty of the Musulman princes, and had they been so inclined, the re-establishment of the Hindoo laws, as a compact system, would have been a very questionable, if not tyrannous exercise of power. It appeared, therefore, more advisable to administer well the laws which they found established, than to hazard the security of their own dominions by any sudden or extensive innovation, and, at the present day, the mofussil courts dispense a jurisprudence of their own, engrafted on the Hindoo and Musulman text books, by a variety of regulations promulgated from time to time by the British Government.

The criminal law, to which all Natives under the Company's authority are now subject, is, for the most part, the Mohammedan. We are informed by Mr. Miller, on the authority of Mr. Fortescue, Sir R. Dick, and General Leith, that great doubt has been entertained how far it suits the condition of the Hindoos and other tribes over whom its influence extends. However ill adapted it may originally have been to the character, habits, and prejudices of the Hindoos, we believe there can be no doubt that it is, in fact, superior to any system of criminal law which that people ever possessed. In the south of India, where the ancient Hindoo princes reigned long after the subjection of the upper provinces to the Mohammedan yoke, and where some traces of their criminal system still remain, we are told, by the Abbé Dubois, that although the evidence is brought forward by witnesses on oath, there is no country on earth in which that sanction is so systematically disregarded, particularly by the Brahmans; and the following description, from the pen of that intelligent and interesting writer, will, we apprehend, suffice to convince our readers that the Company have acted wisely in preferring, as an amendment, the Musulman code to the revival of the Hindoo institutions.

The small regard the Hindoos have for an oath, makes them seek, in difficult cases, a variety of tests and ordeals, by which they affect to try if a suspected person is really innocent or guilty. They admit nine or ten sorts of the ordeal, the most of which are the same as those anciently used in Europe, and elsewhere, under similar circumstances. Among the Hindoos, the most frequent appeal is to fire, by compelling the suspected persons to walk barefooted over burning coals, or to hold a bar of red-hot iron a considerable while in their hands. Sometimes it was enjoined them to plunge their hands, for a time, in boiling oil. If the party under trial goes through the experiment of the fire, without evincing or receiving hurt, he is declared innocent of the crime imputed to him; but, if

he receives any injury from the test, he is held to be convicted on clear evidence, and receives the punishment applicable to the crime of which he has been thus found guilty.

'Another sort of ordeal is often resorted to, which consists in shutting up a venomous snake in a vessel or basket, inclosing with it a bit of coin, or a trinket. The suspected person is brought forward, and blindfolded, by tying a handkerchief over his eyes; and is then directed to put his hand into the vessel, or basket, where the serpent is imprisoned, and to grope for the bit of money, and take it out. If the serpent permits him to do so with impunity, he is declared innocent; but if he is stung there is no longer any doubt of his guilt.

'In some countries and casts, the ordeal consists in forcing the accused to swallow water, cup after cup, until it discharges itself at the mouth and nose.

'Persons who are really guilty of a secret crime, when called upon to exculpate themselves, rarely abide the terrible test of the ordeal; but avoid it by confession. So far it is well. But a serious evil often arises out of the cruel and deceitful proof; for those who are really innocent, being conscious of their innocence, boldly rely on the result of the ordeal, and, in their honest confidence, are betrayed to infamy and ruin.' *

Such is the picture given of the present state of Hindoo criminal jurisprudence by one who, perhaps, had better opportunities of forming a correct judgment on the subject, than any of the gentlemen to whom Mr. Miller refers as countenancing the notion of restoring the Hindoo penal system in preference to the Mohamedan code. That both of them are most imperfect and barbarous, there can be no reasonable doubt; but the latter has now for fifty years received the benefit of British principles in its administration; and its extreme severities, absurdities, and inconveniences, have been modified or corrected.

As to the Hindoo system of civil law, though it be admitted to have long been in a more advanced stage than that of the rude tribes who wandered in the deserts of Arabia; yet it is so interwoven with the impositions of priestcraft, and the superstitions of religion, it is in some respects so subtle and minute, in others so uncertain and confused, that it must at all times have required a constant reference to the learned, and its rule of construction was wide enough to sanction any latitude of interpretation.

'If it be asked' says Menu, 'how the law shall be ascertained when particular cases are not comprised under any of the general rules, the answer is this: That which well-instructed Brahmans propound shall be held incontestible law.'

* Description of the Character, Manners, and Customs of the People of India. By the Abbé Dubois, Missionary in the Mysore.—P. 498.

In 1813, the Directors circulated among their best informed servants, thirteen judicial questions of which the second and third are as follows :

1. ' Do you conceive that any system of Hindoo institution could now, in whole or in part, be with advantage substituted for the system introduced by the British government ?

' Can you state any particulars of the remains yet subsisting of any ancient Hindoo judicial institutions in Bengal, particularly the system of village courts and decisions of punchayets ?'

Sir Henry Strachey, the comprehensiveness and precision of whose evidence is so remarkable on all occasions on which it has been given, in answer to part of the second question expresses himself as follows :

' I am not, I fear, sufficiently acquainted with any system of ancient Hindoo institution, to judge of the expediency or practicability of its being substituted, in whole or part, for ours. I must, I suppose, impute to this my imperfect acquaintance with the subject, the sentiment of surprise which, I confess, I entertain at the suggestion of substituting the ancient Hindoo institutions for our judicial system in Bengal. To revive laws which have either been abolished or become obsolete, many centuries before we introduced our own change ; this, though practicable, would be a great innovation, and would, I believe, be doing violence to the feelings of the Natives themselves.'

His reply to the third question is still more pertinent to the present purpose :

' I do not recollect any remains of ancient Hindoo judicial institution, not even the punchayet. But the term being well known in Bengal, it is probable that the thing exists in some part of the Bengal provinces, and that it is occasionally resorted to voluntarily by the Hindoos, in disputes concerning caste, and perhaps in matters of village accounts and boundary disputes. I remember no instance of parties in a suit proposing a reference to the punchayet. Should the parties agree, no objection, I conceive, would be made to such reference. Our civil courts never discourage any kind of arbitration : they constantly recommend it to the parties, who will hardly ever agree to it,

' The Hindoo laws known to us are contained in the two books which are deposited in the Dewannee Adawlut, or civil court of every district in Bengal ; the Digest compiled by some Brahmins, and translated by Mr. Colebrooke ; and the Hindoo Institutes, or Ordinances of Menu, translated by Sir William Jones. There they lie, as ornaments upon the table, but of little or no use. I have examined those books as matters of curiosity, but was not in the habit of consulting them with a view to throw light upon a doubtful point, or to gather from them rules of practice. In truth, to my

judgment, they seem little more than a mass of priestcraft and folly. How then, it will be asked, do we administer the Hindoo law? We do not, strictly speaking, administer the Hindoo law in Bengal. In suite concerning caste, marriage, or inheritance, the parties sometimes appeal to the Hindoo law, and demand a *bevusta*, or exposition from the pundit. Then we consult the pundit, and if his opinion is a clear one, and uncontradicted, which seldom happens, we found our decision upon it.*

'We have preserved,' declares Mr. Erskine, 'to the Natives of India their own laws, in all cases relating to succession, inheritance, marriage, caste, and other religious usages and institutions; but in matters of contract, the judges are regulated in their decisions by the general maxims of justice and equity.'†

'It is proper,' says General Leith,‡ 'here to explain a point not very generally understood in England. No new body of laws has been created for the people of India; certain rules have only been given for the administration of their own laws. This is a distinction which ought always to be borne in mind. In the criminal law some alterations have been made, in order to soften the severity of the Mohammedan code, and some laws established as to property derived immediately from the English government. The great body of the judicial code consists of rules for the more speedy hearing and determining suits in the courts. The above may be given as the outline of the system established by Lord Cornwallis in 1793. If its progress is to be traced in the code itself, several volumes must be perused before an analysis of it can be given: every year has produced new regulations, and changes upon changes have been multiplied, and are now multiplying, without apparent end.

'If it were a rational, and comprehensive, and well defined system of jurisprudence,' says Colonel Stewart, 'that we administer, the evil might not be so great; but it is to the Mohammedan and Hindoo law, whose vague and uncertain provisions are susceptible of interminable cavils, and where the latitude of application on the part of the judge is the only chance of making the enactment a measure of justice at all adequate to the cases that occur, that we have attained all these technicalities. Of the old governments it might be said *quæ usu obtinere, si non bona at saltem apta inter se sunt*; but probably under no government, since the world began, were such monstrous incongruities ever united as in that of our East India provinces. If it should be inquired how they are united, the answer is at hand—by the only means by which such a union was possible,

* See Judicial and Revenue Selections, vol. ii., 52.

† Ibid, p. 85. Miller, p. 36.

‡ History of the Judicial or Adawlut System, p. 35.

by the influence of an army of an hundred and sixty thousand men.*

‘Of the matter contained in the several volumes of the Regulations,’ says Leith, ‘not one-tenth part is perhaps efficient, the rest consisting of regulations which have been rescinded, of repetitions of rules, and of explanatory matter. The naked enacting law, if stripped of its superfluities, would be contained in a very narrow compass.’

It appears from these authorities, that the system of jurisprudence in force under the Company’s authority in India is neither English, Mohammedan, nor Hindoo, but an ill-assorted mixture of them all, *rudis indigestoque molas*, from which, in nine cases out of ten, it is quite impossible to ascertain what the law really is. The privilege of arbitrary construction enjoyed by the Brahmins, and sanctioned by the institutes of Menu, seems to be the only device which the servants of the Company have yet been able to imagine for providing any tolerable measure of justice for the natives. As there is no record of the decisions of the provincial courts, and little effectual corrective of their errors, it is impossible to assert positively what portion of their judgments rest on authority, precedent, or rule, and what on the unassisted good sense and justice of the magistrate. It is more than probable that, except in matters relating to the title to land, marriage, succession, and adoption, in which there is more certainty in the Native laws, and such as are governed by local usages, in which reference is made to the *aumlah*, a very summary equity is dispensed by the judges; and that the only positive rule by which their discretion is restrained is, that they should not contravene the regulations and ordinances of the Company’s Government. Indeed, Mr. Elphinstone, late Governor of Bombay, expressly asserts, that he considered himself at liberty to introduce into the laws of his Presidency any improvements which the received principles of reason and justice might authorise, regard being always had to the situation of the country and the people.†

If the various proofs of Musulman or Hindoo institutions remaining in force could be collected, and the limits of their actual jurisdiction accurately chalked, it would be no very difficult undertaking for English lawyers to supply their deficiencies by such portions of our own laws as might be found least opposed to the prejudices and habits of the people. Sir Edward Hyde East assures us, that

‘The only way of escaping out of the labyrinth in which the body of the people, the Native pleaders, and junior administrators of the law, are now lost, would be, to give them the general body of the English common law, and statute law of evidence, of con-

* ‘Considerations on the Policy of the Government of India,’ p. 75. Miller, p. 18.

† Judicial and Revenue Selections, vol. iv. p. 186.

tracts, of torts and damages, together with the substance of all manner of pleadings, stripped of their technicality, according to every subject matter of complaint ; so that distinct issues only may be presented for judgment, and thereby much time and valuable labour of the judges be saved ; and also of all criminal matters, together with the substance of pleadings therein, with such necessary exceptions of a local character as the judges of the mofussil court of highest criminal jurisdiction should deem inapplicable to the people and to the institutions of the country.

The opinion of Mr. Tucker, now one of the East India Directors, is to the same effect :

‘ It has been said, (he observes,) and very justly I admit, that the Natives of India are attached to their usages and institutions ; but they are an intelligent people, and although they may be incommoded by the forms and processes of our courts, to which they are not yet familiarised, they are fully sensible of the value of British protection ; and it is impossible to believe that they can be attached to the state of anarchy described in the foregoing extract.* And afterwards : ‘ Will it be contended that we ought not to have written laws ? That we ought not to have courts of justice to administer and enforce those laws ? Or that the people of England are so ignorant of general principles, have made such slight advances in knowledge and the science of legislation, as to be incapable of improving the institutions and jurisprudence of India, in which revenue, religion, and law, all take their places together, with scarcely a line of demarcation between them ? Simple, suitable, and sufficient as these institutions are represented to be, they are not all alike entitled to our admiration and support ; and although they ought not in any case to be hastily subverted, they must be accommodated to the altered condition of the people and the peculiar situation of their rulers ; and it should be the study of the government, as it is unquestionably its duty, to give to its Native subjects, not merely the most perfect institutions which may be compatible with the existing state of society among them, but to model those institutions in such a manner, that they may operate towards the moral, intellectual, and social condition of the people of India.†

‘ That the attempt,’ says Mr. Miller, ‘ at a consolidation of the Mohammedan, Hindoo, and English civil and criminal laws, now in force in India, is neither unpracticable nor dangerous, what has already taken place in Ceylon abundantly testifies. In consequence of a plan submitted in 1809 to his Majesty’s Ministers by Sir Alexander Johnston, then Chief Justice and President of his Majesty’s Council in that colony, a despatch was sent out by Lord Liverpool, then Colonial Secretary, in consequence of which the following Ceylon order in council was issued on December 1, 1811 :

* Tucker, p. 155.

† Ibid. p. 162.

‘“An extract from the Earl of Liverpool to his excellency the Governor of these settlements, was read, communicating his Royal Highness the Prince Regent’s pleasure, that all the different classes of people who inhabit the British settlements in this island, should in future be governed, as nearly as circumstances will admit, according to their ancient customs; and that the chief justice do prepare, for their use, a short and simple code of laws, founded upon those customs, and divested of all technical language.

‘The Chief Justice and President of his Majesty’s Council, thereupon submits to the Governor in Council the following, as the plan which he intends to adopt, should it meet with their approbation, for carrying into effect the wise and benevolent object, which his Royal Highness has in view. 1st. The chief justice will, with the concurrence of his honour the Lieutenant Governor, immediately select a certain number of persons from each district, to report to him, upon the nature of the laws and customs which at present prevail in the different parts of the island, and to point out to him such alterations in them as they may think expedient. 2d. The persons whom the chief justice will select for the purpose, will be such only as are the most distinguished, in their respective districts, for their integrity and good conduct, as well as for their thorough knowledge of the religion, customs, habits, and local interests of the people. 3rd. As soon as the chief justice shall have received the reports from the several districts, he will draw up, from the information contained in them, such a code of laws as the Prince Regent has commanded. 4th. The chief justice will cause a Dutch, Portuguese, Cingalese, and Tamul translation of the code to be publicly exhibited in each district for one year, in order that every one of his Majesty’s subjects in these settlements may have the fullest opportunity of considering the code, and making such objections to it as may occur to them. 5th. The chief justice, having thus taken the sense of his Majesty’s subjects upon the code, and made such alterations in it, as the further information he shall have received in the course of the year may have rendered necessary, will then submit it for the consideration of the Governor in Council, in order that they may forward it to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, for his royal approbation.’ •

‘The above plan, having been approved of by all the members of the council, the Lieutenant Governor in Council orders that it be published, together with the proceedings thereon, for the information of his Majesty’s subjects on the island.’

No difficulty was experienced in carrying the plan here chalked out into execution; and, so far as accounts have hitherto reached this country, the result has proved completely successful. It is true, that what has been done in Ceylon does not conclusively show that the same attempt would answer equally well on a larger scale, and

among nations whose habits and characters may be different.' Still it is no small step gained to see that the collection and management of the scattered laws of an eastern country are not always so unattainable an object as it has been generally deemed. If India present greater difficulties than Ceylon, the Company are also provided with larger means to meet them; and the number of systems of law which would be requisite in the former place, is probably not greater than those which have actually been provided in the latter. In Ceylon, there are five co-existing codes now in force:—the Cingalese, for the mass of the natives; the Mohammedan, for those of that faith; the Tamul, or Hindoo, for the Hindoos; the Roman law for the Dutch; and the law of England for the other European inhabitants. More than these would probably not be necessary throughout the whole of the Company's extended dominions; and the differences between them would, on most topics, be found extremely unimportant. Even if the number and discrepancies of the codes required were twice as great as there is any reason to anticipate, it is apprehended that the measure would, notwithstanding, be expedient. The mere compilation and publication of the various systems of law which prevail in British India, would neither make these systems more numerous, nor the discrepancies between them more striking than they now are. The existence of these varieties and discrepancies is, in fact, a strong reason why such varieties and discrepancies should be announced with all possible clearness to the judges by whom the laws, in various parts of the country, are administered. Several excellent treatises on Indian law have been published in English, but the doctrines they contain are only of partial application. Many of the rules contained in the *Digest of Terapanchana*, translated by Mr. Colebrook, are inconsistent with the law and practice of Southern India. The two *Treatises on Inheritance and Partition*, translated by the same gentleman, and that on *Adoption*, translated by his nephew, Mr. Sutherland, are also said to be extremely useful; but the universal and received rules of law should be given to the world in a clear and simple form, under the sanction of the governing authority of the country. The measure, in itself, therefore, seems to be wise, and would, most likely, also prove economical. It would probably cost less at the outset than is usually assumed, and the charges first incurred would be amply counterbalanced by a saving of litigation afterwards. There would be no need of native jurists as counsellors, the number of suits would ultimately be diminished, and each suit would become less tedious and expensive. These chances are all in favour of the measure; even if it failed, it would be beneficial. If it were made known to the natives, that the object was not to subvert their laws, but to ascertain, collect, and promulgate them, no degree of ignorance and prejudice could prevent them from feeling grateful for such a

token of the solicitude of their rulers for their tranquillity and comfort. If it succeeded, as, with prudence and perseverance, it might justly be expected to do, it would fix the Company more firmly than they have ever yet been in the confidence and affection of their own subjects, and tend more effectually than any of its proudest acts to spread its honour and renown among surrounding nations.

We hope to return again to this important and almost inexhaustible subject in our next.

THE CONFESSION.

COUNT LARRO reposed in his princely hall,
And he strove to be merry of heart ;
For the music and wine did he forthwith call,
That the gloom from his soul might depart :
And Beauty was there with her wanton smiles,
To shed her soft light around him,
For he long'd to burst from the galling toils
In which his own fears had bound him.

Yet the storm kept brooding on Larro's brow,
And sweet sounds fell harsh on his ear,
And the charms of the fair were unheeded now
He had made in his presence appear ;
For his labouring spirit was ill at rest—
The gladdening dance and the song
Could not soothe the pangs of his labouring breast,
As he sat 'mid the joyous throng.

Count Larro arose from the festive hall,
And again did silence and gloom,
Like a blast from the grave, on his bosom fall,—
His spirit was dark as the tomb :
His confessor he call'd, that he might be shriven—
With a wrathful and scowling eye
The priest of Larro, the servant of Heaven,
Drew slowly and sullenly nigh.

' I have need of thy comfort, thou holy man :—
In a horrible dream of affright,
A stern vision assured me my earthly span
Should be measured and over this night.
'Tis the whim of a sick and feverish brain ;
Yet a terror all nameless and chill,
Though I know 'tis a fancy all idle and vain,
Doth in agony cleave to me still.

' Then read me some comfort, thou holy man,
 I pray thee to let me be shriven—
 Though I think not so soon shall be measured my span,
 Yet my thoughts would be turn'd upon heaven.
 From beneath his cowl did the stern priest grin,
 And he told him he might recount,
 In his holy hearing, his every sin,
 And he'd cancel the whole amount,
 And many a harrowing tale of guilt
 On the ear of the father fell—
 Of dark deeds that were done, of blood that was spilt,
 Did Larro in secrecy tell;
 Yet still gazed the priest with a leering eye
 On his tortured and writhing frame;
 Loud and deep were his groans, yet no echoing sigh
 In response from the churchman came.
 Said the priest, ' I was known to thy kinsman well,
 Yet a man of such slender note,
 That, though his domains became thine when he fell,
 'Tis but meet that he be forgot.'—
 ' His wrongs were many and deep, I confess,
 Yet he fell not beneath this hand;
 He was hunted forth in his 'one distress,
 And he died in a foreign land.'—
 ' And thy kinsman's son?—' Of each fair domain
 The boy had been lord in my stead;
 He sleeps—and mine are the guilt and the gain,
 For his young blood is on my head.'—
 ' Is it so? ' And the father threw back his cowl,
 And the eye of Count Larro wax'd dim
 In terror's convulsion, beneath the hot scowl
 Of the fierce eye that glared upon him.
 ' Thou thing of vile guilt and of drivelling fear,
 'Twas his father who flung in thy path
 The vision that scared thee in sleep—he is here
 To crush thee, thou worm, in his wrath!
 It was thus that I thought—I will read thy dream—
 In good sooth thou shalt be shriven;
 And when pass'd from life's turgid and impure stream,
 Why, certes, thou'lt anchor in heaven.'—
 There's the voice of wailing in Larro's hall,
 All sad is the funeral strain;
 And the mourners are gather'd around the pall
 Of their lord in his chamber slain:
 And the priest of the lowering brow had fled—
 He came, and he pass'd away
 Like a noiseless thing from the voiceless dead,
 Of brief but terrible sway.

ON UNIVERSAL EDUCATION.

THE time has at length arrived when all the obstacles which were so pertinaciously opposed to the spread of knowledge among the people, have been nearly vanquished by reason, and by that spirit of intelligence and improvement which is traversing this kingdom, conquering prejudice, subverting error, and rooting out all those dogmas which the pride and wickedness of man so diligently propagated for the purpose of keeping the people immersed in ignorance. 'That the soul be without knowledge, it is not good,' said the wisest of men; and one, of whose name, as a philosopher, England has reason to be proud, went even still further than this, by saying, that 'knowledge is power.' It was the conviction of this truth that contributed so largely and so long to debar the mass of the people from a participation in the blessings of education, and which served so long, by enthralling their minds, to subject their bodies to the bondage of the rich and the powerful. But this state of things continues no longer,—'The schoolmaster is abroad,' and the people of England are becoming more enlightened, and better educated. The reasons which have been, and still are, adduced against educating the people, are as absurd as they are erroneous. 'It will assuredly create schisms in the state, give rise to distracting discord, (this is the language of its enemies,) subvert all necessary subordination, and destroy that salutary and requisite dependence which the tiller of the soil, and the victim of poverty, ought to have upon the more favoured minion of fortune.' In short, the admission of the poor into the fertile realms of knowledge would destroy all blind submission to the will of the great, to the utter subversion of all oppressive domination; it would place man more upon an equality with man, and he would be the most eminent, the most happy, and the most beloved, who should render himself most conspicuous by his talents, his acquirements, and his actual exertions for the good of others.

Nothing has tended so much to retard education as the mode in which the established religion of this country has been managed and administered. Orthodox theology—we do not mean *Christianity*—has been a stumbling-block in the way of moral and intellectual improvement since it was recognised as a branch of the science of politics, and became in consequence the subject of legislative enactments. It is absurd to talk of the exclusive bigotry and oppressive domination of the Catholic priesthood. The priesthood of almost every established or privileged sect are bigots and oppressors, and decidedly hostile to the extension of knowledge. Instead of exerting their energies to do good, to promulgate truths, and sweep away error, their whole conduct is founded upon a principle, unquestionably subversive of that moral freedom which owns pure

Christianity as its patron, and which alone is calculated to 'cause this pure Christianity to flourish. But is this state of things to remain for ever? Is religion always to be thus shackled by power, and particular opinions forced upon the people, at all risks? Must we bend the knee to bishops, and continue to kiss the rod which flays our bodies? Must we—for this is the question—ever remain the *slaves* of religion, without participating in any of its benefits? God forbid! It would be inconsistent with reason, and incompatible with pure Christianity, for such a degradation to continue.

But, shall we not lose Christianity altogether, when it is no longer under the shield of the wise men of the cabinet, the church, and the law? Certainly not. It will be the free and spontaneous attendant upon our steps, and the more welcome to our bosoms, because totally divested of that obtrusive character, and glaring abuse, under which it has too often been presented to us by insidious enemies, or imprudent friends. Partaking of, if not constituting, the very essence of truth, it is obnoxious only to injury from the assaults of ignorance triumphing amidst surrounding darkness; from which assaults it can have nothing to fear when reason shall have cleared up the gloom most favourable to their operation.

It is not necessary that the teachers of religion should be invested with a superfluity of earthly power: neither Christ nor his disciples possessed it. If we divest them of the patronage of the civil power, they will not be the less respectable, or respected; they will rest their claims for consideration upon the same foundation as their great master and his apostles; but, instead of contending, like them, with the insults and scorn of an ignorant and perverse generation, they will be cherished and beloved by an enlightened people, conscious of the supreme dignity of their character, and the inextimable value of their office. To these awful and venerable qualifications, they will, indeed, be compelled, more than under a legally-established church whose ministers may sin without reprehension, to add the virtues of temperance, of disinterestedness, of industry, and of unaffected piety; but, notwithstanding the self-denial necessary to secure these invaluable gifts, they will reap a benefit by their attainments at least equal to that of the society which they are thus qualified to instruct.

'But,' it has been argued, 'by having a legal church establishment, we possess an insurmountable barrier against the influx and preponderance of heretical opinions.' This, however, as applied to our own times, is quite wrong; such might have been the operation of the 'establishment' in darker ages; but, in these enlightened and enlightening times, the effect is the very reverse. Is not every step gained, in opposition to the 'establishment,' held by the majority of mankind as a triumph over a deeply-rooted evil? Have we not spread rejoicing and exultation throughout the whole kingdom, by repealing the Test Act? And shall we not hail with equal exulta-

tion and joy the admission of our Catholic fellow-subjects to the privileges and rights of Englishmen? Amidst an almost infinite variety of current doctrines, one only can be true; and, in proportion as light is admitted into the human mind, the probabilities of discovering this jewel without price are increased. Error is supported in two ways—either by vice or ignorance: as the latter decreases, a gradual approximation towards the true evangelical doctrine, and, consequently, towards each other, must be effected by sectarians of every denomination. A church establishment, inflexible in its regulations, and obstinately tenacious of its property, even in glaring and detected error, alone holds back from co-operation and alone refuses its concurrence, because such co-operation and concurrence would interfere with its antiquated and obsolete standard of faith and discipline: so that the ‘establishment,’ became eventually the sole cause of perpetuating that disunion, which it professes to be its aim and its object to destroy.

In considering religion we are generally erroneous on two principles. First, we are too apt to suppose it to be analogous in its properties with those institutions which are legitimately placed under the control of the human mind; and second, we are too apt to confound Christianity with the various superstitions, commonly included in the general appellation, *religion*, and to consider it subject to the same arbitrary and prescribed treatment. There is as much difference between Christianity and religion, (in its common acceptance,) as there is between the *species* and *genus* of any classification, and as much variety in their application. A false religion may become a most convenient engine of political power; but the true one can only be so abused while contaminated with some portion of the other. As the blessings of knowledge become diffused among the great mass of mankind, and as civilization advances, Christianity will vindicate its rights, and disentangle itself from the injurious state of tutelage to which it has been so long subjected. Then, and not till then, will all the terrestrial blessings with which it is fraught, be fully developed; it will then act with increased and irresistible force in the great work of social improvement, and prepare the way for that universal and uninterrupted harmony which both reason and revelation teach us to believe will ultimately prevail over the whole Christian world.

Having effected a reformation as far as religion is concerned, the work of education will proceed on a surer and safer footing. That man is a creature supremely fitted by his creator for education, and consequently, as it were, demanding it, is easily seen. He enters into existence with capabilities of considerable magnitude; but at first his mind is a blank, a complete *tabula rasa*, and may be compared in some degree to a philosophical vacuum. In this condition nature is his first instructress. She has bestowed upon him organs of sense, by means of which he is enabled to take cog-

nizance of her other magnificent and mighty works. The mind thus acted upon, insensibly develops those surprising powers, and those splendid attributes which distinguish and elevate man so far above all other animals, and enable him to assume his allotted station in the distinguished order of reasoning beings. Will the anti-educationists, (if we may be allowed to coin a word,) dare to assert that the organs and senses with which man is so liberally endowed by beneficent nature, are to be prevented from exercising their proper functions? Will they say that they are to lie dormant, in abeyance, useless? Can they be guilty of so bold a defiance to the palpable indications of unerring omnipotent Nature, as to deny the right of having these different capabilities duly, diligently, and sedulously cultivated? No! Man must be an enlightened, educated, powerful being, else why grant him properties calculated to make him so? It is sophistry, it is worse than sophistry, it is actual sin and folly, to stand out so boldly in the face of conviction. Man must be educated, and all prejudices affecting his education must be vanquished and driven away, 'discomfited by reason and sound philosophy.

Education, however, in its proper sense, is an enlarged and comprehensive term. It does not mean the mere tuition of the mind—a tuition which has hitherto been under the sway of innumerable arbitrary restrictions; it comprehends corporal as well as mental instruction, the culture of the mind in all its varied comprehensiveness, and the training of the body in all the plenitude of its physical powers. So soon as the mind shall be fitted for cultivation, then ought the work of cultivation to begin. A regard to habits of order, temperance, cleanliness, and exercise, should enter into the training of the tenderest infant; all excess of excitement should be sedulously avoided; and he should be brought up, that is, educated, in such a manner as to allow of the full and perfect play of all his faculties. The careful removal and suppression of the indications of the irregular passions, should be a constant and paramount duty, for these are detrimental to every improvement which may be effected by our enlarged plan of education. After this, the next most important point is the storing of the memory with ideas which are not spontaneously admitted through the senses, which is best done by directing reflection into its proper channels. This will lead as a natural sequence to the general enlargement of the understanding, which is susceptible of indefinite increase according to circumstances.

The benefits accruing from this state of culture, are not intended exclusively for the rich and the powerful; every individual, whether born in the highest or lowest station, possesses an undoubted right to them. We all come into the world physically helpless and weak, the richest as well as the poorest, and we contend that one has as legitimate a claim as another to the amelioration and improvement

of his condition. Hence, to withhold the benefits of a good education from the offspring of the humblest parents, is a criminal dereliction of a positive duty, and a sin, not only against religion, and the dictates of an enlightened policy, but against our common humanity.

How will the anti-educationists startle at a position so indiscriminately applied!—how they will rejoice at the bold and sweeping annunciation! But if they imagine that we mean to apply this principle to all classes without modification, they mistake our object and our views. It is only as regards one class of benefits that we contend for their indiscriminate diffusion. We contend, that that knowledge which tends to the comfort, health and improvement of the body, should be equally and impartially dispensed to all members of the community; while the peculiar duties appropriated to the cultivation of the mind may be allowed to differ in the degree and extent of their application to the particular circumstances of the individual to be educated. This arrangement will put an end at once to the violent clamour which has been so loudly shouted from one end of the kingdom to the other, against the heinous offence of making our artisans and labourers learned, by elevating them, in fact, above their calling. Never was there a shallower argument broached than this, though often repeated at public meetings, in reference to this terrible effect of education; and never did power more nakedly expose its ignorance and its wickedness, than by endeavouring to disseminate such a doctrine as this. These people had better at once speak their minds boldly and candidly; and exclaim, ‘Do not let our slaves, and those whom we have hitherto trampled on, be delivered from their blissful ignorance. Do not let the light of knowledge shine in upon the gloom which surrounds them. Do not, in fact, let them see that we use them ignominiously; because, if you do, our power will be at an end, and we shall have men and not brutes to deal with.’ There would be some manliness in this, and the question would then be merged into a mere contest between the expediency of perpetuating unjust power, and of overthrowing it; it would, in short, be a warfare between power and reason, between moral right and physical wrong.

A plan of education ought to be devised by which the community might be divided into three prominent classes, with such subdivisions as circumstances should render necessary. The first class might consist of the rich, of the possessors or inheritors of property, which, rendering them independent of personal exertion for their support, would the better enable them to execute the chief civil functions of the state,—these duties devolving upon them in preference to others; the second would be composed of those engaged in commerce and trade, the ‘labourers upon capital,’ as they have been called, with the members of the different professions; the third would comprise that larger portion of society, who are more exclusively dependent upon their labour, and are simply

designated mechanics and labourers. To this class, too, would belong the still poorer individuals, who are frequently indebted for the scanty subsistence which they obtain to the precarious hand of charity.

Consistently with what we have already said, the children of every one of these classes should, to a certain age, say, seven or eight, all receive precisely the same education, with regard to food, clothing, and mental cultivation; and this equality of tuition might, perhaps, be safely continued even to a more advanced age than this, except in those instances where the children were intended for some of the more learned professions. After this, a lower scale of education may be pursued, combining with the acquisition of the knowledge less directly useful, the necessary instruction and practice of the arts, upon which the future subsistence of the individual is to depend.

Without entertaining any romantically Eutopian views on the subject, we think, nevertheless, that a system established upon a principle something like this,—deriving its existence and support, not from legislative enactments exclusively, but from the conviction of its utility impressed upon the minds of the majority of the people,—could hardly fail of producing effects highly conducive to the attainment of an order of civilization, superior to any which has hitherto blessed mankind. It would tend to elevate the poorer members to their just rank in society, while it would improve the health, and foster the amiable qualities of the more fortunate individuals; it would help to consolidate, harmonize, tranquillize, and improve the social mass; and connected, as it might always be, with the general diffusion of true religion and morality, it would infallibly lead to a very extraordinary degree of private happiness, and public prosperity.

Although education is still subjected to some opposition, this opposition is, thank God, sinking fast into inanity. The advocates of education have gained a glorious triumph over prejudice, a triumph far more honourable and beneficial to mankind than the most brilliant exploits of bloody and desolating warfare. Let us hope that this triumph will lead to still greater results; that all prejudice will be subverted, or tolerated only in a state of innoxious importance; and that the whole will be crowned by unanimity, peace, and good-will among men, and by a constant endeavour amongst all classes of the community to preserve and propagate public and private good.

INADEQUACY OF THE NUMBER OF OFFICERS ALLOWED TO CORPS
AND REGIMENTS OF THE INDIAN ARMY.

To the Right Honourable the President of the Board of Control.

SIR,

Hyderabad, June 1, 1828.

The inadequacy of the number of officers allowed to the Indian army, has been too long cause of complaint in India and in England.—too often dwelt on through both public and private channels of communication,—and too loudly cried out against by all who have partaken of the incessant tenfold toils our few numbers subject us to under this scorching sun, for me to suppose that you, the individual gifted with superintendence and control over all Indian matters, can be ignorant thereof.

Hitherto, our 'honourable and liberal masters,' as from habit we call the Court of Directors, have paid no attention to our sufferings and complaints on this head, or shown the least disposition to remedy the evil. Neither the miserable inefficiency it causes in our army for active field-service, (of which they had more than one lamentable and fatal proof during the late arduous Burmese struggle,) the perfect secrecy in which it enables dissatisfaction to spread, and mutiny to organize itself, among the men when in garrison, (of which they also had dear-bought experience in the conduct of the Barrackpore force, when called on to move towards the late scene of war,) nor the harassing duty and fatigue it imposes on the few of us that are with regiments,—the consequent disgust of mind, sickness of body, and premature loss of strength and life it occasions among us, can draw the attention of Leadenhall-street councils to the subject,—it not being one of increase of revenue from further conquests, or of paltry savings from faithless reductions of old established allowances and emoluments, so hard fought for and dearly earned by the various toils and labours we have undergone, the victories we have achieved, and the conquests we have made for them, from their first setting mercatile feet on the Indian shores, to the possession of the stupendous empire they at present hold, gained entirely by our swords, and to be retained only by them.

It is become, therefore, necessary that we should now address our grievances to other powers, and appeal for their redress to the more just and liberal feelings possessed by those so fortunately existing over the Court of Directors,—to yourself, Sir, to his Majesty's ministers, and to his Majesty himself.

In the fervent hope that some better qualified than myself will follow my humble effort, and that benefit may thence ensue to us, I venture a commencement in thus publicly addressing you on this, to us, to them, and the continued British power in the East, all important subject; respectfully begging your unbiassed consideration of such facts as I may be able to bring to your notice, and earnestly conjuring some others of my toiling brethren in arms throughout every branch of the Indian army, at each presidency, to come for-

ward and support, with their better ability and knowledge, my effort to attract your notice, by similar disclosures to you and all the good people of England, through its public and enviably free press, of whatever may be in their knowledge, either of times past or present, regarding their several branches of the service, whether engineers, artillery, cavalry, infantry, or medical, bearing on the subject of complaint in question.

Being myself of that branch which composes the bulk of armies, the infantry, and wishing to speak in such addresses as I may pen to you, of such matters only as have come within my own knowledge and experience during the vicissitudes of a lengthened service, I shall confine myself to facts relative to the present unofficered state of the infantry of the Madras army; leaving to those belonging to them the duty of exposing to you the deficiencies in all the other branches of the army, alike, of Madras, of Bombay, and of Calcutta.

Having premised thus much, I will proceed to state that, though not a military man, you have, I doubt not, Sir, in the late age of soldiers, become sufficiently acquainted with regimental constitution to know, that each English regiment is, or was, composed of ten companies, of from 80 to 100 men each; that each company is placed under the separate subordinate command and good keeping of a captain, who is aided in his charge and duty by two subalterns,—one lieutenant's, the other of ensign's rank. That the ten captains have over them two majors, over whom again are two lieutenant-colonels, who are, in like way, subordinate to one colonel. Thus, the ordinary number and ranks of officers *present* with an effective regiment of ten companies, in Europe, are, one colonel, two lieutenant-colonels, two majors, ten captains, ten lieutenants, ten ensigns; with an additional staff of one quartermaster, one paymaster, one full-surgeon, and one assistant-surgeon; making a grand total of officers to a regiment, 39; of whom, full 35 are parade or fighting men—a fair number for the duties required of them, in a healthy country, where any casualties that may occur can be immediately replaced, but, from long experience, found far inadequate to the incessant destruction of health and loss of European life in a climate so deadly as India, and so very distant from the means of replenishing deficiencies as they occur. Therefore, his Majesty's regiments, forming the auxiliaries to our armies, are wisely augmented, to a very considerable extent, in those ranks on whom regimental and general duties commonly and most heavily devolve,—those among whom, from the greater exposure and fatigues they are subjected to, sickness and mortality must frequently occur, viz., captains and subalterns; and each regiment, on coming to India, has its officers augmented to the following number, viz., one colonel, two lieutenant-colonels, two majors, eleven captains, twenty-four lieutenants, eight ensigns; with an additional staff of one quartermaster, one paymaster, one full surgeon, and two assistant-surgeons; making a

grand total of officers, to a regiment in India, of 53 ; of whom full 48 are parade and fighting men : a number likely, perhaps, to be considered larger, by any person who has neither participated in, nor witnessed the fatigues, hardships, sickness, and mortality which officers are subject to, serving under the Indian sun ; but which will not, I am certain, be said to be one too many by any individual who has served regimentally in this climate, take him from any rank between the commander-in-chief to the ensign. In fact, Sir, making a fair allowance for the sick, absent and present, always so numerous in this cholera and liver attacking country, the addition of *double the number of officers, of all ranks, allowed to a regiment abroad in Europe,* would not be one too many in India, to ensure, at all times, a properly efficient number to be *present with regiments,* and to secure their comparatively weak and languid frames from a too frequent tour of duty and exposure.

There are now, Sir, in England hundreds of all ranks, of both his Majesty's and the Indian army, seeking a restoration of that health they have lost under the Eastern sun ; dozens of whom served with their regiments in the late Burmese war. To the experience of any number of them, without distinction of rank or service, I would beg leave to refer you for the truth of my assertion, firmly relying on their acknowledging what I am certain they must have felt, viz., that the fullest complement of officers allowed to his Majesty's regiments, in this country, is not one too many for the duties they have to perform in such a climate, and that, had their numbers been even doubled during the late war, each individual would have still had as much of land duty, of constant fatigue, and of day and night exposure, as his body and mind would have borne, with any hope of surviving the struggle, and with a sufficiency of constitution left to carry him through any years of future service.

This being the case with his Majesty's regiments, thus comparatively numerous officered, and composed altogether of our gallant countrymen, having our own high national feelings, and, therefore, not wanting so much the example of officers to bear them through the difficulties, privations, and dangers of active service,—what, Sir, must be your opinion of the shamefully inadequate manner in which the Indian army has so long been officered throughout,—an army composed of men differing from us in every respect ; possessing none of our national feelings against powers who may oppose us ; knowing us only as specious conquerors, and occupiers of their own country ; and, therefore, *always requiring the steady, never-failing, presence of many officers well known to them,* to lead, encourage, and direct them in the field, as well as to observe them in garrison,—an army, in fact, Sir, whose whole strength, as applicable to English power, though composed of near 300,000 disciplined and well-armed men, lies entirely in the small number of English officers attached to it ; who have only, at any time, to be simultaneously made away with (as Sir John Malcolm

correctly observed was the constant advice of those disaffected to our rule) for British supremacy in India to fall for ever? Nay, what, Sir, under such circumstances, can you think of the indifference and negligence of Leadenhall-street councils to such an all-important point, when, year after year, instead of doubling that number, or, at the least, allowing our regiments *the same number as the King's corps in India have*, our army is left in the almost unofficered state it is, each regiment of 1000 men being only allowed one lieutenant-colonel, one major, five captains, ten lieutenants, (from among whom the adjutant, quartermaster, paymaster, and interpreters are taken,) five ensigns, with an additional staff of one assistant-surgeon; making the grand total of officers, to one of our regiments of 1000 men, only twenty-three,—full thirty less than King's corps, by our side, of less numerical strength of men, are allowed, and of whom only twenty-two are parade or fighting men, instead of forty-eight, as with his Majesty's regiments in this country?

And what, Sir, will you feel for the life of incessantly recurring exposure and fatigue, in so scorching and pestilential a climate, and consequent insupportable exhaustion of mind and body, inflicted thereby, on the still more scanty number actually present with our regiments, when I assert to you, denying the power of contradiction, that full three-fifths of the few officers allowed to our regiments are ever absent from them, and withdrawn from their share of regimental toil, by being either on furlough or sick certificate in England, on furlough or sick leave in India, on the general staff, or attached to local, extra, and irregular corps, in our own service, or in that of native princes; by which means, the few unfortunates left present with our regiments, and doomed to all their work, have thrown on them, without any increased chance of promotion, or any augmentation to their pittance of regimental pay from the regimental allowances of those absentees, whose work they do, full fourfold, fivefold, and often sixfold duty?

To show this more clearly, permit me, Sir, to refer you to a letter in 'The Oriental Herald,' for April 1827, from 'A Madras Officer,' exposing the unofficered state of four regiments of our army he therein brings to notice,—the one of them cavalry, the other three infantry; by which it appears, on the high authority of our Army List, that the whole four regiments, comprising a body of 4000 troops, had present with them only two lieutenant-colonels, two majors, one captain, four lieutenants, ten cornets or ensigns;—total, nineteen; which, divided equally between them, would give to each regiment of 1000 men, the fractions of half of a lieutenant-colonel, half of a major, quarter of a captain, one whole lieutenant, two-and-a-half cornets or ensigns; making a total of four-and-three quarters of officers for all duties with 1000 men: a number, one would imagine, to be quite as low as the utmost cupidity of the Proprietors for high dividends—as the utmost parsimony of the

Court of Directors towards the army, their greatest contempt for the health and lives of the officers, or indifference to the fidelity of the troops,—would wish to see our regiments reduced to; but still, Sir, not yet so low as they actually are reduced to, since full one-third of the above four-and-three quarters must be further struck off from those *present fit for regimental duties*, to cover those absent from them on general duties, on Indian furlough, or sick certificate, or on the regimental sick report; and as cornets and ensigns may be very properly considered, where they only should be, (since they come out generally with the most juvenile ignorance country school-boys can have of every thing connected with military duties, and the languages of the people they are to command,) at their drills and studies, we shall then have, of effective European officers, actually present, to command and fall in with each of the above four regiments of 1000 men, the fractions of the three-eighth part of a lieutenant-colonel three-eighth of a major, one-sixteenth of a captain, and three-fourth of a lieutenant.

Now, Sir, let us mount, in the best manner we can, the above small fraction of a colonel as commanding officer, also the fraction of major as second in command, and the fraction of a lieutenant as adjutant, and we shall have left, to fill in with a line of 1,000 men, only the miserable strength of officers to be found in the *sixteenth part of a captain*; to this small piece of an Englishman the grenadier company is, of course, assigned, and the other nine companies are left to take care of themselves. Ridiculous enough, but nevertheless true; and, strange as it must appear to you, Sir, and every one at home ignorant of things as they are in India, it is but a specimen of the general state of our army. I leave you to estimate therefrom the degree of English influence and surveillance such a paucity of officers can possess over a regiment of 1,000 Natives,—the strength of the link existing between our governments and the mass of the Native army, amounting, as before said, to near 300,000 men; and the manner in which they can be directed in the field, or led on in action, where their well-doing depends almost entirely on the presence of a sufficient number of officers of long standing and intimate acquaintance with them, and whose presence alone enables them to bear with and surmount whatever difficulties and obstacles may be opposed to them.

It may be supposed, perhaps, that the 'Madras Officer' selected the four worst officered regiments of our army. This I must beg to deny; and to any one so supposing, I will only say, take up the Army List he wrote from, (that of 1826, I believe,) follow the numbers of the regiments he has quoted; after the 4th regiment of infantry, look at the 5th, 6th, and 7th regiments, successively, and you will find each of them equally destitute. if not more so, as you will almost the whole through out the list.

In proof of this, let me lay the 13th regiment before you from the same Army List.

13TH REGIMENT NATIVE INFANTRY—AT GORTZ, SERINGAPATAM.

Ranks.	Names.	Date of Commissions		REMARKS.
		In Regiment.	In Army.	
Colonel	W. Mackcod, absent.	Oct. 25, 1815.	{ Major-Gen. Aug. 12, 1819 May 1, 1824.	} Europe, on furlough. Under the orders of the Resident at Nagpore. Barrack and Post-Master at Bangalore. Brigade-Major in Malabar and Canara. Resident at the Court of Tanjore. Post-Master at Travancore, and commanding Resident's Escort. Cantonment Adjutant at Palavram. { Deputy-Assist. Quar.-mast.-Gen. in Mysore, and Survey Branch of the Quar.-Mast.-Gen.'s Department in Ava.
Lieutenants	E. Rogers, present, 2d in command, and acting Quartermaster Paymaster.	May 1, 1824.	June 1, 1815. Sept. 1, 1818. June 10, 1820. June 4, 1823. Oct. 27, 1817.	
—	C. Fladgate, absent.	May 1, 1824.	June 4, 1818.	Acting Quartermaster, Interpreter, and Paymaster.
—	J. C. Glover, absent.	—	June 13, 1819. April 7, 1820.	Quar.-Mast., Interp., and Paymas., and doing duty with 1st Reg Doing duty with the 12th Regiment.
—	J. Shiel, present.	—	Oct. 1, 1820.	—
—	J. S. Sherman, absent.	—	Oct. 14, 1821.	1st Battalion of Pioneers.
—	G. E. G. Kenny, pres. Adj.	—	July 11, 1823.	Adjutant.
—	J. F. Leslie, present.	—	—	—
—	G. W. Watson, absent.	June 15, 1824.	—	Europe, on leave.
—	J. Everest, absent.	June 22, 1825.	—	Europe, on furlough.—G. O. Jan. 17, 1826.
Ensigns	H. C. Beevor, absent.	May 1, 1824.	May 8, 1823.	Doing duty with the 3d Regiment, or P. L. I.
—	G. C. Hughes, present.	July 5, 1824.	May 14, 1824.	—
—	W. E. Lockhart, present.	June 13, 1825.	May 6, 1825.	—
Surgeon	J. Wyse, absent.	June 4, 1824.	—	Superintending Surgeon, Southern Division of the Army.
Assist.-Surg.	T. Edwards, present.	June 4, 1824.	—	—

By which there appears to be present with this regiment, also of 1,000 men, exclusive of the adjutant and acting quarter-master, &c., only one lieutenant-colonel, no major, no captain, two lieutenants, two ensigns; making a total of five, from which must be deducted, as before, full one-third to meet those required for general or garrison duties, those absent in India on furlough or sick leave, and those present with the regiment on the sick list; which reduction will leave, for all regimental duties, with this 1,000 men, something less than four officers, of whom two will, of course, be mounted as first and second in command, having two (most likely the young griffin ensigns) to fall in with the whole ten companies. The commanding officer will be a lieutenant-colonel of, perhaps, *upwards of 30 years Indian service*, and the second in command a lieutenant, who was a cadet of 1818 or 1820, and *not born* when the only officer on the parade senior to him was of some years standing in the army.

Say, Sir, candidly, if any thing good, either in the garrison or the field, can justly be expected of regiments thus un-officered? Would the most crack corps in his Majesty's line be worth any thing in such a state? would the officers of it, or of any other service, so long silently bear the tenfold work thus thrown on us? Why are we then to continue under hardships, disadvantages, and injustices, which they, our comrades, (for we, too, thanks to good George III., hold his Majesty's commission,) serving with us in the same camp and cantonments, are free from? Upon what principle of fairness or justice is it, that duties and exposure so enormously greater are imposed upon us than on them, who, should their health fail in India, have the invaluable advantage over us of the power of exchanging or purchasing into regiments *stationed in better and less exhausting climates*, or of retiring to their native country, to recruit their constitution for as long a period as they like on half-pay, even though they should have held their commission but a year? Can we, under such disadvantages, united to the miserable, *heart-breaking slowness of our promotion*, be supposed to retain, after the first year or two, any of the spirit and zeal we bring with us to the country; to feel any interest in, or give any attention to, the service, beyond what we are actually necessitated to? Is it any wonder, then, that the Indian army, throughout each presidency, is in the dissatisfied and gloomy mood it is at present? And what can be said for the stubborn perseverance of the Court of Directors in not remedying this evil, knowing it so well as they do; and also that, *in the number and efficiency of the officers present with them*, consists the discipline and good affection of Native regiments in time of inactivity, as well as their strength and spirit in war; having had the experience, too, that when the English sahib falls from sickness or shot, leaving no one on the spot to succeed him in the command, *of sufficient rank, long standing and acquaintance with the men*, to have their confidence and attachment, they lose for a time (and, as I hope hereafter to

show you, *at most critical moments to our success or honour*) the energy and nerve which enabled them with such firmness to share every privation and fatigue, and so gallantly to dare every danger with him they had long known and loved, until a new *sahib* shall have come to their head, and, after some long continuance, gained from them a portion of that attachment and confidence they felt towards their departed head or leader.

How many a gallant life was, by this shameful paucity of officers with our regiments, sacrificed in our late contests and sufferings in *Burmah* and *Arracan*! How many a fine constitution destroyed, and high spirit broken! How many attacks on the entrenched enemy repulsed, I purpose hereafter pointing out to you most fully.

At present, my object is only to draw, if possible, the attention of the *Indian army* at large, in all its branches, to the benefit of *thus* generally making known their sufferings on this head, to yourself, Sir, as well as to all other home authorities; and, if I may venture to suggest the remedy they should pray for, I would exhort them, unanimously, earnestly and perseveringly, to call for progressive augmentation to the number of our officers, until each regiment shall have *one full colonel*, (abolishing the ridiculous, unmeaning rank of *lieutenant-colonel-commandant*;) *two lieutenant-colonels*, *two majors*, with a *captain*, *lieutenant* and *ensign*, to each company, exclusive of the adjutant, quartermaster, paymaster, &c.

Our regiments are all now composed of *ten* companies, whereas his Majesty's have, I believe, been lowered to the better number of *eight*, viz. one grenadier, six battalion, and one light.

A similar reduction in the number of companies would equally improve our regiments for all purposes; and such a reduction of two of our present eight battalion companies would lessen the number of additional officers required for that augmentation which I have named as necessary to make us decently effective, and give our constitution moderately fair wear, in this weakening clime, throughout the thirty or forty years we are doomed to it. Such a reduction, too, of two battalion companies would more than meet the expense of the increase of officers to the remaining eight, which, with such increase of officers, would be equal for any and all duties, to double what the present ten companies are, officered as now.

The number and rank of officers now allowed to our regiments, as composed of *ten* companies, are, as before stated, one colonel or lieutenant-colonel-commandant, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, five captains, ten lieutenants, five ensigns; total, twenty-three.

The number and rank proposed, on reducing the number of companies to *eight*, would be, one full colonel, two lieutenant-colonels, two majors, eight captains, ten lieutenants, eight ensigns,—total,

thirty-one: the lieutenants being eight for the eight companies, one for the adjutant, one for the paymaster, quartermaster and interpreter.

Present establishment, twenty-three. Proposed augmentation, eight to each regiment of the following ranks, viz., one lieutenant-colonel, one major, three captains, three ensigns, which, if given at the progressive rate of two a year, would be completed, with all corps, in four years; adding to each regiment, by promotion, on the 1st of January each year, say on the 1st of January, 1829, the 2d lieutenant-colonel and 6th captain: the 1st of January, 1830, the 2d major and 7th captain; the 1st of January, 1831, the 8th captain and 6th ensign; the 1st of January, 1832, the 7th and 8th ensigns.

We should then be still much inferior, in numerical strength of officers, to the King's regiments serving with us. This improvement, however, would make us comparatively effective, and would secure, at all times, to every regiment a comparatively *sufficient number of officers with it*, for all purposes in the field or cantonment; and although two companies should be reduced as proposed, each regiment might be still kept as strong in number of men as now, if required; for the increased number of officers would, at all times, ensure good care and discipline in every company, though it should muster to the number of 100 or 120 men.

I have proposed that the full augmentation should be a progressive work of four years, in order to avoid too great an influx of young cadets in one and the same year; not but that, God knows, it would be desirable, in order to restore hope and lost spirit to us, that the promotion for the total increase should take place at once and immediately; for our senior lieutenant-colonels (now having the nondescript rank of commandants) have been years enough in the service, and have been long enough under this grilling sun to be now of lieutenant-general's rank, as you, Right Honourable Sir, and all the brethren of your board, would think, could their exhausted frames and bilious, care-worn countenances pass in review order before you. So, also, are our senior majors of sufficient length of years in the service for full colonel's rank; our senior captains for lieutenant-colonels; and our senior lieutenants (old brevet captains, or, as our men call us, *no-pay captains*, of upwards of fifteen years subaltern roasting) for majors. In every other service, save one of such dishearteningly slow rotation promotion as ours, they would mostly have obtained those ranks and honourable distinctions in them, too, long ere now, for they have done the duties of them. The addition suggested, therefore, of full colonels, so as to have one for each regiment, of a second lieutenant-colonel, and a second major, also, to each regiment, and of sixth, seventh, and eighth captains, so as to give one to each company, even if simultaneously made at this moment, would not confer those ranks on any individual not qualified for it, or fully entitled to it; that is, if length, hardship, and fidelity of service, in such a sickening clime, so

distant from all that is dear to us in our native country, can entitle any person to advancement; and, if given as I have ventured to propose, at the rate of two a-year, viz., first year, the second lieutenant-colonel and sixth captain; second year, the second major and seventh captain; third year, the eighth captain and sixth ensign; fourth year, the seventh and eighth ensigns,—it would be but tardy justice to our long-neglected claims. Still, however, it would be justice; and, though so slowly dealt out to us, Sir, it would be hailed by all with rapture; for it would bring back long-lost hope, and with it cheerfulness and good heart, to our now dejected and desponding ranks.

This done, and the two extra regiments, with the rifle corps, which bore so gallant a part in past actions and victories, and which have been so long only partially officered from the line, (another of the unfair ways of imposing tenfold work on us,) being regularly added to our numbered regiments, and officered similarly, we should be pretty free from the chance of such a shameful deficiency of *officers present with regiments* recurring, as that which I have shown to you to be the case with those members of the Madras infantry I have alluded to, as was also the case with all the regiments which so gallantly volunteered for the Burmese war; and I shall hereafter show it, too, to be the case with all the fifty-two regiments of our infantry; and, as I hope and trust, will, by others than myself, be in time proved to you to be the case with all the other branches of the at present ‘neglected Indian army.’

After so many years of profound peace in Europe, there can be no scarcity of young men in England, of both good birth and education, (the higher this the better,) to meet the extra demand the increase would cause, during the four years, for cadets,—young men whose friends would gladly pay down a *handsome price for the appointments*, should it be deemed advisable so to raise a sum towards the expenses of the augmentation, and to keep the high dividends sacred from touch. Quiet, also, at present reigns both within and around our boundless possessions in this quarter of the globe. Periods of peace are, with wise statesmen, the seasons for national improvements and reforms. Let the present propitious time, then, for this much-wanted improvement to the Indian army not be neglected; embrace it, Sir, *to do us justice, and to make us effective*, that we may be found so in mind as well as numbers, when such efficiency may be wanted; for there is, I believe, Sir, still truth in the old adage, that ‘delays are dangerous.’ I have the honour, &c.

“AΛΦA,”

Lieutenant and Brevet, or no-pay Captain; that is, a Lieutenant of upwards of fifteen years, hard subaltern work, still without his company or captain's pay in the Indian army.

PROVINCES OF THE TENNASSERIM COAST.

To the Editor of the Bengal Chronicle.

SIR,

Tavoy, March 23, 1828.

I REGRET that the opportunities of communication between this remote station, and your City of Palaces, are so exceedingly rare, that I have not till now been able to perform the promise I made some months ago, when residing at Molmain, to give you an account of the other provinces on the Tennasserim Coast, which I might have an opportunity of visiting.

As to the interior of these provinces, neither I, nor I believe any one else, can give you much information; but if the following description of the coast, along which I passed in my trip between this and Amherst, proves at all interesting to you, you are very welcome to give it a place with my former letters.

To one who has been accustomed to view the low flat uninteresting shores on the opposite side of the Bay of Bengal, the appearance of the bold romantic coast between Amherst and Tavoy, cannot but afford the liveliest pleasure. As soon as a vessel clears the mouth of Amherst harbour, and bears to the southward, a constant succession of the most picturesque scenery begins to open to the view. Huge rocky promontories, covered with jungle and forest trees, jut out into the sea, at the distance of two or three miles from each other, forming between them a number of small semicircular bays, whose banks are generally covered, down to high water-mark, with a rich luxuriance of vegetation, which, though extremely pleasing to the eye, shows but too plainly that nature here flourishes in all her native wildness. As the tide sweeps the vessel rapidly along the coast, a lofty range of hills is seen rising in the background, which give additional effect to the beauty of the scenery, while the dull expanse of the ocean is enlivened by the appearance of several small islands, rising abruptly from the surface of the deep, and which, though exceedingly rugged and precipitous, are covered with a profusion of underwood. About thirty miles from Amherst, you pass one of the largest of these islands, called the Kaly Gouk-Island, between which and the main-land, there has lately been discovered a tolerable well sheltered anchorage, an object of considerable importance on this part of the coast.

None of these islands, however, nor, in fact, any part of the coast from Amherst, bears the slightest trace of cultivation, and except, perhaps, the inmates of a solitary fishing hut, no inhabitants are to be seen for the distance of about 65 miles, when you approach the town of Yé, situated near the mouth of a small river of that name, across the entrance of which there is a dangerous bar, which renders the navigation impracticable, except to vessels of small burthen. Here,

however, you can see very little to recompense you for the trouble of landing. The town being a mere *village* of about 150 huts, exhibiting the same disgusting compound of filth and poverty which in general characterises the villages of these provinces, and surrounded by the remains of a contemptible stockade, behind which there is about a square mile of level cultivated ground, on which the inhabitants rear a supply of rice sufficient for their support, and beyond this a long ridge of rising ground, covered with jungle, bounds the view. This town, previous to our new settlements of Amherst and Molmain, was the capital of all the extensive province of Yé, about 150 miles in length, and from 40 to 60 in breadth: and from this specimen of the capital some idea may be formed of the value of the province at the time it was ceded to us. In the interior, to the north of Yé, there are six or seven small villages, which are still dependant on the Rajah of this town: the inhabitants may be computed at about 800 individuals, and these appear to be the only residents in that extensive tract of country which extends inland between Yé and Amherst, great part of which consists of a succession of level plains, free from jungle, and fit for the support of many hundred thousand inhabitants.

The coast in the neighbourhood of Yé abounds with large oysters, which cluster together on the rocks in amazing numbers, and which, though rather of a coarse quality, find a ready market at Amherst or Molmain. Turtle also abounds on the banks at low water, but they are of little use except for the sake of their eggs, which are a favourite article of food among the Birmans. The coast continues to present nearly the same succession of wild picturesque scenery, as that which I have already described for about 50 or 60 miles further, when you enter another scattered archipelago of islands, called the Morcos, which extend along the coast for several miles; the smallest of these are merely bare precipitous rocks; the larger ones are thickly covered with wood, and are said to afford shelter to various kinds of game. Between these islands the current runs with great rapidity, but most of the channels are navigable with safety for small vessels.

The coast from the last of those islands to Tavoy Point, possesses little or no variety of scenery, till, on rounding a small island and pagoda, near the extremity of the point, you see before you one of the most magnificent bays which the Eastern Seas can boast of. The channel is broad, deep, and sufficiently capacious for any number of vessels, the anchorage is generally good, and the chain of high lands which surround the bay, affords complete shelter from the violence of the south-west monsoon, to which all other parts of this coast are so much exposed. Except where a few Chinese have settled near the point, there are not yet to be seen any traces of cultivation or inhabitants; in fact, the banks on both sides of the bay are covered with nothing but an infinite variety of forest and jungle

wood, and are too precipitous and destitute of landing places to afford any good spot for a settlement. As you advance further up the bay, it gradually decreases in breadth, assuming a conical form, and the ground gradually becomes less abrupt; but it is not till you have ascended some distance up the channel of the Tavoy river, that the country is sufficiently open to admit of cultivation. The first spot of this kind you come to, is an extensive tract of clear level ground called the Goodrich Plains, at the distance of upwards of twenty miles from Tavoy, which, from its contiguity to the sea, and the facility it affords for cultivation, seems exceedingly well adapted for settlers; this is the farthest distance to which vessels of large burthen can with safety ascend up the river, as beyond this the navigation is very much impeded by sand banks and shallows, a circumstance very detrimental to the prosperity of Tavoy.

There is at present very little cultivation visible up the river, till you approach the neighbourhood of Tavoy, where large quantities of rice are reared annually, and where a greater degree of activity and knowledge of agriculture is displayed by the inhabitants than in any other parts of these provinces. The ground under cultivation is in most places carefully banked and enclosed, the jungle around the houses cleared away, while large depots of grain, numerous buffaloes, carts and husbandry utensils, bespeak the superior wealth and comfort of the inhabitants in this quarter. Unfortunately, however, even this part of the country is very thinly peopled, the houses are few and far between, and one cannot help regretting, that so many millions of acres of good ground as this province contains, should be almost destitute of cultivators.

The superiority of this province becomes much more strongly impressed on the mind of a visitor, when he arrives at the town of Tavoy, to which he enters from the river, by an extensive well-built wooden pier, secured against the effects of the weather by a handsome roof, and surpassing in stability and structure any of the wharfs at Rangoon; a brick wall and ditch surround the town, which is regularly and compactly built, with the streets at right angles to each other, the houses formed principally of wood, and infinitely cleaner and more comfortable in their interior than is generally the case in Birman residences. At one period the town is said to have been very populous, but for many years previous to our obtaining possession of it, the population had much decreased; at present there do not appear to be more than about 7000 inhabitants, exclusive of the military and their followers.

Unfortunately, the ground on which the town is built is exceedingly low and swampy, which, though a matter of small moment to the amphibious Birmans, does not agree so well with the health of the other residents there; but in rear of the town the ground rises to a considerable height, and besides possessing a most salubrious

atmosphere, affords a delightful view of the surrounding country; this spot is likely soon to be fixed upon as a cantonment for the troops, for which it seems admirably calculated. The ground in the vicinity of Tavoy, even where uncultivated, is generally free from jungle and underwood, and produces excellent herbage for cattle and stock of every description; but owing to the disinclination of the natives for this kind of food, there are no cattle reared except the few buffaloes which are necessary for their agricultural purposes. The bazar produces a tolerable supply of fowls, ducks, coarse vegetables, and fish, which are to be had at a much lower rate than at Molmain and Amherst; but for every other kind of supply they are much more at a loss than those stations, where large supplies of stock and other good cheer from Calcutta have of late removed the scarcity, from which the residents experienced so much inconvenience at the period of my former communications.

Along the course of the Tavoy river, and also to the east of Tavoy, there are several fine thriving villages scattered over these extensive plains, which abound in that part of the province; the number of their inhabitants it would be difficult to state with accuracy, but they may probably amount to upwards of 5,000; this, with the population of the town, would give a total of upwards of 12,000 for the whole province; exceedingly trifling, it is true; but, from the exuberant fertility of the soil, they are enabled to raise a very large quantity of rice, and to pay without difficulty the trifling tax imposed by government, which is a certain proportion of the rice raised by them, payable either in money or produce, generally the former, in which case it is converted at a very moderate rate. On the same data, therefore, that our calculations of revenue were made in regard to the other province, we may suppose that the revenue of Tavoy may amount to about a lac of rupees per annum, from cultivation alone, besides the revenue to be derived from other sources, and which may amount to a considerable sum more.

As this province is retained with a very small force, and, from its natural advantages of situation, might be retained even with a smaller force still, the revenue may likely, in the course of a very short time, be able to cover all the expenses both civil and military; and when we add to this, the extreme fertility of the soil, the superior industry of the inhabitants, and the advantage which has been derived by the obtaining possession of an excellent harbour on this coast, which has often before afforded, and might again, if in other hands, afford shelter to enemies' privateers, we can have no hesitation in saying that it is by far the most valuable of our acquisitions on this coast.

So much for Tavoy. I shall, probably, in the course of a few weeks, have an opportunity of giving you the result of my observations on Mergui and Tennasserim; but, in the meantime, I am sorry to find

that I must recur to the subject of my former letters, for the purpose of noticing a communication in your paper of the 6th of February, written by a resident in Molmain, for the kind purpose, as he asserts, of setting me right in some particulars. As most of these supposed errors, however, seem to exist only in his own imagination, I should not have thought it necessary to have made any reply, were it not that he appears anxious to put a perverse misconstruction upon statements which must appear clear even to the meanest capacity.

For instance, can any thing be more preposterous than his endeavouring to insinuate that the tenor of my letters affirmed, that all the casualties among the European troops in the cantonment of Molmain, during the last year, arose *solely* from the want of fresh provisions, vegetables, &c. Every one knows that a considerable number of these casualties must always occur in any tropical climate; but the plain obvious tenor of my assertion was, that the climate of that province appeared to be better suited to the European constitution than most climates within the tropics, but that owing to the privations already mentioned, the deaths and sickness were much greater in proportion than they otherwise would have been; nor, indeed, should I have said so much, were it not that I felt myself called upon to make such a remark, in order to establish my first proposition as to the healthiness of the climate, which certainly could not have been considered very favourable to the European constitution, when between a fifth and sixth of the European troops in it had died in the course of a twelvemonth.

Did your correspondent really possess the sources of information he alludes to, and wish to invalidate my testimony on this head, I am surprised he did not at once state the exact number of the casualties for the year previous to the 17th December last, instead of saying that they did not amount to near the number stated by me. I can only assure him, that had he taken the trouble of informing himself on this subject, he would have found the number I stated was perfectly correct, and he would not have betrayed his ignorance on a point which he professedly admits he ought to be well informed of. Had he taken the same trouble of inquiring into the number of cases of scurvy in hospital in the months of November and December, he could never have asserted, that the troops were only without provisions for a few days, or that their health had not suffered in consequence of it.

The only point, which I can at all feel indebted to your correspondent, is for his able dissertations on the length, breadth, comfort, and capacity of his bamboo barrack-rooms; but he seems to forget that it was the materials, not the capacity of the barrack-rooms, which I had reprobated; for he will find, on reference to my

first letter, that I allowed the men were at that period much better housed than their officers, which I never would have done had I supposed these buildings not sufficiently capacious. At this distance, I am sorry I cannot verify the exactness of your correspondent's measurement; but as it is the only point on which he has been pleased to give any particulars, I shall suppose him to be correct; and it certainly will not appear strange, if, in the description of an extensive province, I committed an error of a few feet in the length of a barrack-room, of which I had previously stated that I was only a casual observer, and of which I should never have taken any notice, had it not been for the purpose of showing of what materials even the public buildings there were composed.

I should really wish to know what your correspondent, Mr. Double E., wishes me to inform you of in regard to that province, which he seems to think so highly abused. I have allowed it to be picturesque, healthy, and I will add extensive enough, even for all the surplus population of Ireland. Can I, with veracity, say more in its favour? No. I can only, therefore, account for your correspondent's seeming hostility to statements which he must know to be substantially correct, by supposing that he is one of the happy few who share the loaves and fishes in the new cantonment, and who of course will have a great aversion to any one '*spying out the nakedness of the land*' as long as he can, like the canon in Gil Blas, '*make himself rich by managing the affairs of the poor.*'

M. D.

SONNET.

IN life's fair morn the bounding spirit strays,
 Delighted as it views, with kindling quick surprise,
 Each scene that bursts upon its wond'ring eyes.
 In manhood's prime—in those few brightest days—
 The soul, capacious of intenser joy,
 Insatiate drinks at pleasure's mantling fountain;
 And from the 'vantage of a cloud-capt mountain,
 The future and the past its busy thoughts employ.
 Ah! then it sees the dark profound abyss,
 And meditates the irremeable wave
 That parts us from a world beyond the grave;
 Where only it can taste enduring bliss,
 For which it breathes unutterable sighs,
 And sure inherits when the body dies.

M. B.

Calcutta, July 3, 1828.

AFFAIRS OF CEYLON.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

London, 15th December, 1828.

IN your last Number was inserted copies of certain accounts and papers connected with the revenue and expenditure of the island of Ceylon, as laid before Parliament at the close of the last session. These documents do not enable me to ascertain what is the precise expenditure of that colony, nor to judge to what extent retrenchment in that expenditure would under existing circumstances be expedient. It is notorious, however, that the establishment of Ceylon, both civil and military, has been greatly augmented since it became an appendage of the Crown, compared with what it was during the time when it was under the dominion of the East India Company; nor am I aware on what grounds the transfer took place; but certain it is, that the consequence has been a large additional expenditure of the public money, without any corresponding advantage to the state, unless the patronage which it gave to the Treasury may be considered as a benefit sufficient to compensate it.

From the capture of Ceylon from the Dutch, in February 1796, up to the appointment of the Honourable F. North, in October 1798, the government of the island was exercised by the Governor in Council of Madras, and certainly with a very commendable degree of economy.

A general-officer on the staff, whose pay and allowances did not exceed 4000*l.* per annum, was placed there as commandant, by the government of Madras; the whole civil establishment of the island being also supplied from that Presidency, and, of course, without any expense whatever to the mother country. Ceylon has, however, been for nearly thirty years withdrawn from the rule of the East India Company, and administered by the Crown; and this change has naturally subjected that fine island to all the destructive consequences of that system which has for so long a period unhappily pervaded the colonial policy of Great Britain. A military governor, with a salary of upwards of 10,000*l.* per annum, exclusive of the pay of his rank and staff allowances, now burthens the colony, together with an expensive military staff, whilst the civil establishment has been increased far beyond what is necessary for any useful purpose; and thus the whole resources of the colony are absorbed in maintaining these enormously expensive establishments, rendering it a heavy burden to the mother country, instead of yielding, as it ought, and would do, under proper management, a considerable excess of revenue over its expenditure, and which might be applied to the exigencies of the state, or, with more propriety, laid out in improving the condition of the island and its inhabitants.

Oriental Herald, Vol. 20.

M

All this is sufficiently evinced by the simple fact, that Ceylon is now deeply involved in debt, whilst its expenditure exceeds its income by a sum of at least one hundred thousand pounds per annum.

These matters will necessarily attract the notice of the Finance Committee, when it resumes its labours at the meeting of Parliament, and they will find ample room for reduction, particularly in the Civil Establishment of the island; but as the appointment of civilians, (or writers, as they are termed,) for the island of Ceylon, forms a most important branch of ministerial patronage, it is very problematical to what extent the recommendations of the committee, to retrench and economize in that department, may be carried.

Independent, however, of the considerations above noticed, the present state of Ceylon calls loudly for the immediate attention of government. That fine island has been, for years past, and is now, groaning under a military despotism, as destructive to its prosperity, as it is detrimental to the comfort and well being of its inhabitants. The advantages which, from situation and produce, it possesses, in such an eminent degree, as a place of trade, are thrown away, by the enactment of regulations, and the impost of inordinate duties, as foreign to the spirit of a sound commercial policy, as they are inconsistent with every principle of justice and common sense; but to these, and other matters connected with Ceylon, I shall take an early opportunity of drawing the public attention, through the medium of your very useful work, which I rejoice to find is now so extensively circulated, both in this country and throughout British India.—I am, sir, &c.

MERCATOR.

ESPIONAGE OF THE POST-OFFICE AUTHORITIES IN INDIA.

At the last meeting of the India Proprietors, held at the India House, (of which a report will be found in another page,) Mr. Hume brought forward the subject of a recent order issued in India to compel the writers of all letters put into the India post-offices to write their names and address on the outside of their letters, without which they would not be received or dispatched. The pretence put forth in that order is one of the most shallow that can be conceived. No such steps are taken in England, where the correspondence is ten times as extensive, and where people are continually moving from place to place. The real object is undoubtedly to discover who are the individuals that send home letters to Opposition Members of Parliament,—who those that correspond with the editors of English journals,—who those that forward statements to the advocates of free trade and opponents of monopoly in this country,—and who those that write news of any kind for the public journals in India. This practice has been often frequently mentioned with reproach, by ourselves and others, at the India House;

but it has been constantly denied to exist by the Directors, and others speaking on their behalf. We have it now, however, in an official shape; and we therefore present it to our readers in all its naked deformity. It is as follows :

' East India Post-Office.

' NOTICE.

' It being a STANDING RULE of the General Post-Office, that the names of the senders of letters as well as those of the persons to whom they are directed, are to be regularly registered with the view of assisting to trace letters which may fail in reaching their destinations; the officiating Post-Master-General requests that all persons in sending their letters to the post will have the goodness to put their name on the paper or book which accompanies them: where books are used, the name being entered on the first sheet, or on the cover, will, of course, be sufficient. The above caution is given with a view to prevent the necessity which frequently now exists of returning letters to the senders, by which it occasionally happens that they miss the post for that day.

J. E. ELLIOT,

Officiating Post-Master-General.

General Post-Office, April 12, 1828.

PROCLAMATION TO PREVENT COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE IN INDIA.

At a moment like the present, when public attention is beginning to be awakened anew to the hardship and injustice of preventing English settlers and traders in India from pursuing their commercial operations in the way most likely to be advantageous to themselves, we cannot refrain from re-publishing the following, from a previous Number of our work, in order to show our new readers (now largely increased) the spirit with which the Indian authorities regard every attempt to extend our commercial intercourse with that country. It is as follows :

' Fort William, General Department, Aug. 4, 1826.

' It having come to the knowledge of Government that Europeans are in the habit of visiting the Upper Provinces in the prosecution of commercial speculations, or for the temporary purpose of disposing of investments of goods, without having obtained the previous permission of Government to proceed to the interior, notice is hereby given, that instructions will be issued to the magistrates of the several districts bordering on the rivers to stop all Europeans, whether British-born subjects or otherwise, and Americans, not being in the service of his Majesty, or in the civil or military service or employment of the Honourable Company, who may be

found in the interior, at a distance of ten miles from the Presidency, and unprovided with a passport.

‘ Applications for passports are to be made in writing to the Secretary to Government in the General Department, and are to contain the following particulars :—1st, the name and occupation of the person applying ; 2d, the time of his arrival in India ; and whether with or without a license from the Court of Directors ; 3d, the place or places to which the individual may be desirous of proceeding ; and 4thly, the general object of his journey.

‘ By command of the Right Hon. the Vice-President in Council.

‘ C. LUSHINGTON, .

‘ Chief Secretary to the Government.’

Here is a new sort of crime for a commercial people, like the English, to discover and denounce ! In all other countries, a man who vested a large portion of his wealth in the manufactures of the parent state, and took them into the interior of a distant dependency, or colony, to sell,—thereby benefiting the manufacturers by increasing the consumption of their goods abroad, and benefiting the colony itself by taking off its produce in return—in almost all countries such a man would be considered a public benefactor ; but, in British India, he is regarded as a criminal, fit only to be seized and transported, without trial, for the mere offence of being found in the interior of a conquered province of his own country, selling the produce of his own industry, or the commodity purchased by his wealth ! And this is called a *Free Trade* !! Any man may take his goods freely from England to either of the three great towns of India, Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, to which we believe, the small settlement of Tellicherry, on the Malabar coast, has recently been added ; but, unless he actually belongs to the crew or establishment of the ship that conveys him to India, he will be unable to reside for a single day on shore, even in these three towns, without being in the hourly commission of a misdemeanor at law, and liable to be seized and sent out of the country, as a felon, for having dared to commit the crime of being found in any part of the Company’s territories, without their licence to reside. Yet this is the ‘ *Free Trade* ’ of India !! It is in vain to say, that any man who applies may get such licence ;—even were that true, no trade can be said to be *free* that cannot be carried on without the licence or permission of a particular body. But it is not true : individuals are every year refused permission to reside in India, and those who go away from this country with a licence are no better off when they get there than those who have none ; since each may be equally transported, without trial, at the mere will and pleasure of the Ruler for the time being. Supposing, however, that residences in the three principal towns of India were not opposed, and that all who asked licences might get them, still, for all com-

mercial purposes, it must be clear that a free intercourse with the interior is indispensable to a free trade. The consumption of English manufactures by the population of these three towns, which cannot be greater than one million in the whole, is but a speck in comparison with the hundred millions of which the interior is composed. What is wanted to make trade free, is a right for every English trader, not merely to land his goods at the sea-ports of India, and then return home, but to accompany, either in person, or by his own chosen or confidential agents, his investment into the heart of the country, there to make advantageous sales of his own commodities, and advantageous purchases of those with whom he exchanges them for the produce of the country. The fact is, however, that no man, as we see by this proclamation, whether he has the Company's licence to visit India or not, can dare to go ten miles from its metropolis, for the most innocent and honourable of all purposes, without being liable to be seized and sent back by any officer of the Company's Government; and that, supposing him to possess a passport for the purpose, if he should object to any of the numerous and vexatious imposts and exactions which he will meet with at every Company's station on the way, still he is at the entire mercy of the parties making these exactions, as any refusal of entire submission would obtain him the character of a refractory subject, and both his passport to visit the interior and his licence to reside in the capital, being within the power of the Government to withdraw, without notice, or even a reason assigned, he might soon be instantly deprived of both, separated from his property, sent bound as a prisoner to Calcutta, and there kept in durance till he could be safely banished from the country, under the keeping of one of the Company's own trusty commanders. If this be the *Free Trade* of India—and we have not exaggerated a single feature of the case—what must be the ignorance, or the indifference, or the servility of the merchants of England, to receive such a freedom of commercial intercourse as a *boon* from the Government of this country? If they do not rouse themselves, to wipe out this stain from their independence, they ought never again to enjoy, for they will no longer deserve, the distinction of that proud appellative, the *independent* merchants of Great Britain.

EXTRACTS OF RECENT LETTERS FROM DIFFERENT PARTS OF INDIA.

[In this Department of our Journal, we shall be at all times happy to include portions of any Letters which may be communicated to us from authentic sources, whether from Correspondents in India, or persons residing in England, and in the habit of receiving Letters from the East: as it is only by a concentration of the information thus received through various channels, and bringing all the latest and most authentic intelligence before the reader in one point of view, that the general interests of political, commercial, and moral reform, are likely to be promoted. We invite such communications, therefore, from all quarters for our pages.]—Ed.

LETTERS FROM BENGAL.

Calcutta, July 17, 1828.

The Cavalry regiments have been reduced to 400 men, and the Infantry regiments to 700.

Lord Combermere has visited most of the military stations, and in his orders has expressed himself highly pleased with the zeal and energy he witnessed every where. In October next he proposes visiting Nussereabad, Ajmere, Neemuch, Saugur, Keitah, and Allahabad, from thence to Benares and Gauzipoor, where he will embark for Dacca and Chittagong, and return to Calcutta in April or May.

No commander-in-chief has ever made half the tour his lordship has done: and if in his power he would ameliorate the situation of the Company's officers, who are heart-broken at the want of advancement.

There are, in the Company's army, officers who have been upwards of thirty-two years a captain, and of that twenty years a field officer, without any prospect of rising to a higher grade than lieutenant-colonel.

In 1814, the Duke of York passed what is a most degrading order for military men, namely, that no Company's officer should be promoted to the rank of colonel. The Court of Directors acquiesced in that, and never have made the least exertion to obtain fair military rank for the officers of their army.

One of the wretched consequences of that oversight, or careless conduct of the Court of Directors is, that when full colonels of his Majesty's service come out to India, lieutenant-colonels of regiments, and all Company's officers, however old, are superseded by them; and many of these King's officers were not born when some of the Company's officers, who are superseded by them, had their commissions. Instead of the Company's officers being considered as soldiers of the state, and having their share in that army rise, to which their long and faithful services entitle them, they are passed by on almost all services of importance, superseded by their juniors in the King's, and considered mere servants of an establishment in Leadenhall-street.

In addition to that mortification and supercession by King's offi-

cers, the Company's officers are superseded in society by every boy in the Civil service. When will this humiliating and heart-breaking system cease? Is there no Director in the East India House, who has been in the army, and yet retains a little regard for his less fortunate companions in arms left in India? Will not these officers for once attend to the interests and honour of the Company's officers, now, by the reductions ordered, likely to be still longer in obtaining their promotions?

Surely this is not a fit condition for the Company's higher officers, and we cannot but think, that if the military Directors feel any thing like gratitude to the service they have left, they ought to make an effort to alter it. It is true there are military officers now Directors in Leadenhall-street, who obtained high rank without ever doing duty with their corps, and who must be necessarily strangers to the high feelings of men who have been a long' life with their corps in the field, and who have shared the danger of war, and the tedium of peace. But it is to be hoped that the Duke of Wellington at least, who knows the value of the Company's officers in India, will take these circumstances into his consideration, and afford that relief which the Court of Directors will not exert themselves to obtain for their brave and meritorious officers in India.

We have heard, indeed, that the Duke of Wellington, when commander-in-chief, was much disposed, as far as he could, to assist in raising the old lieutenant-colonel-commandants of regiments from the humiliating situation in which they are placed. But what can be expected from a stranger, when the Court of Directors abandon the interests of their veteran servants who have fought and bled in their service?

I should like to put this question to be answered by the Court as a body, or individually. Have the Court of Directors ever thus neglected *their own* interest in negotiation with his Majesty's Government?*

The following letter, originally addressed to the Editor of 'The Bengal Hurkaru,' who, apprehensive of having his Paper suppressed, or himself transported without trial, if he ventured to print it, returned it with this explanation to the writer,—has been sent to us for publication in England; and as we have no fears of arbitrary suppression or arbitrary transportation here, we give it a place in our pages.

Sir,—Your Paper of the 8th has informed us of the heavy remittances this year by the Indiamen to Leadenhall-street; and it is some consolation to us, who know so little of what is doing in the

* We have heard, since the receipt of the above, that the Company's officers *are* to be promoted to the rank of full colonels, and we shall shall be pleased to see the orders promulgated.

great city, to hear that the rigid economy, which is the order of the day, and the effects of which we wofully felt last month, springs from so good a motive ; and that what has been thus taken from our necessities is gone to meet the necessities of our Honourable Masters at home.

It must be truly gratifying to the Army that they have been thought worthy to bear so large a portion in this good cause. You well know, Mr. Editor, that the 'pay proper' for January, of every description of European soldier, has been, under the operation of the Vice-President's Orders, of 28th September last, retained in the Treasury, instead of going, as it was ever wont to do, into the empty pockets of the hungry soldiers last month.

This pay proper of the Army for one month, amounts, for officers alone, to near $2\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of rupees, (see statement A subjoined.) and, including non-commissioned and warrant officers, may be estimated, it is said here, at about three lacs, contributed by the Bengal Army alone to the necessities of the state.

How very considerate it was in the noble Vice-President, while at the helm of state, timely to secure to his followers so large a share in so honourable a cause. For though the ostensible cause of that Order, as declared on the face of it, was for avoiding the inconveniences of the present system, and *for the purpose of simplifying the system of accounts* ; yet it is manifest this would have been as easily attained, and with much more satisfaction to the Army, but for the honour thus substituted of contributing to the necessities of their Honourable Masters, by the issue of the 'pay proper' for January, and the 'allowances proper' for January, both in February, when both are in arrear, instead of in March, as now, when it is two months in arrear. For observe, that, though 'pay proper' was drawn in advance, it was never paid till it was in arrears ; but such an arrangement would have deprived the Army of the proud honour it now enjoys : and instead of one-fourth of their allowances remaining in the Treasury to go to their Honourable Masters, three-fourths must have been drawn therefrom : a difference of about twelve lacs of rupees freight to the Indiamen. Had simplification of accounts alone been the object, it must also have occurred to his lordship how essentially it would have contributed to so desirable an end, to order the payment of the Army in Sicca, instead of Sonaut rupees ; but this would have lost the Army their present gratifying distinction. They, short-sighted mortals, would have had it so ; but fortunately their destinies were in more provident hands.

Equally grateful must the offices of pay and audit feel to be thus relieved from the arduous and intricate calculations which half a century's practice had not familiarised them to.

The poor civilians, unlucky men, had no such provident guardian watching their interests, nor any such troublesome fractions to com-

pute. Theirs are in even thousands, 30, 40, 50, 60, and all Siccas too; easily written, easily received, and so easily spent, that they have none to spare, nor fractions to knock off. The Army are used to privations: it is nothing to them to lose a fourth of their income: only an extra pinch or two. A curry, instead of a leg of mutton, brandy and water, and a segar, instead of Beer and hookah, half allowance of tea and sugar, and such extravagant luxuries. It is nothing in so good a cause; and long will they bear a grateful recollection of their considerate patron.

Another consoling reflection arising out of this pleasing affair to the Army is, the certainty that nothing more can be required from them, until, at least, all other servants have been called upon for one-fourth of their income as the Army has been. After the late munificent donation, which has bled them till they have no blood more to lose, they must be suffered to rest; and those who have not been cut, may tremble when the Indianmen return again to be freighted with their allowances; but the Army, cut to the very quick already, must be let alone.

EGOMET.

Statement A—(Referred to above.)

89 Colonels or Commandants of Artillery, Engineers, and Infantry, 10 rupees per day.....	26,700	0
10 Ditto Cavalry, 13½ rupees per day.....	3,975	0
10 Lieutenant-Colonels ditto, 10-4-4 ditto.....	3,081	4
89 Ditto Artillery, Engineers, and Infantry, 8 ditto.....	21,360	0
89 Majors ditto ditto ditto, 6 ditto.....	16,020	0
10 Ditto Cavalry, 7-12-2 ditto.....	2,327	2
60 Captains and Surgeons ditto, 5-15-8 ditto.....	10,762	8
78 Ditto and ditto Artillery and Engineers, 4-10-8.....	10,920	0
456 Ditto and ditto Infantry, 4.....	54,720	0
143 1st Lieutenants and Assistant-Surgeons, Artillery and Engineers, 2-6.....	10,188	12
836 Lieutenant and Assistant-Surgeons Infantry, 2.....	50,160	0
110 Ditto and ditto Cavalry, 3-10-4.....	12,031	4
50 Cornets, 3-3 10.....	4,859	6
65 2d Lieutenants, Artillery and Engineers, 2.....	3,900	0
380 Ensigns, 1-9-7.....	6,828	2
	237,833	6

Besides warrant and non-commissioned officers and privates.

LETTERS FROM MADRAS.

Madras, June 15, 1828.

I CANNOT resist the inclination to enclose you a copy of 'The Madras Gazette' of yesterday's date, in which you will see columns from which our censor of the press has cut out all the discussion of the Editor on the change of the Ministry in England; and the Editor has, accordingly, sent out his paper half filled with asterisks

or stars, to indicate the quantity of matter thus suppressed. He began his leading article thus :

The various appointments consequent on the change of the Ministry at home appear to be all completed ; and the several individuals who have parts to perform in this Ministerial farce, have taken possession of their respective departments, and exhibit in their countenances those external signs of satisfaction and content, which we may suppose reigns within, and the good understanding which prevails without. But, as we have said all along, we have neither faith in the efficiency of the present arrangement, nor can we view it as of any durability. If the present Cabinet live to the age of the late Premier's, it will be in a state of weakness and debility, which will render every exertion unavailing and ineffectual.

All the rest, to the extent of two columns, is struck out ; so that our new Governor, Mr. Lushington, seems to go beyond all his predecessors in his care over the press, interdicting it from speaking freely even on matters so remote, and so much belonging to history, as events occurring in England, and, of course, long passed away before we hear of their existence at Madras. But thus it is, when interest rather than merit leads to the choice of men for high stations, and when those who have nothing but their subservience to the Ministry to recommend them, are rewarded by high stations.

A miserable creature of this second-rate order is provided for by an appointment to a government in India, and comes to rule over many millions, with the little-minded official insolence of a man used to conspire with the Solicitor to the Treasury to put down the press wherever it were possible, and accustomed to look on every difference of opinion as *lese majesté* towards the powers that be. That such a man should hate and persecute the party of his predecessor, Sir Thomas Munro, is, perhaps, the very best thing that can be said in favour of that rapacious and desolating system of government. He has *arbitrarily* turned out Mr. Hill, the Chief Secretary, an advocate for Sir Thomas Munro's system, and *illegally* turned out his immediate predecessor from Council, Mr. Græme, acting Governor after Sir Thomas Munro's death, and a partisan of the system. Mr. Hill was got rid of because Mr. Lushington *suspected* him of being inclined to aid and abet the opinions and minutes of Mr. Græme, which were bad enough to be sure, but ought to be overturned by argument, not by persecution. Mr. Græme, as a fractional portion of the Council, 'one and indivisible,' and having an independent vote, had as good a right to the official aid of the Secretary as the President of the Council ; the more so, as Mr. Græme himself had so recently filled the chair. Mr. Hill had a full right to *think* with either party of his masters at the Council Board, and his official services were always rendered with perfect fairness and official promptitude. But the old Treasury hack could not get rid of his Whitehall ideas, that 'the First Lord' is all in

all, and the young suckling statesmen mere cyphers—'a breath had made them,' &c. In this spirit not only did he kick out the secretary, (who holds the censorship as in commendam;) but he also sent the senior councillor to the right-about, on the shallow pretext that he had completed his period of five years 'servitude' in Council. Nothing can be more *illegal* than this act and its alleged reason, and so the Supreme Governor has distinctly enough intimated. The Members of Council in India hold their offices for no specific time, but during pleasure, precisely with the governors or commanders of the forces. It is time that the Court of Directors had intimated its intention, as a general rule, to allow each individual to have only five years of the 'good thing;' and they have, in a great majority of cases, commissioned a new or a provisional councillor, to step in at the end of the five years; while, on the other hand, they have not unfrequently suffered Members of Council to remain some years more than the usual period, as in the cases of Mr. Adam, Mr. Dowdeswell, and others. As no precedent can be found for the violent act of converting the usage of the Court of Directors into a *Pride's Purge* to get rid of dissentients, Mr. Lushington forgets that he is only *primus inter pares*, and not *premier* among cyphers.

Madras, June 3, 1828.

A dreadful murder was committed at Nagpore on the 11th of last month; the sufferer, a harmless German, superintendant of the band there, and remarkable for his generally inoffensive manners and peaceable conduct. It appeared that the unfortunate man had been fast asleep in his cot, where his head was severed at one blow from his body; the head was found placed on a table in the hall, the body remaining in the bed; plunder did not seem to have been the object of the perpetrators, for nothing was missing from the premises; no trace nor clue could be obtained to lead to any discovery, nor can the most distant motive be assigned for the act.

A report has been in circulation during some time past, that we are to have a second police office established here, and there could be no act of service rendered the public, that would be more acceptable, or is more required. Mr. Elliot, who acted with so much credit to himself, and benefit to the public during our police superintendant's absence last year, has been named as superintendant of the projected new establishment, and into fitter hands it certainly could not go. The present police office, though centrally enough situated and convenient in some respects, is much too far from Fort St. George and Black Town, and it is well known, in consequence of its great distance, many individuals, rather than go there from Black Town to prosecute petty offences, allow the depredators to escape altogether. In so straggling a place as Madras, it would be impossible to fix on a spot eligible for all parties; but a situation somewhere near the beach would be more generally beneficial than any other that can be named; and it would certainly be a great convenience to an infi-

nite number of the inhabitants, who at present forego many prosecutions rather than waste their time in going to and from our present police office, where they are often detained waiting for hours till their cause comes to a hearing, and then frequently remanded to the following day.

Madras, July 2, 1828.

The last month has been one of more gaiety and life than is usual here, it is the season we are accustomed to look for the arrival of the Honourable Company's regular ships, and two of them have reached this, viz., the *Macqueen*, Captain Walker; and the *William Fairlie*, Captain Blair; they had tolerably fair passages, having left the Downs the beginning of March: the latter ship brought out Mrs. Lushington, the sister-in-law of our right honourable Governor, and a host of fair damsels, who, although not of Mrs. Lushington's family, were fortunate in being in the ship with her, as the greatest harmony prevailed throughout the voyage, and all the passengers are loud in their praises of the excellent Captain Blair. Unfortunately matters went not so smoothly in the *Macqueen*; much misunderstanding having arisen between Sir E. K. Williams, K.C.B. lieutenant-colonel of his Majesty's 41st regiment, who commanded the troops on board, and the captain and other officers of the ship: the matter is now undergoing an investigation before a military Court of Inquiry. The captain of the ship has preferred a long string of charges against the K.C.B.; but it seems doubtful if the case be proved. The other ship, the *Lord Lowther*, has not yet made her appearance. All the three vessels have large reinforcements of troops on board for his Majesty's regiments on this establishment.

The month was also rendered auspicious by the arrival of his Excellency Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General of India, with Lady Bentinck, and suite. His Majesty's ship *Undaunted*, Capt. Clifford, C.B., arrived here on the morning of Saturday the 21st of June, having the above distinguished persons on board. On coming to an anchor, she was saluted by nineteen guns from Fort St. George, and with the like number from his Majesty's ship *Success*, then in the Roads, which salutes were returned from the *Undaunted*. The chief secretary to government, and the principal personal staff of our right honourable Governor, proceeded on board, to congratulate his lordship on his arrival, and ascertain his pleasure as to landing, &c. His lordship's wish was, that this should be as unostentatious as possible; the party accordingly landed at 2 P.M. opposite to the Sea Custom-house, where carriages were in waiting to convey them to government-house, escorted by a party of the body guard. Notwithstanding the strictness of the notice, a great concourse of Europeans and Natives had assembled. His lordship and family attended divine service next day at St. George's church; and, during their stay here, which was prolonged until the 28th, his

lordship and Lady Bentinck received the congratulations of their numerous friends at this Presidency, and several select parties were given at government-house. His lordship received and returned a visit from his highness the Nabob; and Lady Bentinck visited the Female Asylum, of which she had once been lady patroness, and expressed herself highly gratified at the prosperous appearance of the institution. Report says, her ladyship is zealously devoted to the cause of Christianity, and has brought out many thousands of religious tracts to distribute amongst the natives of India, a large supply of which she left with some of the pious clergymen of Madras. (*Query*.—May not Lord Mandeville's host of tracts have got out to India with this supply?) Lord W. Bentinck, previous to his embarkation, was waited upon by an immense assemblage of Natives, and presented with a congratulatory address, in which especial reference was made to his former happy government here; to which his lordship made a flattering reply.* Report says, the Governor-General is to visit this again in the course of the next year. Lady Bentinck was rather indisposed for a day or two during her residence at government-house here.

On the 10th, the Hon. James Tayler, Esq., was sworn in, and took his seat, as a member of council, under the usual salute, in room of our late acting-governor, the Hon. H. S. Græme, Esq., whose period of service as a member had expired; and he is, in consequence, now out of employ, the other two situations which he held, viz., President of the Board of Revenue, and of the Board for the College and Public Instruction, having been filled, the latter by the Hon. J. H. D. Ogilvie, Esq., member of council, and the former by the Hon. James Tayler, Esq., who has just succeeded to the seat in council. The ex-Governor's interest is evidently now on the wane; for, since his removal from council, his nephew, a lieutenant in the fifth regiment of Native Cavalry, whom he had last year appointed assistant-resident in Mysore, has been removed from that situation, and a civilian appointed to it.

The weather throughout the month has been pretty seasonable, although at times the land winds blew very severely, the thermometer varying from 96 to 100 in the shade. Few casualties have recently occurred, nor is there much disease prevalent. A highly-respected old medical officer died here this morning—Ebenezer Browne, Esq., M.D., inspector of hospitals, his Majesty's service. Dr. Browne had not been many years here; but, since his arrival, he has been much esteemed, and his death is greatly deplored.

At the quarterly criminal sessions, held two days ago, no case of importance came before the court; the whole business was finished in one day.

There has been *mutiny* and *strike* amongst our boatmen; for some

* We have given this Address in another place.

days during the month not a single man of them would work, and the greatest possible inconvenience was the consequence ; one ship had troops from England to land, but could not effect it ; many passengers, who had landed a day previous, were without their luggage ; and every thing connected with the shipping was at a stand. The master-attendant, and others connected with them, used all their exertions to induce the unruly tribe to return to their work, but to no purpose ; they insisted on some increase being made to their pay, which has always been considered as very inadequate to the labour they perform ; and this being at last granted to them, to work they went, and things are now restored to a better state.

Madras, July 19, 1828.

Since the beginning of the month, the honourable Company's ship, *Lord Lowther*, has reached this, as have several free traders from England, tending to enliven us a little. The *General Palmer* sails to-morrow with a good many passengers. It is upwards of two months now since any vessel left this for England.

At the public ball held at the beginning of the month, there was a grand display of beauty and fashion, many of the *belles* who had recently arrived shone there in great brilliancy. The weather, which early in the month was extremely oppressive, underwent a delightful change about a week ago, when we were visited by a thunder-storm, accompanied by a good deal of rain ; it had an extraordinary effect on the temperature of the air, the thermometer having fallen from 94 to 78 in one hour.

Our ex-Governor, Mr. Græme, has gone round to Calcutta ; report says he had a long interview with the Governor-General when here, who invited him to come round, and held out a hope to him of his being employed in some high confidential situation under the Supreme Government of Bengal.

A general court-martial assembled in Fort St. George on Monday last the 14th, for the trial of Sir E. K. Williams, K.C.B., Lieutenant-Colonel of his Majesty's 41st regiment, on charges preferred against him, by Captain Wallney of the honourable Company's ship *Macqueen* : Major-General Sir John Doveton, K.C.B., is president of the court ; he is at present indisposed, and the court adjourned.

An elegant new church, which has just been finished at St. Thomas's Mount, was opened for divine service on Sunday last, by the venerable the archdeacon. The rev. gentleman held his primary visitation of the clergy here at St. George's church on the 14th, and is now about starting on a tour to the northward ; he is extremely popular at the presidency, and, from the zeal he displays, reminds us much of the ever-to-be-lamented prelate who first introduced him here. A sermon is to be preached to-morrow in St. Andrew's kirk by the Rev. Alexander Webster, and a collection made in aid of the fund for erecting a kirk at the Cape of Good Hope : it was to have taken

place last Sunday, but was postponed on account of the indisposition of our right honourable Governor. The same cause, it is also said, has induced him to put off a tour he was about to undertake throughout the Carnatic and Mysore countries, and to the Neilgherry Hills.

LETTERS FROM BOMBAY.

Bombay, 14th July, 1828.

I AM sure you will be glad to hear that Bombay is no longer that 'turbulent settlement' which you so justly designated it some two or three years ago. 'Our beloved head' is gone to Europe, so is Sir Ralph Rice; Mr. Norton, late Advocate-General, has been removed to Madras; Mr. Warden is out of Council, and rapidly sinking, indeed, I may say, has already sunk, into that state of insignificance which is his natural element. The places of these *worthies* have been supplied by men who, so far as we have yet been enabled to judge of them, seem able and willing to discharge their public duties with credit to themselves and satisfaction to the community.

Our new Governor, Sir John Malcolm, is a man of great urbanity of manner, possessing much general and local information, which he imparts with a degree of readiness and candour that cannot fail to be pleasing to those around him. He is also friendly to the natives, and disposed to do justice to all; but, notwithstanding all this, he will be unpopular with many here, and more particularly so with the gentlemen of the civil service, as upon him has devolved the insidious task of *cutting* and *curtailing* some of the enormous allowances which were added to the salaries and establishments of the civilians by his predecessor, and to which Mr. Elphinstone was indebted for his popularity with that branch of the service. It, however, has done them no good; for, whilst he increased their income, he set an example of such waste and extravagance in his own style of living, and so openly countenanced it in others, that the additional allowances, great as they were, did not enable the civilians to keep pace with the increased expenses which they naturally incurred in imitating the example set them at government-house, where unlimited profusion and expense were the order of the day; and thus a most serious and lasting injury has been entailed upon the service, very many of the members of it being irrecoverably involved in debt, after enjoying incomes of from three to five thousand pounds per annum for a series of years!

Our new judge, Sir John Grant, is evidently a man of superior talent, though, as I have been told, not very eminent as a lawyer; he is, however, an upright and independent judge, and, in private society, a most agreeable man. In short, the late changes have restored harmony to a settlement that has been for years torn by faction and discord, and much good even has emanated from these

seeming evils, as we have now that great palladium of liberty, an independent court of justice; a blessing for which we cannot be too thankful, and for which we are greatly indebted to our excellent Chief Justice, Sir Edward West, who, with a degree of firmness that does him infinite credit, repelled the many attempts that were openly and secretly made, for the first few years after his arrival, to subvert his authority as a judge, and to lower the dignity of the King's Court; but these attempts, notwithstanding they were supported, and, in some cases, I fear, originated by those whose high official situations ought to have dictated a very different line of conduct, have nevertheless ended, as might have been foreseen, in the discomfiture of the faction by which they were countenanced, and in giving to the natives of this part of India, at least, a degree of confidence in the administration of justice by his Majesty's court here, which they assuredly never felt before.

The Bar, I am happy to say, is also highly respectable both in talent and conduct; and that these advantages may long be continued to us, is my most sincere wish.

EXTRACTS FROM THE VARIOUS JOURNALS OF THE EASTERN WORLD.

[We have always been extremely anxious to place before the English reader, in this department of our labours, such selections from the public papers of Bengal, Madras, Bombay, Ceylon, Penang, Singapore, and other parts of the East, as were least likely to meet their eye through the daily papers of England; and also such as had the most direct bearing on the great object we have most at heart, namely, the effecting those political, commercial, and moral changes in the system of our intercourse with India, and our relations with the inhabitants of the East, which all good men must desire. Whatever can conduce to this will always, if within the limits of our space, find a ready insertion in our pages.]—*Ed.*

The Trade of Penang.

THE customary routine of commercial speculation pursued from hence at the present season does not, we regret to say, promise favourably this year, owing to several unforeseen and untoward circumstances. One of them is the great scarcity, or total want, of salt upon the Coromandel coast, attributable to serious damages sustained by the golahs (salt heaps) during the late hurricane, to an extent that threatens a dearth of the article in Calcutta, and occasions a consequent absence of a principal portion of our export and barter cargo for the west coast of Sumatra. Another great drawback and cause of loss is the uncommonly low prices to which country piece goods have fallen there; and a third, and not less serious obstacle to the success of India merchants in that quarter, is the constant and numerous resort of American traders to the ports of that coast; to which, we understand, profiting by the wise restrictions upon British commerce in this country, they now bring large quantities of fire-arms, gunpowder, and other warlike stores, with a plentiful supply of Turkish opium, as articles of advantageous barter; while they are seldom deficient of so many Spanish dollars as will assist in put-

ting off their merchandise at good prices and serve to close their bargains. When the schooner *Commerce* left the coast, there were five American ships loading there, three with pepper, and two (at Padang) with coffee. Three other vessels, belonging to the same owners as those we have just alluded to, were daily expected there from Salem. It appears, however, that prices were very little, if at all, more favourable to them upon the coast than they would have been here, as high as $6\frac{1}{2}$, and not less than 6 drs. cash, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ in barter, having been paid for pepper after considerable delay; while the price here has never lately exceeded, and seldom risen to, $6\frac{1}{4}$ dollars; and, comparing the important difference between the inconvenience and delay, the proverbial sickness and loss of human life attendant upon discharging and reloading a ship on the west coast of Sumatra, with the ease, facility, and security, with which the same may be done in our port, there may be little further proof required of the great value of this species of barter to those who are admitted to its enjoyment, and of the manifest obligation of the United States to our most provident rulers at home, who, at a period when commerce is, as it were, struggling to keep its head above water, thus suffer their own countrymen to be almost wholly excluded from a participation in one of the most profitable sources of Eastern trade; because an old engagement, once salutary, no doubt, but long since become useless, prohibits English ships from carrying to native ports any description of store or munition of war, while every foreigner may supply them at pleasure; thereby enhancing the value of his intercourse to the purchasers as well as to himself, and leaving so few articles of trade to the English speculator, that the latter must always compete under great disadvantage, and be ultimately obliged to desist. It would be a matter of curious inquiry, not very difficult to be ascertained, the extent to which Americans and other foreigners trade to India and China in articles prohibited to the English, most of them of English manufacture; and which, since their importation cannot be prevented, might, with less infringement upon the object of prohibition, be brought out in English ships undisguisedly, than in those of foreign states, of which no account can be exacted.—*Penang Register*.

American Trade in the Straits of Malacca.

The operation of that part of the treaty of 1815, which confines the American trade with our Eastern dominions to Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Penang, is sometimes, in the case of Singapore, ingeniously avoided by Americans who touch here, and, having ordered a cargo to be sent over to Rhio, proceed immediately to that port to receive it on board. An instance of this has occurred within these few days in the American brig *Padang*, which arrived from Manilla for a cargo, intending to proceed with it to America. She could neither land nor ship goods, for that would have been a breach of the treaty, which was to be religiously observed; but she landed

Charles the Martyr.—Elizabeth and Canning can never die. Time and death serve them. Wisdom is their prerogative, Justice their charter.

Company.—I am two hundred and thirty years old, and have never enjoyed one day of health or peace.

Monopoly.—I reign; but prosperity only serves to aggravate my palsy; bloating the right side and withering the left.

Excise.—You dead load,—you careless dealer,—you avaricious monster,—you suspicious tyrant,—you restrictive ruler,—you compulsory purchaser and seller! people prefer my taxes to your accommodations and charities.

Mankind.—Monopoly's touch palsies us all, and checks our exertions. She also spoils every article that she deals in. Wars, Excise, let us earn all we can, and let us buy of the best.—*Bengal Chronicle.*

Indifference of the Press in England to Indian Affairs.

The indifference of the London press to the affairs of this country has often been a subject of animadversion here. The 'John Bull' of India rejoices at it. This is worthy of remark, because it instructs us in the value of that empty vaunt of certain great men and their thick-and-thin defenders, that they never desired to shun the scrutiny of public opinion—*exercised at the distance, however, of 14,000 miles*, through its legitimate organ, the press of England!! No; they well knew that they had nothing to fear from such a source! So much so, that one editor of a London paper did not hesitate to affirm, that if all India were in flame of revolt, no portion of a parliamentary debate would be omitted to insert the intelligence; and he might have gone further and included a prize-fight or a police-report, for each of these subjects is honoured with a larger share of space than matters affecting the rights and interests of near 100 millions of subjects.

Another editor of a London journal, also, has acknowledged that he never felt disposed to extract any thing from the Indian papers but a tiger or an elephant hunt! There is no truth, however, in the reason assigned for this indifference and neglect. Sir Walter Scott has observed, that the press as often follows as it leads public opinion. We believe that it oftener does the first than the last; but still it *does* and it *can* sometimes *lead* public opinion; and if any man should attempt to persuade us, that if in those enormous papers, 'The Times' and 'The Morning Herald,' a whole column, or even two, should be inserted twice a week on Indian affairs, they would lose one subscriber by the experiment, we should ascribe the effort to an absurd prejudice, or deem it but a sorry compliment to our own understanding. But, it may be said, these articles would not at least be read, and would therefore be useless. We are warranted by experience as well as reason, in utterly disbelieving the

assertion. We know that at one time all foreign politics, all domestic occurrences, every event that could affect the external welfare or internal prosperity of the kingdom, all were cast into abeyance by the overpowering interest of the affairs of this now neglected country: the whole kingdom was in a ferment about the misgovernment of a few paltry provinces, utterly insignificant in extent and value compared to what British India now is: the mouths of the very canaille of the streets of London became familiar with Indian names and titles—the very walls, it is said, bore evidence of the deep sympathy of the people of England in the fate, and their indignation against the oppressors, of the people of India! What called forth this universal feeling? the eloquence of Burke, and Fox and Sheridan? No; but the press of England, which recorded (imperfectly indeed) that eloquence, and disseminated it all over the nation. Are we now to be told, then, that this same people of England, infinitely advanced in intellect since that day, (brief as the elapsed period is for the intellectual progression of a nation,) cannot by any means be induced to feel an interest in the welfare of 100 millions of fellow-subjects, the people of a vast and rich empire, capable of infinitely augmenting the wealth of their native country by its productions, of opening new paths for their industry, new marts for their manufacture, and of reciprocating every benefit we can derive from the connection with the parent state. It is a gross libel on the people of England to assert any such thing—to tell us that a prize-fight or an obscene police-report has more interest for them than the affairs of an empire, which, under an improved system, opens to them so many new prospects of wealth and enjoyment: it is a lie, a wicked odious lie.

The real secret of the neglect of the English press, but chiefly that of London, is the *gross ignorance* of its conductors of all that relates to this country, and *not* the impossibility of exciting the attention of the people of England to its affairs. The Indian 'John Bull' of Wednesday cites an instance of the fact. The paper to which he alludes, 'The Atlas,' we believe, calls Mr. Prinsep the Secretary to Government, the *Vice-President*! But this is nothing to the ignorant blunders we have repeatedly detected in the ablest papers when venturing to comment on Indian subjects. This is the real secret of the neglect complained of. Some of the cleverest provincial papers, second, in no degree, in the ability with which they are conducted, to the leading journals of London, have taken up the cause of India and pleaded it in a manner equally zealous and talented, honourable to their feelings, and creditable to their understandings., 'The Liverpool Mercury,' 'The Leeds Mercury,' 'The Manchester Guardian,' and several others; nor have they lost any ground by the space they had devoted to a subject which at least ought to interest the people of England, and which, we are confident, would do so, if its merits were clearly and fully laid before them. That state of affairs

is, we conceive, now approaching; and the day is not far distant in which the London press must turn its attention to the consideration of the question of the future administration of these vast and fertile dependencies of the British crown; and when its conductors can no longer plead in excuse of their own ignorance and indolence, an indifference which they, neglecting a sacred duty, have never sought to overcome.—*Bengal Chronicle*.

Burning of Hindoo Widows.

In some remarks on the subject of burning of widows, a contemporary speaks of writers at a distance being 'necessarily ignorant': wilfully ignorant they may be—necessarily ignorant they need *not* be; for more information upon this subject has been submitted to the Committees of the House of Commons than it would be in the power of any individual here, in any length of residence, to acquire. What do we know here of the number of suttees that occur?—even in this very province of Bengal, not a tenth-part of them is ever made public, and scarcely any, indeed, but those which take place almost before our very eyes, at Chitpore and other places on the banks of the river. What information do we gain, from mere local residence and experience, of the feelings of the Natives in regard to the abolition of this practice, or that could lead us to form a more accurate notion on the subject than any man of judgment may form, from reading the detailed reports of the most intelligent magistrates of the different districts in India,—a species of information which, thanks to the admired close system in this country, is never accessible to any of us here, until it comes out in the shape of a Parliamentary report? We say, that any man of sense in England, who has attentively weighed the statements in those documents, is just as capable of determining the question as any man of the same degree of intellect in India. Besides which, some of the ablest and most experienced servants of the Company have given their opinion, that abolition is as justifiable as it is practicable. It is said such a measure would be foreign to our policy,—that is, to our avowed principle of toleration; but there must be a limit to that toleration. Suppose it were alleged to be a part of the religion of the Hindoos, or the Brahmins rather, to sacrifice whole hetacombs of the Sudras at each and every of their frequently recurring festivals, should we tolerate these wholesale murders for a day? Most assuredly not, if we had the power, the physical power, to prevent them. We should abolish them at once, as we did infanticide at Saugor. Did the deluded Natives who adopted that barbarous practice not believe that it was a religious duty? As much as they now believe the sacrifice of the widows on the funeral pile to be so. The principles of toleration was there, then, not violated, but limited and defiled by the sacred laws of nature. Where is the obstacle to a similar course in regard to a case in which those holy laws are more cruelly violated? We have

read and heard a great deal of *solemn* twaddle about the necessity of *solemnly* deliberating, and carefully inquiring, any time these last twelve years, and the same language has been held a score of years further back than that. We should like to know from these solemn sages, what they may happen to consider a decent period for these solemn inquiries and deliberations. Half a century, we should conceive, to be a fair allowance of time to collect evidence, and to decide upon it. Even Lord Eldon would scarcely desire more to decide a Chancery suit. To be serious, however, can any thing be more sickening than these eternal repetitions of the same mawkish, hacknied common-places which have been repeated by those who had nothing else to offer for, heaven knows, how many years, and which convey no information, furnish no argument, and lead to no one earthly conclusion. We all know that, ere we legislate in matters affecting the religious prejudices of a people, we ought to inquire and deliberate. Who ever doubted it? but what have those who have directed their attention to the subject these last twenty-five years, at least, been doing? Have they not inquired and deliberated till their accumulated information has filled volumes? It is decision, and not deliberation, that is now called for. If we have the power as men, the laws of nature call upon us to abolish these inhuman rites. If we have not the power, physical power, we mean, it is in vain arguing the question. Our own view, supported by the opinions of men of great ability and experience, and by those of some enlightened Natives themselves, is, that not the slightest difficulty or danger would attend the abolition. It would be talked about for a month; yielded to, as a matter of course, in a year; and at no distant period be applauded by all the intelligent Natives themselves. —*Bengal Chronicle*.

China.

Torture, whether to obtain confessions of guilt, or to exasperate or prolong the period of death, has happily been entirely banished from the British Isles, and has never been admitted in the government of Britons' descendants in the western world. Christendom is nearly exempt from its injustice and cruelty; and in India, too, under British rule, it has no place.

In China, the laws still permit it, to a defined extent, and the magistrate often inflicts it, contrary to law. Compressing the ankles of men between wooden levers, and the fingers of women with a smaller apparatus, on the same principle, is the most usual form. But there are many other devices suggested and practised contrary to law; and in every part of the empire, for some years past, there have been many instances of suspected persons, or those falsely accused, being tortured till death ensued.

From Hoopih province, an appeal is now before the Emperor, against a magistrate who tortured a man to death to extort a confession of homicide. And we have just heard from Kwang-se pro-

vince, that on the 24th of the 11th moon, one Netscyuen, belonging to Canton, having received an appointment for his high literary attainments to the magistracy of a Heen district, in a fit of drunkenness, subjected a young man, on his bridal day, to the torture, because he would not resign the band of music which he had engaged to accompany, according to law and usage, his intended wife to his father's house. The young man's name was Kwanfa. He died under the torture, and the affrighted magistrat went and hanged himself.

A Chinese Prison.

Prisoners who have money to spend can be accommodated with private apartments, cards, servants, and every luxury. The prisoners' chains and fetters are removed from their bodies, suspended against the wall till the hour of going the rounds occurs. After that ceremony is over, the fetters are again placed where they hurt nobody. But those who have not money to bribe the keepers, are in a woful condition. Not only is every alleviation of their sufferings removed, but actual infliction of punishment is added to extort money to buy 'burnt offerings' (of paper) to the god of the jail, as the phrase is. For this purpose the prisoners are tied up, or rather hung up, and flogged. At night they are fettered down to a board by the neck, wrists, and ankles, amidst ordure and filth, whilst the rats, unmolested, are permitted to gnaw their limbs. This place of torment is proverbially called, in ordinary speech, *Te-yuk*, a term equivalent to the worst sense of the word, hell.—*Canton Register*.

Manilla.

By the *Milo*, we have advice from Marilla down to the 26th of April. A few days previous to her departure, the Government had issued an order, prohibiting all foreigners from trading in the interior, (or, as called there, the provinces,) and to confine their purchases of produce to the capital, which is supposed to be done with the view of confining the provincial trade to the native merchants of the place. This, however, is imposing no new fetters upon the trading privileges of the foreigners, as they never have been allowed to go into the interior upon any pretence, without special permission from the Government; and it cannot be detrimental to the prosperity of foreigners, as few or no mercantile speculations are effected in the interior.

Several slight shocks of earthquake have lately been felt, and a more severe shock may, perhaps, shortly be expected, if the opinion of long-experienced residents is to be confided in, who anticipate such an event from the burning of the large volcano in the province of Albay, which began last June, and has continued ever since. This volcano broke out in the year 1813, after a similar continuance of burning as at present, and destroyed several villages. The

ashes were carried as far as Manilla, distant from its mouth about 180 miles.

Our correspondent adds, 'We have at present no mercantile transactions of interest, the shipping season being over, and all the vessels leaving us. • Yesterday the French brig *Telegraph* left us for Havre de Grace. This vessel imported here 5,000 muskets on account of the Government, contracted for in Spain by a house of that nation in Paris, deliverable here at 9½ drs. each.

'There is scarcely any produce in the market. The sugar is coming in; the crop having been more abundant than in former years is calculated at from 78,000 to 80,000 piculs, and, in consequence, the prices are expected to be more moderate than during the two last seasons. Contracts for that article have been lately effected at drs. 5 7-8ths to 5 3-4ths per picul.—*Canton Register*.

Description of a Human Sacrifice in Bengal. By an Eye-Witness.

Yesterday morning (June 15, 1828,) I went to Khalee Ghaut in order to witness this spectacle. On my arrival at the spot, the corpse was so offensive, that it was scarcely possible to approach within twenty yards of it. I found, upon inquiry, that the deceased had expired three days ago, and the widow having determined to immolate herself on the pile of her late husband, and being ill at the time, it was necessary, in conformity with the rules prescribed by their religion, to defer the ceremony until her recovery. The unfortunate female was at this time concealed within a hut, near which lay the corpse, and no person could have access to her. The pile was soon erected on the banks of the neighbouring canal: it consisted of four stakes driven into the ground, and covered with wood and other combustibles. The wretched victim, in the meanwhile, arrived, supported by her nearest relations. She was about eighteen years of age, and appeared so weak and famished, that she was literally borne in the arms of her attendants, and removed to another hut near the water, in order to offer up a preparatory prayer. Two of the gentlemen present seized this opportunity of endeavouring to dissuade her from a purpose so rash and inconsistent, offering to maintain her for the remainder of her life, provided she would desist from her intention, representing to her at the same time the sinfulness and inutility of such a deed: her mind, however, seemed obviously wrought up to a pitch of wild enthusiasm by the previous treatment which she had undergone, and her replies were rather the incoherent ravings of religious phrenzy than the language of a reasonable person, and, in spite of every attempt to divert her from her gloomy purpose, she remained steadfast in her resolution. During the whole time she seemed oppressed with a degree of languor and stupefaction, that was very apparent in her actions, which induced myself and the other gentlemen to believe that some intoxicating drug had been administered to disorder her imagination.

She was constantly supported in the arms of a near relative, whose presence was necessary to keep up her drooping spirits, and to prompt her to this horrid deed. She was at length conducted to the water's edge in order to perform some other religious ceremony : in the mean while, the deceased was laid on the pile, whither she herself now proceeded, and after having walked, or rather having been carried, round the pile several times, her strength having entirely failed her, she was lifted from the ground by her attendants and placed by them within the arms of the deceased : in this situation she was speedily covered with heaps of dhujjo (a kind of dried rush used on the occasion) until she was totally concealed from our sight ; she was, indeed, so completely involved in this, that she must have been nearly suffocated by it. Not content, however, with this precaution, her inhuman sacrificers laid a heavy log of wood across the place that covered her legs, and were about to add several others, according to their usual custom, but one of the gentlemen very properly removed it, a circumstance that seemed to cause much displeasure to the perpetrators of the deed. They had also ropes in readiness, but were prevented by us from making use of them. Without all these preventives, however, every attempt at escape on the part of the unhappy victim must have proved fruitless, loaded as the miserable creature was with combustibles, and confined by the stiffened members of the decaying and loathsome corpse.

The pile was now lighted, and the shouts of the spectators drowned the cries of the sufferer. When the flames had so far consumed the pile as to expose to view the scorched and disfigured limbs of the couple, I quitted the place, with a firm impression, that the conduct of the helpless and deluded Hindoo female, in similar cases, is merely the effect of a momentary delirium produced by means adopted towards her for the purpose. In the present instance, she appeared entirely a passive subject in the scene, at the mercy of her attendants, who did whatever they pleased with her.

I shall refrain from any comment on a practice which, in the present age, is revolting to humanity, leaving it to your able pen to do so, my design being only to record one of those facts which, although indicating the rudest state of barbarism, and the grossest superstition, are tolerated in a country boasting of the advantages of British sway, and the blessings of Christianity.—*Letter in 'The Bengal Chronicle.'*

Lord William Bentinck. .

We have great pleasure in laying before our readers the following address presented to the Right Honourable Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, G.C.B. and G.C.H. on the occasion of his Lordship's arrival at this Presidency, on his voyage to assume the supreme government of India, by the Native inhabitants, and the kind and con-

descending reply which that benevolent and esteemed nobleman returned.

To the Right Honourable Lord William C. Bentinck, Governor-General of the East Indies.

Madras, June 27, 1828.

MY LORD,—When the inhabitants of Madras had the good fortune and honour of being protected and patronised by your Lordship when Governor of this Presidency, they experienced the good effects of your liberal policy and your pious and charitable disposition towards the poor, and every class of the community, particularly during the dearth of 1803 and 1804; as, by the exercise of those exalted qualities, the distressed villagers had been all provided with the means of support, and had been thus rescued from an untimely dissolution resulting from starvation and despair, to the utter disappointment of the uncharitable and ambitious hopes of the grain dealers, when rice was ordered to be supplied from Calcutta by your Lordship's command, which was gratuitously distributed to the poor, and sold to others at a moderate rate; thereby effectually providing a remedy against the inseparable consequences of such an awful visitation as the one adverted to.

This act of your lordship's benevolence had not only thus saved many thousands of lives, but had contributed to the security of the public revenues, the result of a wise policy; for had not your lordship then pitied the miserable state of the country, and provided the dying population with the means of support, the environs of Madras and the countries dependant thereon, would have been totally deserted, and thereby the resources of government must have suffered most materially.

These considerations excited our admiration and gratitude in no small degree, and have impressed us with no less attachment for your lordship's amiable virtues and good will towards us: and in again expressing our sentiments of unfeigned respect for your lordship, we exult in the happy occasion of your nomination to the highest station in the choice of the authorities at home to rule the destinies of India, alike to the benefit and interest of its subjects, and to the advantage and satisfaction of a grateful sovereign. That God may be with you wherever you are, protecting your lordship against all dangers, preserving your health and prolonging your life with happiness, is the most sincere and fervent wish of your lordship's most grateful and obedient servants.

(Here follows the signatures of above 240 persons.)

Lord Bentinck's Reply.

Madras, June 28, 1828.

TO THE NATIVE INHABITANTS OF MADRAS.—It is always pleasing to return to an old and beloved home: but, after an absence of above

twenty years, to be greeted with so hearty a welcome, and to find unabated those sentiments of confidence and good opinion which were then so consoling, is particularly gratifying to me. Be assured that in me you shall always find the same affectionate friend, ready and determined, if calamity shall assail you, to come down with all the power of the empire to your relief, and most anxious to promote, by every possible means, the happiness and welfare of the whole Indian population. May health and happiness ever attend you.

DEBATE AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

Wednesday, December 17, 1828.

THIS day a Quarterly General Court of Proprietors of East India Stock was held.

DIVIDEND.

The CHAIRMAN (W. Astell, Esq.) informed the Proprietors, that the Court of Directors had come to a resolution recommending the declaration of a dividend of 5½ per cent. on the Company's capital stock, for the half-year commencing on the 5th of July last, and ending on the 5th of January next, and he moved that the Court do agree in the said resolution.

The DEPUTY-CHAIRMAN (J. Loch, Esq.) seconded the motion.

General THORNTON observed, that the usual notice given when a declaration was made with respect to a dividend on the Company's stock for the half-year ending the 5th of January, was, that such dividend should be paid on the following day, namely, the 6th of January. But he found, by the present advertisement, that the dividend would not be payable until the 15th, making a difference of nine days. Probably there might be very good reasons for this alteration; but, if those who held Government securities were paid at the usual time, he knew not why the Proprietors of East India stock should receive their dividends later.

The CHAIRMAN said, if the gallant General had allowed him to put the question, he should have then felt it to be his duty to state that which must have occurred to every person interested. By some mistake, the 15th had been inserted instead of the 6th, on which latter day the dividends would be paid. He meant to have taken the earliest moment to state the fact. (*Hear.*)

The motion was then agreed to.

INDIAN SUTTEES.

Mr. POYNDER inquired, whether the Court of Directors had any communication to make to the Proprietors on a subject which had been largely agitated in this Court two years since—he meant the question of suttees? He wished to know if the Honourable Chairman could state to the Court whether any step had been taken to revoke that system of authorised but appalling murder?

Mr. S. DIXON rose to order. A gentleman was undoubtedly at liberty to ask a question, but he had no right to prepare it with declamation.

Mr. POYNDER said, he would leave the question in the hands of the Chairman, hoping that he should receive a satisfactory answer.

Mr. HUME contended, that the Honourable Proprietor himself (Mr.

Dixon) was out of order, in interrupting the learned gentleman, when he rose to ask a question with which the cause of humanity was so intimately concerned.

Mr. S. DIXON observed, that he did not say a word until mention was made of 'murder;' and, as he expected something stronger was likely to follow, he thought it right to interfere.

The CHAIRMAN, in answer to the question, said, that a despatch had very recently been transmitted to the Court of Directors from the Government of India, the substance of which was, that the Government had called on the local authorities to report on this subject, and the results of the report which had been received were embodied in the despatch, which should be read.

The despatch from the Bengal Government, dated the 10th of April, 1828, in answer to the instructions sent out by the Court of Directors in July, 1827, was then read. It stated the number of suttees which took place in 1825 and 1826, and observed, that the local authorities, in some quarters where the practice was common, declared, that there was a crying necessity for putting it down; while other officers, who resided in districts where it was rarely resorted to, did not think the subject worthy of marked attention. In some places, where the people were of a hasty and passionate character, it was thought that reason existed for apprehending considerable opposition to any attempt at an abrogation of the system; but, in others, the custom was so little observed, that it was supposed it might be easily removed. The despatch stated, that the suttees in 1826 fell short of those reported in any former year.

Mr. POYNTER said, it appeared that the suttees for 1825 and 1826 were now reported on. Parliament had only reported those of 1824. He wished to know what was the gross number of women sacrificed in 1825.

The CHAIRMAN answered, that the number of suttees in 1824 was 572; in 1825, 639; in 1826, only 518; being a diminution of 121 as compared with 1825.

Mr. POYNTER—That was at the rate of eight-and-forty human sacrifices for each month during those two years. He did not mean to make any motion, at present, on this subject; but he thought the attention of that Court, and of the public at large, ought to be called to the continuance of this iniquitous and unnecessary system. (*Hear.*)

Mr. HUME observed, that at a moment when meetings were held in every part of the country to petition against the continuance of this system,—when papers deprecating the custom were emanating from all quarters,—it behoved the East India Company to take effectual steps to put an end to it. He, for one, entered his protest against the opinions of those who maintained that these sacrifices were in accordance with, and were authorised by, the religion of those over whom they ruled in India; and his decided feeling was, that no danger whatever would arise in India, if the Company interfered to abolish the practice. (*Hear.*) He conceived that, even if a trifling disturbance (and trifling it must be, if there were any disturbance at all) were likely to be occasioned by such interference, still they were bound to interfere, in order to overthrow a system which was at variance with all the feelings of humanity and morality.

Mr. S. DIXON said, that the Court of Directors had, on a former occasion, given the Proprietors an assurance that representations should be made to the governing powers in India on this important subject. The

Directors had since received a communication from India, which had that day been read,—a fact which proved that the Directors had not lost sight of the question. He was well convinced that they would not lose sight of it, but that every thing consistent with propriety would continue to be done.

CONVEYANCE OF LETTERS IN INDIA.

Mr. HUME made a complaint similar to one which he laid before the Court two years ago, with respect to a regulation connected with the conveyance of letters in India. It appeared that the post-office authorities there were not content with the name of the person to whom a letter was addressed, but insisted, also, on knowing the name of the writer. When he formerly stated this, he was told that he laboured under a mistake, and that no such system of *espionage* was known in India. But, in the course of last month, a document was sent to him which proved that he was perfectly right. That document was signed by Mr. E. Elliot, post-master, and stated the necessity not only of the name of the person to whom the letter was addressed being known, but also the name of the writer, to assist, it was said, in tracing letters that might fail to reach their destination; these names to be entered by the Postmaster-General in a book. Now, he could not understand why there should be so much jealousy and distrust of communications going through that channel. It might be said, that, if such a precaution were not taken, the post-office would be burdened with letters directed to persons who could not be found, and that the revenue might suffer, if the persons writing such letters were not known. But there was no validity in that objection; for, in India, the person putting in a letter paid the postage, and therefore the revenue could not suffer. The loss must, of necessity, fall on the sender, if the letter failed to reach its destination. He hoped that this standing rule, if adopted and sanctioned by the Court of Directors,—a rule which was not well calculated to render the governing body popular with those whom they governed, but must have a contrary effect,—would be immediately rescinded.

Mr. TUCKER defended the order in question, which was adopted for the greater security of the letter, and for the satisfaction of the party sending it. The Honourable Proprietor knew that it was customary to write on a letter 'this letter is sent by such a gentlemen,' in order, if it happen to miss, that the post-master should know to whom it ought to be returned. A little memorandum-book was kept, in which each letter was entered, in order to prevent the servant who might be intrusted with carrying it from neglecting his duty, and appropriating the postage. He positively asserted, that the regulation was a good one. He spoke, of course, of his own time, when he was connected with that department; and he denied, most positively, that any thing like a system of *espionage* had ever been acted on. He never heard of any such thing. It was never whispered, that letters were subject to supervision for any private or public purpose whatever. (*Hear.*) He believed that the trust was held sacred; and no suspicion, to his knowledge, had ever been attached to the manner in which the post-office in India was conducted. The circumstances which the Honourable Proprietor himself had stated, did not go to prove, in any degree whatever, either that there had been an abuse of power, or that this regulation was framed for any other purpose but to ensure the satisfaction of persons sending letters.

Mr. HUME still insisted, that the regulation betrayed a feeling of distrust and suspicion. It was, indeed, evidence of a species of *espionage*

that was disgraceful to the Government. It was not a correct proceeding, and no inconvenience could arise from abandoning it. He would take the case of a public newspaper. If any individual, in the situation of editing a newspaper, wished to correspond on some subject not pleasing to the public authorities, this mode of calling for the names of those who wrote letters, and sent them through the post-office, must be the most effectual means of preventing such a correspondence from being carried on.

The CHAIRMAN observed, that the regulation to which the Honourable Proprietor objected had existed for a long time, and was, he conceived, a very beneficial regulation for the writer, since it afforded the means of satisfying him as to the fate of his letter. He thought the alarm which the Honourable Proprietor entertained was ill-founded, for he was sure there was no fear whatever that the correspondence of any gentleman would be examined. With respect to the question which had been introduced by an Honourable Proprietor, (Mr. Poynder,) he would say, that he believed there were no two men who held a difference of opinion on the subject. The Court of Directors wished, most sincerely, to put an end to the system of suttees. Whether this object ought to be effected by authority sent from home, (as some Honourable Proprietors contended that it should,) while the authorities on the other side of the water were afraid to abolish it forcibly, was a very serious question. (*Hear.*) If those on the other side of the water were so cautious in approaching this question, how much more cautious, he asked, ought individuals residing in this country to be? (*Hear.*) He thought the subject might safely be left in the hands of the Government; and the fact, that the suttees in 1826 were less, by 121, than they were in 1825, afforded a fair presumption that the practice was on the decline. Here the discussion terminated.

After some conversation relative to a resolution passed two years ago, on the subject of the qualification of persons appointed to act as interpreters in India, and which possessed no general interest, the Court adjourned.

COURTS MARTIAL IN INDIA.

‘Head-quarters, Choultry Plain, 13th May, 1828.

‘Before a General Court Martial held at Nagpore, on the 18th of April, 1828, Serjeant Thomas Likie, of the effective supernumeraries, was tried for the wilful murder of George Stokes, gunner, of the artillery, by shooting him in the body with a gun loaded with ball, which caused his immediate death. The Court found the prisoner guilty, and sentenced him, to be hanged, which sentence was confirmed by his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and ordered to be carried into execution. But the unfortunate prisoner managed, the evening previous to the day fixed for his execution, to get a quantity of opium conveyed into his cell, which he swallowed, and was found dead by the party who went to bring him out; however, as an example to the troops, the body was extended under the gallows, with the halter round the neck, while the troops marched past it.’

28th June, 1828.

‘Before a General Court Martial, held at Quilon, on the 24th of May, 1828, Captain Thomas Arthur Chauvel, of the 20th regiment of Native Infantry, was tried on the following charge, viz.—With conduct greatly to the prejudice of good order and military discipline, in having, while in command of a detachment at Cochin, on the evening of the 22d of January, 1828, repeatedly struck and grossly abused, the Rev. Samuel Reisdale, Missionary, residing at the same place.

‘The Court found the prisoner guilty of having struck and grossly abused the Missionary, and sentenced him to be suspended from rank, pay, and allowances, for one calendar month; which sentence was approved and confirmed by the Commander-in-Chief.’

CIVIL AND MILITARY APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, AND CHANGES IN INDIA.

[B. signifies Bombay—M. Madras—and C. Calcutta.]

- Alcock, P., Cadet, Engineer, prom. to 2d Lieut.—C. June 13.
 Archbold, E. C., Lieut., Dep.-Paymaster at Benares, to be Sub-Assist. Com.-Gen., v. Clayton.—C. June 13.
 Adam, John, Assist.-Surg., to be Surg., v. Crichton, dec., to take rank v. Mackenzie, dec.—C. June 27.
 Ashton, J. T., rem. from 1st to 2d brig. Horse-Artill.—M. June 16.
 Affleck, R., Lieut., 16th N. I., app. to 2d batt. Pioneers.—M. July 3.
 Anderson, G. W., Mr., to be Acting 2d Judge of Court of Suddur Dewanee and Foujdarry Adawlut, v. Ironside.—B. July 8.
 Asbuthnot, R. K., Mr., prom. to the rank of Junr. Merch.—B. June 7.
 Broom, A., Cadet, Artill., prom. to 2d Lieut.—C. June 11.
 Bell, J. D., Cadet, Artill., prom. to 2d Lieut.—C. June 11.
 Buist, G., Cadet, Caval., prom. to Cornet.—C. June 11.
 Berwick, G. J., admitted Assist.-Surg.—C. June 11.
 Barnett, W., Capt., from 1st class of Dep. Assist., to 2d class of Assist. Commis.-Gen.—C. June 13.
 Bygrave, B., Lieut., 5th N. I., to be Paymaster of Native Pioneers and Adj. of Native Invalids at Allahabad, v. Goldie.—C. June 13.
 Bagle, H., Lieut., 2d N. I., to comm. Arracan Prov. Batt. and Pol. Corps., v. Smith.—C. June 20.
 Bell, B., Assist.-Surg., to officiate as Assist. Garr.-Surg., v. Spens.—C. June 20.
 Burt, J. R., Cornet, app. to do duty with 8th Lt. Cav.—C. June 4.
 Baddeley, W. C., Lieut.-Col., 43d N. I., returned to duty.—C. June 7.
 Bralson, C., Cadet, Engin., prom. to 2d Lieut.—C. June 15.
 Barwell, H. M., Cadet, Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. June 13.
 Baddely, H. C., Cadet, Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. June 13.
 Bell, G. B., Capt., 68th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. May 30.
 Bowe, W., Capt., 16th N. I., on furl. to China for health.—C. June 27.
 Boyes, T., Ens., app. to do duty with 38th N. I.—M. June 13.
 Borthwick, Wm., Ens., posted to 9th N. I.—M. June 16.
 Bell, H. H., 2d Lieut., posted to 2d batt. Artill.—M. July 1.
 Black, B. W., Lieut., posted to 2d batt. Artill.—M. July 1.
 Bell, W. C., Ens., app. to do duty with 9th N. I.—M. July 2.
 Bridges, D. M., Ens., app. to do duty with 16th N. I.—M. July 2.
 Balfour, D. W., Ens., app. to do duty with 16th N. I.—M. July 2.
 Buée, J. P., posted to 15th N. I.—M. July 4.
 Blane, D. A., Mr., prom. to the rank of Junr. Merch.—B. June 7.
 Bell, A., Mr., prom. to the rank of Junr. Merch.—B. June 7.
 Boulderson, S. M., Mr., to be Collec. of Land Rev. and Cust. at Bareilly.—B. July 4.
 Cubitt, Wm., Capt., 18th N. I., to be Sec. to Clothing Board, v. Maddock, prom. to reg. Majority.—C. June 13.
 Clargent, F. W., Cadet, Engin., prom. to 2d Lieut.—C. June 13.
 Cornish, H. H., Cadet, Artill., prom. to 2d Lieut.—C. June 13.
 Cornish, F. W., Cadet, Artill., prom. to 2d Lieut.—C. June 13.
 Cumberledge, H. A., Cadet, Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. June 13.
 Clayton, H., Lieut., Sub-Assist. Com.-Gen., to be Deputy Paymaster at Benares, v. Archbold.—C. June 13.
 Crane, J. C., Lieut., 23d N. I., to be Capt. of a comp., v. Field.—C. June 20.
 Cooper, F., Assist.-Surg., posted to 6th Lt. Cav.—M. June 11.
 Church, W. J., Ens., appointed to do duty with 26th N. I.—M. June 13.
 Congreve, H., 2d Lieut., posted to 2d batt. Artill.—M. July 1.
 Cox, E. T., Ens., app. to do duty with 19th N. I.—M. July 2.
 Cockburn, A. K., Ens., app. to do duty with 29th N. I.—M. July 2.

- Cooby, C. A., Lieut., 25th N. I., app. to 1st batt. Pioneers.—M. July 3.
 Carr, S., Lieut., 11th N. I., returned to duty.—M. July 4.
 Corsar, F. A., Mr., prom. to the rank of Factor.—B. July 6.
 Dear, A. F. C., Cadet, Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. June 13.
 Davidson, J., Assist.-Surg., app. to the Med. duties at Azimghur, v. Colvin.
 —C. June 20.
 Dickson, H., Superintend.-Surg., to be 3d Mem. Med. Board, v. Ogilvy,
 prom.—C. June 13.
 Duff, W., Assist.-Surg., returned to duty.—C. June 7.
 Downton, H., Lieut., 4th N. I., on furl. to the Cape for health.—C. June 6.
 Dilke, T., Lieut., 2d Eur. reg., app. to 1st batt. Pioneers.—M. June 12.
 Drysdale, W., Ens., app. to do duty with 10th N. I.—M. July 2.
 Deacon, R., Lieut. 18th N. I., app. to 1st batt. Pioneers.—M. July 3.
 Dewar, Jas., Esq., to officiate as Adv.-Gen., v. Bridgman, dec.—B. June 25.
 Elphinstone, Alex., Mr., prom. to the rank of Junr. Merch.—B. June 7.
 Eskine, J., Mr., prom. to the rank of Factor.—B. July 8.
 Fendall, H., Lieut., from 1st to 2d class of Dept.-Assist. Commis.-Gen.
 —C. June 13.
 Field, B. F., Capt., 23d N. I., transf. to Pension Estab.—C. June 13.
 Finnis, J. Lieut., Assist. Execut.-Officer to 14th div. of Public Works, to offi-
 ciate as Execut.-Officer, v. Buttanshaw.—C. June 20.
 Furnell, Assist.-Surg., app. to do med. duties of Civ. Station at Sylhet, v.
 Wardlaw.—C. June 27.
 Fallowfield, J., Surg., app. to 3d N. I.—C. June 7.
 Ferrier, J., Ens., app. to do duty with 16th N. I.—M. July 2.
 Foster, J., Ens., app. to do duty with 23d N. I.—M. July 2.
 Farquharson J. H., Mr., prom. to the rank of Junr. Merch.—B. June 7.
 Goodwyn, H. Lieut., Garris.-Engin. of Hansi, to be Execut.-Engin. of 12th or
 Kurnaul div. of Public Works, and of Garr. of Hansi, &c., v. Sessmore,
 prom. to a reg. Major.—C. June 13.
 Gibb, Alex., Esq., 2d Mem. Med. Board, to be 1st Mem., v. Meek.—C. June 20.
 Gilmore, A., Assist., Surg., app. to Hill Rangers.—C. June 7.
 Graham, H. G., Assist.-Surg., posted to 16th N. I.—M. June 12.
 Green, Edw., Ens., posted to 2d N. I.—M. June 22.
 Grobce, D., Cornet, app. to do duty with 11th Lt. Cav.—M. July 2.
 Gordon, R., Ens., app. to do duty with 10th N. I.—M. July 2.
 Germain, J. H., Ens., app. to do duty with 43d N. I.—M. July 2.
 Gibbings, A. B., Ens., 16th N. I., app. to 2d batt. Pioneers.—M. July 3.
 Gilberne, George, Mr., prom. to the rank of Sen. Merch.—B. May 30.
 Harriott, F. J., Cadet, Cav., prom. to Cornet.—C. June 11.
 Hill, R., Cadet, Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. June 11.
 Hopper, A. Q., Cadet, Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. June 11.
 Henchman, H., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. June 11.
 Huish, G., Lieut. Sub-Assist., to be a Dep.-Assist.-Commis.-Gen. of 2d class.
 —C. June 13.
 Hare, S. B., Cadet of Engin., prom. to 2d Lieut.—C. June 13.
 Huish, A., Cadet of Artill., prom. to 2d Lieut.—C. June 13.
 Hunter, C., Lieut., 50th N. I., transf. to Pens. Estab.—C. June 27.
 Humffreys, S. J., Assist.-Surg., rem. from 5th to 4th Lt. Cav.—M. June 16.
 Hogarth, J., Ens., rem. from 29th N. I., to 2d Eur. regt.—M. July 1.
 Hawkins, F. C., app. to do duty with 40th N. I.—M. July 2.
 Holme, P., Ens., app. to do duty with 11th N. I.—M. July 2.
 Hamilton, R., Ens., app. to do duty with 43d N. I.—M. July 2.
 Hooper, H., Vet. Surg., posted to 2d Lt. Cav.—M. July 2.
 Henderson, Jas., Lieut., 46th N. I., returned to duty.—M. July 4.
 Holland, E. M., prom. to the rank of Junior Merch.—B. June 7.
 Homby, N., Mr., prom. to the rank of Jun. Merch.—B. June 7.

- Ilif, Geo., Lieut., 67th N. I., to be Adj., v. Smith, dec.—C. June 4.
 Ireland, C., Ens., app. to do duty with 16th N. I.—M. July 2.
 Jones, J., Cadet, Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. June 11.
 Johnston, J. M., Ens., app. to do duty with 43d N. I.—M. July 2.
 Jackson, J. H., Mr., prom. to the rank of Jun. Merch.—B. June 7.
 Knox, J. S., Cadet of Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. June 11.
 Kentish, John, Mr., to be acting 3d Judge of Court of Suddur Dewanee and Foujdary Adawlut.—B. July 8.
 Leader, W., Ens., posted to 16th N. I.—M. June 4.
 Lamb, J., Assist., Surg., rem. from 4th to 5th Lt. Cav.—M. June 16.
 Leslie, C., Lieut., Inv. Estab., posted to 4th Native Vet. Batt.—M. June 20.
 Macan, John, Lieut., 52d N. I., to be Capt. of a Comp., v. M'Bean dec.—C. June 27.
 Maxwell, Neil, Surg., app. to 3d Lt. Cav., v. Mackenzie, dec.—June 4.
 M'Andrew, A., Assist.-Surg., app. to 10th Lt. Cav.—C. June 7.
 Mowatt, J. L., Lieut., to act as Interp. and Quart.-Mas. to 6th batt. Artill. during the absence of Lieut. Rotton—C. June 10.
 Moffat, H., Lieut., 7th Lt. Cav., returned to duty.—C. June 7.
 Marshall, E., Lieut., 3d Extra N. I., returned to duty.—C. June 7.
 Macleod, J. C., Lieut. 2d N. I., on furl.—C. June 27.
 Mac Vitie, J. S., Lieut. 9th N. I., rem. to Pens. Estab.—M. June 28.
 Moore, J., 2d Lieut., posted to 2d batt. Artill.—M. July 1.
 Macqueen, L., Cornet, app. to do duty with 1st Lt. Cav.—M. July 2.
 Maitland, J., Cornet, app. to do duty with 1st Lt. Cav.—M. July 2.
 Morrill, T., Ens., app. to do duty with 21st N. I.—M. July 2.
 Macaulay, Colin, Ens., posted to 10th N. I.—M. July 4.
 Mermadier, H. J. C., Lieut., 29th N. I., returned to do duty.—M. July 4.
 Mills, Richard, Mr., prom. to the rank of Sen. Merchant.—B. May 30.
 Mills, E. B., Mr., prom. to the rank of Sen. Merch.—B. May 30.
 Nisbet, M., Assist.-Surg., posted to 62d N. I.—C. June 7.
 Napleton, H. G., Ens., posted to 8th N. I.—M. June 16.
 Oldfield, F. R. R. Lieut., 25th N. I., to be a Sub-Assistant Commissary-General.—C. June 13.
 Ogilvy, Alex., Esq., 3d Mem. to be 2d Mem. Med. Board, v. Gibb, prom.—C. June 20.
 Osborn, E., Maj., Inv. Estab., posted to 1st Native Vet. Batt.—M. June 30.
 Price, T. S., Lieut., 8th N. I., to act as Interp. and Quarter-Master to 18th N. I.—C. June 7.
 Paton, R., Ens., app. to do duty with 16th N. I.—M. July 2.
 Phillipson, J., Vet. Surg., rem. from 2d to 4th Lt. Cav.—M. July 2.
 Pitt, H., George, prom. to the rank of Factor.—B. July 6.
 Ramsay, J., Ens., 23d N. I., to be Lieut., v. Crane.—C. June 13.
 Rees, W. W., Capt., 56th N. I., on furl.—C. May 30.
 Royes, S. H., Mr., admitted an Assist.-Surg.—M. June 28.
 Robertson, J. B., 2d Lieut., posted to 2d batt. Artill.—M. July 1.
 Reid, L. R., Mr. prom. to the rank of Sen. Merch.—B. May 30.
 Ravenshaw, J. H., Mr., prom. to the rank of Jun. Merch.—B. June 7.
 Russell, C. D., Mr., to be Collector of Rungpore.—B. July 4.
 Robinson, F. H., Mr., to be Sub-Collector and Joint Magistrate at Pillebheet.—B. July 4.
 Sapping, A. M., Cadet of Artill., prom. to 2d Lieut.—C. June 11.
 Spens, T., Assist.-Surg., app. to attend on the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, on a visit to the Churches of the Station.—C. June 13.
 Shaw, W., Ens., 52d N. I., to be Lieut. v. Macan, prom.—C. June 20.
 Simpson, T., Cadet, Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. June 27.
 Salter, H. F., Capt., 2d Lt. Cav., returned to duty.—C. June 7.
 Short, E. H., Ens., posted to 29th N. I.—M. July 4.

- Smith, F. E., Capt., 47th N. I., returned to duty.—M. July 4.
 Steven, J., Mr., prom. to the rank of Factor.—B. July 8.
 Taylor, J., Capt., from 2d to 1st class Assist.-Commis.-Gen.—C. June 13.
 Trevor, S. S., Lieut., rem. from 2d to 1st Brig. Horse Artill.—M. June 16.
 Tovin, R., Mr., prom. to the rank of Sen. Merch.—B. May 30.
 Talbott, T. H., Mr., prom. to the rank of Factor.—B. July 6.
 Thompson, G. F., Mr., to be Deputy Collec. of Land Rev. and Cust., at Bareilly.
 —B. July 4.
 Vincent, O., Cadet, Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. June 11.
 Vincent, G. F. F., Lieut., 8th N. I., to be Capt. by brevet.—C. June 20.
 Vincent, Edm., Ens., rem. from 2d Eur. Reg. to 29th N. I.—M. July 1.
 Whistler, G. H., Cadet, Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. June 11.
 Walker, A., admitted Assist.-Surgeon.—C. June 11.
 Wrottesley, H., Lieut.-Col., Inv. Batt., to Comm. 12th or Agra Prov. Batt.
 —C. June 27.
 Wilkinson, J., Assist.-Surg., posted to 5th N. I.—M. June 27.
 Worster, W. K., 2d Lieut., posted to 2d Batt. Artill.—M. July 1.
 Wake, C. S. A., Ehs., app. to do duty with 43d N. I.—M. July 2.
 Woodfall, C., Lieut., 47th N. I., returned to duty.—M. July 4.
 Warden, F., Esq., to be Collec. of sea customs and town duties, and lar^d revenue
 of Bombay.—B. June 5.
 Warden, J., Mr., prom. to the rank of Jun. Merch.—B. June 7.
 Willis, W., Mr., prom. to the rank of Jun. Merch.—B. June 7.
 Wilkinson, L., Mr., prom. to the rank of Factor.—B. July 6.
 Young, T., Ens., 2d N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. May 30.

BIRTHS.

- Biggs, the lady of Lieut.-Col., of Artill., of a daughter, at Cawnpore, June 7.
 Buckley, the lady of F., of a son, at Futtyghur, June 13.
 Clow, the lady of the Rev. James, Sen. Minister of the Scotch Church, of a
 daughter, at Colabah, July 3.
 Campbell, the lady of Major C. H., of a son, at Cossipore, July 9.
 Dougal, the lady of J., Esq., of a son, at Calcutta, June 9.
 Ellary, the wife of Quart.-Mast. W., 59th Foot, of a daughter, at Fort William,
 June 10.
 Garden, the lady of A., Esq., of a daughter, at Meerut, June 22.
 Home, the lady of Capt. Richard, 5th Extra N. I., at Jubbulpore, June 10.
 Hickey, the lady of Capt. F., Commander of the Marine Batt., of a son, at Bom-
 bay, July 5.
 Jacobs, the lady of J. H., Esq., of a son, at Futtyghur, June 6.
 Meriton, the lady of Capt. R. O., Pay-mast., Baroda Subsidiary Force, of a son,
 at Baroda, June 29.
 Morrell, the lady of R., Esq., of a son, at Gualjung, July 8.
 Pearson, the lady of Assist.-Surg. J. T., of a daughter, at Midnapore, June 8.
 Wimberley, the lady of the Rev. C., district Chap., of a son, at Howrah, June 11.
 Wake, the lady of Capt. H. W., 44th N. I., of a daughter, at Dacca, June 26.
 Wills, the lady of F., Esq., Civ.-Serv., of a son, at Allipore, June 29.

MARRIAGES.

- Bogle, Arch., Lieut., 2d N. I., to Miss Maynard Eliza Grange, niece of Sir Charles
 D'Oyley, Bart., at Bankipore, June 20.
 Dwyer, Francis, Esq., Assist.-Surg., to Miss C. H. Dring, at Bellaspoor,
 June 30.
 Kerr, W. B., Esq., to Miss Catherine Moore, at Calcutta, June 2.

M'Mahon, M. J. T., Esq., of Civ.-Serv., to Eliza Mary, second daughter of Charles M'Kenzie, Esq., Civ.-Serv., at Calcutta, June 26.
 Motteley, C., Assist.-Surg. to Civ.-Surg. of Azimeer, to Mary Anne, youngest daughter of Brig. R. P. Wilson, at Nusseerabad, June 1.

DEATHS.

Aldous, the infant son of W., Capt., 38th N. I., at Futtighur, June 22.
 Beck, Eliza, relict of the late Capt. Robert, at Intally, June 19.
 Bird, E. W., son of E., Esq., Barrister at law, at Calcutta, July 9.
 Boileau, J. P., son of Lieut.-Col. J. P., Horse Artill., at Meerut, June 29.
 Craigie, Margaret, infant daughter of Major J. Craigie, at Chowringhee, July 2.
 Corfield, A. J., daughter of Lieut. Joseph, 1st N. I., at Allahabad, June 1.
 Dely, T., Major, 38th Foot, at Cawnpore, June 9.
 Fleming, Robert, Esq., Surg., at Calcutta, June 9.
 Frazer, Hugh, Lieut.-Col.-Comm. Artill., at Ceylon, June 30.
 Gwinnett, James, Ens., 4th N. I., at Dapoolce, June 28.
 Gurton, J., Esq., at Benares, formerly of Futtighur, June 18.
 Hogg, Mary, wife of the late Capt., at Calcutta, June 21.
 Horkin, J. W., Ens., 18th N. I., at Mhow, July 2.
 Hunt, Robert, Lieut.-Col.-Comm. of Invalids, at Bycullah, July 3.
 Hemming, Capt., 44th Foot, at Ghazee-pore, June 7.
 Hawthorne, Steele, youngest son of Major, 17th N. I., at Dinapore, July 8.
 Lamb, W. G., son of John, Esq., of Malda, at St. Helena.
 M'Bean, J. G., Capt., 52d N. I., at Chittagong, June 11.
 Pinto, C. E., son of the late C. E., Esq., at Calcutta, July 6.
 Pollock, R. M., Lieut.-Adj., 3d Extra Beng. N. I., aged 38, at Bhopal-pore, June 20.
 Toke, Anne, wife of J. S., Esq., Assist.-Surg., 15th N. I., at Allyghur, June 8.
 Thomson, Jas., Esq., Assist.-Surg., 38th Foot, at Cawnpore, June 7.
 Thullier, Chas., Lieut., 2d Bombay Lt. Cav., at Mhow, June 2.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date. 1828.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Place of Depart.	Date. 1828.
Nov. 29	Cowes	.. Florentia	.. Walker	.. Batavia	.. Aug. 8
Nov. 29	Downs	.. Julia	.. Grant	.. Bombay	.. July 29
Dec. 1	Portsmouth	.. John	.. Moncrieff	.. Batavia	.. July 20
Dec. 1	Bristol	.. Ada	.. Cock	.. Cape	.. Sep. 14
Dec. 1	Downs	.. Adml. Benbow	.. Crawford	.. Bombay	.. Aug. 1
Dec. 1	Plymouth	.. Louisa	.. Mackay	.. Bengal	.. June 29
Dec. 1	Dover	.. North Briton	.. Morrison	.. Singapore	.. July 18
Dec. 4	Stranraer	.. Margaret	.. Coulthard	.. N.S. Wales	.. June 21
Dec. 8	Downs	.. Sovereign	.. MacKellar	.. Bengal	.. July 26
Dec. 9	Downs	.. Morley	.. Williams	.. Batavia	.. Aug. 20
Dec. 10	Downs	.. Comet	..	.. Madeira	.. Nov. 22
Dec. 11	Cowes	.. Iris	.. Frank	.. Bengal	.. Aug. 12
Dec. 13	Cowes	.. Hottentot	.. Weiss	.. Mauritius	.. Sep. 5
Dec. 15	Dover	.. America	.. Donald	.. Singapore	.. June 1
Dec. 15	Gravesend	.. Mary	.. Dagnio	.. Bombay	.. Aug. 2
Dec. 18	Margate	.. Symmetry	.. Smith	.. Ceylon	.. Aug. 12
Dec. 22	Ramsgate	.. Norman	.. Gennie	.. Mauritius	..

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date. 1828.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
July	Batavia	London	Smith	London
July 27	Bombay	Sovereign	Nelstield	Liverpool
July 28	Bombay	Alroyn	Muir	Liverpool
July 9	Calcutta	Albion	M'Leod	Liverpool
June 19	N. S. Wales	Bencoolen	Martin	London
July 12	Calcutta	Bradock	Whingates	Liverpool
July 15	Calcutta	Bahamian	Pearce	Liverpool
July 16	Calcutta	Elizabeth	Pell	London
July 18	Calcutta	William	Young	London
July 23	Calcutta	Welcome	Paul	Glasgow
July 25	Calcutta	Hebden	Fowler	London
July 26	Calcutta	Fame	Bullen	London
July 30	Calcutta	Victory	Farquharson	London
Aug. 3	Calcutta	City of Aberdeen	Duthie	Glasgow
Aug 5	Bengal	Thames	Brigg	London

DEPARTURES FROM EUROPE.

Date. 1828.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
Dec. 1	Cowes	Maria	Steel	St. H. & Cape
Dec. 1	Cowes	Jane	Elsworthy	N. S. Wales
Dec. 3	Portsmouth	Ann	Christie	N. Zealand
Dec. 5	Liverpool	Rose	Andriette	Mauritius
Dec. 5	Downs	Wm. Maitland	Jameson	Bombay
Dec. 6	Liverpool	Spartan	Eves	Bengal
Dec. 11	Falmouth	Clarence	Muddle	South Seas
Dec. 13	Gravesend	Laurel	Tait	Bengal
Dec. 13	Liverpool	Corsair	Robinson	Rio Janeiro
Dec. 14	Portsmouth	Olinda	Robinson	Cape
Dec. 14	Downs	Mary Ann	Spottiswood	Singapore
Dec. 14	Falmouth	Nimble	Broad	Mauritius
Dec. 14	Plymouth	Forth	Robertson	Mauritius
Dec. 14	Plymouth	Elizabeth	Collins	Madeira
Dec. 15	Portsmouth	Vibilia	Stephenson	Cape
Dec. 16	Gravesend	Henry	Pearson	C. of G. Hope
Dec. 21	Margate	Favourite	Christie	Cape
Dec. 24	Gravesend	Columbine	Tait	N. S. Wales

All vessels that have sailed since Nov. 10, have been obliged several times to put back to different ports; there is not one of them in the list but is two or three times marked as arrived and departed; and, up to the 27th of December, it was believed that every vessel which had sailed since the 10th of November was still in some British port.

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

PASSENGERS HOMEWARDS.

By the *Calista*, from India :—Dr. Hood ; Messrs. William Cummings, Charles Seale, William Robinson, King, and Barnes.

~~By the~~ *Columbine*, from the Cape :—Mr. John Duke Jackson, merchant, and William Townsend. Three officers of the late ship *Padang*.

By the *Henry*, from the Cape :—Mr. Van Derburry, owner of the late ship *Padang*. Mr. George Scriven ; Mrs. Van Derburry, and children ; and other passengers of the *Padang*.

By the *Admiral Benbow*, from Bombay :—Mr. W. A. Crawford.

By the *North Briton*, from Singapore :—Captain Syme ; Messrs. Strachan and MacCarty, Civil Service ; and James Nisbet, merchant, of the House of Nisbet and Dickson, (Cape.)

By the *Sovereign*, from Bengal :—Dr. Malcolm ; Messrs. Downs, Turner, and Young ; Mrs. Shaw. One servant.

By the *Abel Jasman*, from Batavia :—Captain De Vries, Lieutenants Cockburn, Gasushal, Freetierre ; and Mons. Von Stork.

By the *Mary*, from Bombay :—Captain Holmes, late of the *Sovereign*, from the Mauritius.

By the *Hottentot*, from the Mauritius :—Mrs. Froberville.

By the *Symmetry*, from Ceylon :—Messrs. Spain, Hyde, Archer, Bloomer, Wilmott, and three children ; Roberts and Chambers. Mesdames Mainwaring, Haddock, Roberts, Taylor, and Lister ; one child, and three servants.

THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. LXII.

	Page.
1. Proceedings at Liverpool connected with Opening the Trade to India and China	199
2. Song—Godlike Liberty	*230
3. On the Distinction in the American Colonies arising from Mixture of Blood	231
4. Song— <i>Fiara bella, te amo</i>	238
5. Voyage from Bussorah down the River Euphrates to Bushire	239
6. Greece	240
7. On the Mitigation of Negro Slavery	250
8. The Kenite	255
9. Advantageous Position of Egypt as a connecting link between England and India	256
10. The Maniac	267
11. On the Danger to which British India is exposed from a Russian Invasion	269
12. Historic Sketches written in India	290
13. Recent French Scientific Expedition to Egypt	295
14. Song—A Wee Drappie o't	302
15. Memoir of Mr. John Fowler Hull	303
16. Trade of Russia with China	311
17. On an Ill-timed Wish of 'A Happy New Year,'	322
18. Journey in the Interior of New South Wales	323
19. Sonnet on Visiting the Ruins of the Savoy Palace, early in the morning	329
20. Character of Lord Byron	330
21. Memoirs of Lieutenant Shipp	335
22. Opinions and Maxims of the Hindoos	339
23. Slave Trade at the Island of Nias, Singapore	341
24. Suttees in India	347
25. Statistics of the Province of Basscin	350
26. Sonnet—Evening	355
27. The Press at the Cape of Good Hope	356
28. Latest News from India :—Death of Sir E. West and Sir C. Chambers	372
29. Civil and Military Appointments, Promotions, and Changes in India	376
30. Births, Marriages, and Deaths	377
31. Shipping Intelligence	378
32. General List of Passengers	379

FEBRUARY, 1829.

MR. BUCKINGHAM'S LECTURES.

EXTENSION OF COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE WITH INDIA, AND OPENING OF THE TRADE TO CHINA.

THE satisfactory result of Mr. Buckingham's visit to Liverpool during the past month, being such as to strengthen and confirm him in his previous determination, he will accordingly follow up this first effort, by a similar personal visit to all the great towns and populous districts of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, in the order of their importance or proximity of situation. This will be effected so as to embrace one or two places in the first fortnight of each month: and thus to admit of his being in London during the remainder of that period, to bring out the succeeding Number of *The Oriental Herald*, to which his attention will now be chiefly directed.

The profits arising from his Lectures at Liverpool, amounting to £100, having been given over to Mr. James Cropper, Mr. John Ewart, and Mr. William Rathbone, merchants of that town, to be applied to the commencement of a Fund for promoting the general object in view: and Mr. Buckingham being particularly desirous of waiving all considerations of private, personal, or pecuniary benefit, from the delivery of those Lectures at other places, he proposes to devote the whole of the profits arising from this source, to the two following objects:

1. The first half of whatever sum may be so realized, to be given towards the formation of a Select Library, for the use of the 'Oriental Free Trade Association,' to be formed in each town: to consist of all the best Works on India and the Eastern World, for the purpose of general reference and accurate information on all the topics likely to come under public discussion, as connected with the East India Company's Monopoly, in Parliament or elsewhere.

2. The second half of such sum to be given as a reward for the composition of a Prize Essay, without limitation of Candidates, containing a description of the particular Town or District in which these Lectures may be delivered; especially with reference to its commercial relations with other parts of the globe, its manufactures, trade, and resources; and a development of the advantages which would result to its population, from a Free Commercial Intercourse with the Eastern World. This Essay to be formed, as nearly as practicable, on the model of the 'Description of Bussorah, the chief port of the Persian Gulf,' and the 'Report on the Trade of Smyrna, the principal commercial city of the Turkish Empire,' as printed in the *Oriental Herald*, vol. X. p. 72, & p. 473, and vol. XIX. p. 36. The claims of the respective Candidates to the Prize Premium offered for the best composition, to be adjudged by the Local Committee of the Town or District in which the 'Oriental Free Trade Association' is formed, and to a description of the commerce and resources of which the Essay will be especially directed.

It is hardly necessary to add, that by the first of these objects, the best information will be collected in the Town itself, respecting India and the Oriental World: and by the second, a body of information of the most useful and valuable kind, will be collected into one focus, and from thence distributed more widely than could be accomplished through any other channel, over every portion of the Eastern Hemisphere—where the circulation of *The Oriental Herald* has, ever since its first establishment, been greater than that of any other English Publication that can be named.

THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. 62.—FEBRUARY, 1829.—VOL. 20.

PROCEEDINGS AT LIVERPOOL CONNECTED WITH OPENING THE TRADE TO INDIA AND CHINA.

As it is our wish and intention to make 'THE ORIENTAL HERALD' a record of all that is done in this country towards opening a free commercial intercourse with the Eastern World, we proceed to detail, as briefly as may be found compatible with clearness and effect, the progressive history of the measures taken at Liverpool,—a town which, for its opulence, enterprise, and intelligence, is second to none in the kingdom, London alone excepted, and which, therefore, has most appropriately taken the lead in setting an example of public spirit and energy to the other ports and cities of the realm.

In pursuance of the announcement made in the last Number of 'THE ORIENTAL HERALD,' Mr. Buckingham proceeded from London to Liverpool, where he arrived on the 2d of January, and employed the following day in seeing and conversing with the leading merchants of the place. His reception was every where of the most cordial and encouraging description; and, indeed, such was the zeal evinced by men of all classes, sects, and parties, in the common object of Mr. Buckingham's visit, that political distinctions were no barrier to co-operation, and it would be difficult to say with whom the desire to promote the object of a Free Trade to India and China was strongest.

As if to stimulate him still more strongly to the execution of his task, it appears that Mr. Buckingham had scarcely reached Liverpool before he encountered two such striking calls upon his attention, as to induce him to take up his pen before he commenced his lectures, and to address the following letter:

Oriental Herald, Vol. 20.

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To the Editors of the Liverpool Times.

GENTLEMEN,—Almost every day of my existence I have occasion to encounter some striking proof of the general want of information among all classes in England, with respect to our Eastern Empire ; and, what is still worse, of the revolting use made by others of such little information as they either have, or at least profess to have, of that portion of the British possessions. As I know the value of every line of your space, I will be brief in my illustration. On the very evening of my arrival in Liverpool, (Friday last,) I found, on the coffee-room table of the Waterloo Hotel, the London 'Courier' of the preceding day, which contained the following paragraph :

'The new law which has been proposed to the Legislature of the Netherlands, with respect to the Press, is the subject of almost universal censure, on account of the vagueness of its terms, and the rigour of its enactments. The crime of "offence towards public functionaries" is perfectly new. It seems impossible that the law should be passed in its original shape.'

Now, Gentlemen, so far is this crime from being 'perfectly new,' that 'offence towards public functionaries' has, in nearly all our own colonies, but in India more especially, been deemed a crime of the deepest dye. In cases of theft, forgery, treason, and even murder, those who commit these crimes in British India are allowed the protection of a court of justice, the assistance of counsel, and a trial by jury. But so much more atrocious than all these is the crime of 'offence towards public functionaries' considered in that country, that any man committing it is liable to be forcibly seized, instantly imprisoned, and detained in a dungeon till a ship can be found ready to receive him, when he is summarily transported, without trial, hearing, or defence, treated worse than a felon, and all his property either confiscated, or left to wreck and ruin after the banishment of its owner.

Such, Sirs, was my own fate. My only crime was that of 'offence towards public functionaries,' in questioning the propriety of appointing a clergyman of the Scotch Church to be a clerk for supplying the public offices of the Indian Government with stationery, (which appointment was subsequently annulled by the Government in this country because of its impropriety.) My punishment for thus venturing to anticipate, while in India, the just decision of the public authorities in England, was banishment from India, without trial or hearing, and the total destruction of a valuable property reared entirely by my own industry, and producing me a net profit of eight thousand pounds sterling per annum.

To this crime of 'offence towards public functionaries,' which the 'Courier' deems so 'entirely new,' I owe, indeed, my being in Liverpool at this hour ; and in so far, I am not without the consoling hope, that out of evil good may be produced ; for if, by the

example and assistance of this liberal and opulent town, I am enabled to rouse others to exertion, and to prevail on my countrymen generally to demand a change of so despotic a system, I shall scarcely regret my being a victim to it, long and painful as my sufferings have been.

To advert to the other case, of a perverted use of even the little knowledge possessed by some, of Indian affairs, I may mention that I had scarcely forgotten the ignorance of the 'Courier,' before I was reminded of the heartlessness of the 'Herald;' for, on the following morning, (Saturday,) the first thing that caught my eye at the breakfast-table, was a vulgar and vituperative letter inserted in that paper, dated from Brighton, and not improbably the production of some East India Director there, living in luxury on the spoils wrung from the helpless Indians, for whose miseries he cares so little. The letter adverts to the efforts made by the benevolent of this country to abolish the horrid sacrifice of burning human beings alive in Hindoostan. And this is the strain in which this unfeeling being expresses himself:

'I think those pious women with blue stockings, and those tender-hearted women with no stockings at all, should not make such egregious fools of themselves, but mind their own business, and leave Hindoostan to follow its own customs; this would show more sense and less humbug than bothering the Legislature with sanctimonious petitions to interfere in the customs and manners of other countries. For us to interfere in the customs and manners of the Hindoos, is the very climax of puritanical absurdity,' &c.

This writer begins his letter by stating that he had resided nineteen years in Calcutta in a civil capacity, and, of course, derived, during that period, sufficient gains of office, drawn by taxes from the Hindoos, to retire with a fortune, and pass his time at Brighton, or elsewhere, at his ease. Pray, then, was *this* no 'interference with the customs and manners of the Hindoos?' It was certainly one part of their 'customs and manners' to rule their own country, to possess their own lands, to enjoy the fruits of their own labours. And who first 'interfered' with these? Why this very writer and the body to which he belonged—the East India Company. They first rob these poor Hindoos of that which all people hold in the highest estimation, their liberty and property, dethrone their princes, degrade their priesthood, and enslave and impoverish all classes; and then, unexampled forbearance! they call upon other men not to touch the prejudices of the Indians, or risk the safety of the country, by interfering with their 'manners and customs!' Can mockery be more complete than this?

But I have done;—the people of England are too just and too generous not to aid in ameliorating the condition of their fellow-subjects in the East; and, if the inhabitants of Liverpool but give me the example of their cordial support, I will perform a pilgrimage

through every city, town, and village of the kingdom, until, like another Peter the Hermit, I succeed in raising one universal crusade against this unholy compact of civil despotism, commercial monopoly, and the inhuman sanction of murderous sacrifices, and all the other abominations of idolatry, from which the East India Company derive a portion of their guilty and unhallowed gains.

Waterloo Hotel, Jan. 5.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

Under the impression that it would add much to the interest of the Lectures on the Eastern World, to make them include a popular description of Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and Persia ; and that this being delivered without notes or writing, so as to make it wear the appearance of a familiar conversational discourse, would still increase the pleasure of the hearers, it was so determined on.

The lectures were delivered at the Music Hall, in Bold-street, at seven in the evening, on the 5th, 7th, and 9th of January ; and on each occasion the audience was considerably larger than the preceding, and contained very nearly as many ladies as gentlemen.

The first lecture embraced a description of Egypt, which, though very rapidly hurried over, considerably exceeded two hours in the delivery. But, according to all the indications of the state of feeling in the audience, as well as the unequivocal testimony of those who expressed themselves on the subject, the details were deemed so full of novelty and interest, as to make it a subject of general regret that they should have been closed so soon.

The second lecture was devoted to Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia ; and the third to Persia and India. In each of these, the same difficulty was experienced as in the first, of condensing, within a given period of time, the multifarious details which these several countries presented to view. The same patient and even animated attention was, however, manifested throughout ; and the course terminated with increased marks of approbation from every quarter of the room.

As it is intended to repeat these lectures on the several countries named, in each of the towns which Mr. Buckingham may visit, preparatory to his Supplementary Discourse on the advantages to England and India, of opening a free commercial intercourse with every part of the Eastern World, it will not be necessary to print those Lectures *verbatim* here. He has resolved, however, with a view to enrich the pages of 'The Oriental Herald,' and to make them equally the depository of the general information detailed in his lectures, and of the commercial facts therein disclosed, to commence a series of papers, beginning with his Voyage on the Nile, from Cairo to the Cataracts, the first article of which will be given in the ensuing number, in which will be embodied all the minute particulars, of which his Lectures were but the outline, and which

he purposes to continue in successive numbers, from his unpublished manuscript journals, till the whole series is brought to a close. In the mean time, he thinks it but justice to the society of Liverpool, as well as to the independent press of that liberal city, to repeat, for the information of other towns in England, as well as for the satisfaction of thousands in India to whom their papers cannot reach, but who will be looking with anxious eyes for whatever 'The Oriental Herald' may contain, the several judgments passed by the editors on both sides of politics, so as, without unnecessary repetition, to gather the general impression of the whole.

From the Liverpool Times of January 6.

Mr. Buckingham delivered his first lecture on the countries of the East, at the Music Hall, last evening, to an audience of great number, and of the highest respectability. The range of subjects was so extensive that it is impossible for us to comprise, within any moderate compass, more than a mere enumeration of the heads of the discourse. After an introduction, in which Mr. Buckingham stated the motives which led him to this undertaking, and the object he had to accomplish thereby, in awakening the people of England to a sense of the importance of a free intercourse with India and China, he proceeded to describe the geography of Egypt; its extraordinary position, as consisting merely of one long-continued valley, whose fertility depended entirely on its being the alluvial deposit of the Nile; its remarkable antiquities, especially at Alexandria, Memphis, Tentyra, and Thebes, with a description of the pyramids, the great sphynx, and the colossal statue of Memnon, still erect in the plain of Thebes; the peculiarities of its climate, in its being exempt from rain in the upper provinces of the country, the Etesian winds, the simoon of the desert, &c. Mr. Buckingham then gave a detailed account of the animal, vegetable, and mineral productions of Egypt; numbering among the first, the camel, the buffalo, the crocodile, and the hippopotamus; among the second, the date, the pomegranate, rice, sugar, cotton, flax, and indigo; and among the third, the emerald and the porphyry of the ancients. The population of Egypt he described as consisting of Arabs, Turks, Greeks, Armenians, Copts, and Jews; of each of which he gave the leading characteristics; and of the religion, government, and commerce, he also gave the outline-features. The most interesting part of the lecture, in a general point of view, was, however, the detail of the singular manners and customs of the Egyptians, their betrothals, marriages, polygamy, funerals, feasts, pleasures, music, poetry, language, &c., the contrast of which with our own habits and feelings, added much to the impression it was calculated to make.

The lecture abounded in matter of the most interesting nature, exciting equally the astonishment and gratification of the audience.

Perhaps the most interesting circumstance of the whole was the very fact of a traveller so enterprising, intelligent, and celebrated as Mr. Buckingham, describing, in a manner peculiarly frank, animated, and pleasing, the scenes he had passed through, and the events he had witnessed. The audience, amongst whom were many of our first merchants and our best-informed men, besides a considerable number of ladies, were delighted with the lecture, and frequently interrupted Mr. Buckingham with testimonies of applause.

From the Liverpool Courier, January 7.

On Monday evening, that very enterprising traveller and well-known literary character, Mr. Buckingham, delivered the first of a course of lectures on the countries of the East, at the Music Hall, Bold-street. The room was well filled both by ladies and gentlemen. Mr. Buckingham commenced his lectures by a description of Egypt. In the first place, he explained the geographical position of that land which might justly be called the parent of the arts, sciences, &c., and expressed his conviction that the present deplorable state of wretchedness into which its inhabitants had fallen was owing to the barbarity, misrule, and malversation of its various governors. After some remarks on the situation of the hills, river, lakes, and canals, the lecturer proceeded to lay before his auditory a most beautiful and interesting account of the far-famed antiquities of Egypt. Here, indeed, was matter sufficient for several lectures, but, as the description of these enormous works of art was not the particular design of Mr. Buckingham, he passed on from them, but not before he had taken a parting glance at each, and sufficiently explained its situation, extent, and appearance, as to fill the minds of his auditory with astonishment at the skill and industry of the ancient Egyptians who constructed them. Mr. Buckingham then proceeded to describe the climate, animals, vegetables, minerals, population, chief towns, commerce, government, and, finally, the religion of that, of all others, most interesting country. We have seldom attended a lecture at which we have been so much pleased as we were on the present occasion. From the many journals of travellers in that land of wonders which have been published, a very good idea may, doubtless, be formed of the vast extent and extraordinary sublimity of the remains of the cities of Memphis and Thebes, the pillars, catacombs, wells, baths, temples, sphynxes, and monuments of Egypt; but a much stronger impression is made upon the mind by hearing the narrative from the lips of a gentleman who has himself, at great personal inconvenience and expense, traversed the country, and not as an ordinary looker on, but as a critical observer of the mighty works of its former inhabitants. The manner of the lecturer is free and elegant, and his descriptions brief, but clear and satisfactory; and the repeated testimonials of approbation which he received from his respectable audi-

tory, as he proceeded with his graphic and interesting illustrations, were strongly in proof of the interest he had excited.

• *From the Liverpool Observer, January 8.*

• Mr. Buckingham, who was some years ago the Editor of 'The Calcutta Journal,' whose claims to the consideration of the British public were manifested by his oppressive expulsion from that country, and who now is known as a traveller in the East, and as the talented and indefatigable Editor of several excellent periodical works, gave his first lecture on the Eastern World, at the Music Hall, on Monday evening. The company was respectable and numerous, comprising many ladies and gentlemen of the first description; and we observed a considerable number of the Society of Friends, who are ever amongst the foremost in the desire to obtain every kind of information that may tend to ameliorate the condition of any class of their fellow-beings. Mr. Buckingham was cheered on his appearance, and frequently applauded during his lecture, which gave much satisfaction to the whole audience.

It is impossible, within our limits, to convey more than a brief sketch of the interesting particulars which occupied the energetic exertions of the speaker for two hours, and though his delivery is rapid, embraced only half of the heads announced in the bill. The subject was exclusively on Egypt—its antiquities, productions, population, &c., and is introductory to other lectures, more immediately bearing upon the political state of the East Indies and the grand question of the opening of the trade to China,—upon the subject of which we anticipate much of satisfactory and interesting information from the lecturer, who has offered himself to the notice of the intelligent community of Liverpool.

Mr. Buckingham's second lecture was delivered on Wednesday evening, and included a vast range of subjects; giving a description of all that was remarkable in Arabia, the Red Sea, Palestine, Phœnicia, Syria, the Decapolis, Mesopotamia, and Babylon, with vivid pictures of Mecca, Medina, Mocha, Jerusalem, Damascus, Aleppo, Baalbeck, Palmyra, Tyre, Sidon, Antioch, and all the other towns; the river Jordan, the lake Tiberias, and the Dead Sea. In Mesopotamia, he described the Tigris and Euphrates, Ur of the Chaldees, Moosul, and the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon. The manners of the Arabs and Syrians were dwelt upon with great ardour, especially their independence, their hospitality, the bravery of their men, and the beauty of their women. Throughout every part of his lecture, Mr. Buckingham displayed a great admiration of the virtues of the sex, and dwelt much upon their benevolent influence in society. His views of polygamy were strikingly original, and excited great attention; and, on several occasions throughout the lecture, the attention of the audience was intense.

Mr. Buckingham's audience was, on this occasion, even more

numerous than on the former: the room, indeed, was full. He was cordially cheered on his appearance; repeatedly interrupted by applause as he proceeded; and, on one or two occasions, where he gave vivid illustrations of the benefits of unrestricted commerce in improving the condition of mankind, and of civil and religious liberty in softening all their evil passions, he was honoured with three distinct and long-continued rounds of applause.

On the whole, the gratification of the audience seemed to be even higher on this occasion than on the first; and, we doubt not, it will be still higher on Friday. It does great honour to the society of Liverpool to have evinced their sentiments so favourably on this occasion of Mr. Buckingham's appearance among them.

From Gore's Liverpool Advertiser, January 8.

In company with a very numerous and most respectable auditory, we participated in the unequivocal satisfaction of witnessing, on Monday night last, the delivery of Mr. Buckingham's first lecture introductory of that subject, to which in our last publication we directed the attentive consideration of the public. Mr. Buckingham's second lecture took place last night; and on both occasions his talents and experience were successfully exercised. Possessing an appearance peculiarly prepossessing, of a gracious, benevolent, and intelligent cast of feature and expression of countenance, the manner of this gentleman confers additional interest on the subject-matter of his discourse, and he himself is a striking instance of the union of qualities most to be desired—the *simplex munditiis*. His style is peculiarly suited to the delivery of lectures, intended to be rendered familiar and accessible. It may be described as conversational oratory. It is complete delineation. We wander with the traveller, and scarce need a chart to guide us on our way; we roam with him by the banks of Nilus, we descend into the catacombs, or calculate the height of a pyramid, and as the Orientalist, (so to call him,) unfolds the stores of his enlarged conception, we take possession of his treasures, and imagination bodies forth, with the fidelity of a diagram, scenes which, so far as we are concerned, may almost be termed visionary. Regretting that the almost boundless variety of those subjects, into which Mr. Buckingham entered, does necessarily preclude us from giving a report in detail, yet we cannot refrain from partially alluding to the primary features of his discourses.

[To this succeeds a very copious report, which, for the reasons before assigned, it will not be necessary for us to repeat.]

From the Liverpool Mercury, January 9.

Mr. Buckingham delivered the first of a series of lectures on the antiquities, resources, manners, &c. &c., of the Eastern World, to a numerous and most respectable audience, amongst whom we were happy to see some of the first merchants and most influential cha-

racters in the town, at the Music Hall, on Monday night. From the immense extent and discursive nature of the subjects treated of by Mr. Buckingham, (who communicated the information acquired by him on his extensive travels, in a manner so pleasing and animated, as, together with the sterling nature of the information imparted, to draw forth frequent bursts of applause,) it is utterly impossible for us to give any thing like even a sketch of a lecture which, spoken with the utmost fluency, occupied upwards of two hours in the delivery. The matter, too, though highly interesting to the philosopher and the man, for the greater part, was not such as is looked for in the pages of a newspaper. We shall, therefore, for the present, confine ourselves to an enumeration of some of the topics selected by Mr. Buckingham, and shall probably give a more extended notice of this lecture, and the succeeding ones, in our minor publication.

Mr. Buckingham's principal object in this first lecture, was to point out the natural resources and capabilities of the country, and to show that the misgovernment of man had contrived to render, in a great measure, useless the almost unlimited bounties of Providence. In the course of his address, he was frequently and warmly applauded, and the facts he communicated were received with much gratification by his numerous and respectable audience.

On Wednesday evening Mr. Buckingham delivered his second lecture, the subjects of which were, Persia, Arabia, and Syria, their geographical situation, climate, productions, antiquities, &c. and the manners and customs of their inhabitants. We are sorry that our space will not admit of a more extended notice of this lecture, which was as well attended, and received with as much satisfaction, as its predecessor. Mr. Buckingham succeeded in pleasing and instructing his audience for about two hours and a-half. This evening his subject is Persia and India, and to-morrow a supplementary lecture will be delivered, solely applying to the evils of the monopoly which has so long fettered the resources of the East; and to this last lecture, as being the most important, and coming directly within the scope of our duty, we shall, of course, pay particular attention. We have not the smallest doubt that our talented and well-informed visitor will be eminently successful in exhibiting the monster Monopoly in its proper colours, and exciting universal hatred and detestation against it.

From the Liverpool Chronicle, January 10.

Mr. Buckingham's lectures, it gives us pleasure to observe, have been attended by audiences of which, both for numbers and respectability, he may justly be proud, and the applauses wrung from them by the pleasing popular style of his delivery, must have proved to him an abundant source of gratification.

The visit of Mr. Buckingham to this town has roused the latent feel-

ings of opposition to the monopoly of the East India Company into most active exertion. The lectures of that gentleman have been attended by numerous, respectable, and attentive audiences, who appear to have deeply felt the importance of the great question, which he has so boldly and ably advocated in his various publications, and to which, for the first time, he now seeks to draw public attention by a personal appeal. In whatever light the question be viewed, it is one of vast importance. As a field for profitable commercial enterprise, it affords boundless facilities; the fertile territory of India yields all the productions of the tropics in endless profusion, and the vast population raised by the grand civilizer, unshackled commerce, would be clad in the produce of English looms, and eventually participate in the more important benefits which would inevitably result from an unrestricted intercourse with Europeans. To the merchant, the manufacturer, and the tradesman, as well as to the philosopher, this question is of the deepest interest. To the mere plodder after wealth, India presents the most inviting aspect; and to the speculator on the improvement of his species, it is of paramount interest, as he well knows nothing can tend so rapidly to advance mankind as the exhibition of a higher and a better state of existence than the one to which they have been habituated. Every motive, then, which can have influence with a people, urges to resolute and determined opposition to the renewal of the most odious monopoly which ever oppressed a people abroad, or prevented prosperity at home.

In the limits of an article in a newspaper, it is almost impossible to state the advantageous results which would accrue from the colonization of India by Europeans; the application of British industry, capital and enterprise would, in half a century, raise a hundred millions of people from the most grovelling condition, and fill England with wealth. What has already been done, in spite of the multifarious obstacles and restrictions imposed by the Company, in the cultivation of indigo only, is sufficient to show what may be effected under a wise and less rapacious government. In the year 1786, the import of indigo into this country was 245,000 lbs.; in 1826, it was 7,673,710 lbs.; and it is a singular fact, that out of 309 manufacturers of indigo for exportation in Bengal, only 37 are natives of India; the rest are Europeans, who, in spite of the most odious combination of restrictions that ever monopolist conceived, or tyranny imposed, have, by wonderful perseverance, brought the manufacture of this single article to very great amount and perfection. What has resulted from the cultivation of indigo, may serve to show what the cultivation of other articles would be, were the capital of English merchants permitted to be employed without restraint in Hindoostan.

The partial opening of the trade, in 1813, has done much for both countries, though, even now, no European can reside in India without a license from the Company; nor, having the license, can he have any intercourse with the interior, for a law exists in India,

which subjects any merchant found more than ten miles from any of the Presidencies to be taken into custody.

The people of this country will, we doubt not, be stimulated into active exertion against the renewal of the Charter, for when the question is placed before them, the advantages which would result to the country are so apparent, and the injustice of the Charter so obvious, that, from a mere sense of self-interest alone, they would join in a petition against it.

If Mr. Buckingham should persevere in his intention to visit the chief manufacturing towns in England and Scotland, he will organize an opposition which must succeed. The reasonable demands of a whole people cannot be rejected, even by the Duke's strong Government, should it continue; and we feel assured that the whole people will take up his question. Let not the labourer or the small trader suppose that they have no interest in the opening of the China trade, and the unrestricted intercourse with India; for they will find that the demand for labour will increase its value, whilst the increase of the supply of very many articles of commerce will render living better and cheaper. Every motive of humanity, as well as interest, joins to impel men to oppose the renewal of the monopoly, for out of its destruction the greatest blessings will flow to both countries.

It is scarcely possible to conceive the result of the opening of the China trade; but, in Hindoostan alone, one hundred millions of human beings, now the victims of the most debasing superstition and oppressive government, would be raised from their degradation, and would eventually become our most valuable customers. Cato used to commence and end his counsels with the words *Delenda est Carthago*, (Carthage must be destroyed.) His example ought to be followed by the people of England; they ought unceasingly to demand the unqualified destruction of the Indian monopoly, 'The China Trade' ought to become a watch-word among us—it should be written in every counting-house, inscribed over the doors of every manufactory, and in the workshop of every artisan. Mr. Buckingham deserves the thanks of the community for his labours, for they are directed to effect one of the greatest and most beneficial reforms, to advance the prosperity of his own country, and to confer inestimable blessings on countless millions of his fellow-creatures.

The exertions of Mr. Buckingham have already produced good results in this town: men of all parties and sects have united in this one object; and a requisition is now in course of signature to our worthy chief magistrate, requesting him to call a public meeting for the consideration of this most important question. Liverpool will thus honourably lead the way in this noble cause, and, if her example be followed by London, and other great towns and counties, we shall assuredly see a result alike necessary for the prosperity of England and the happiness of Hindoostan.

From the Liverpool Albion, January 12.

This gentleman delivered, in the course of the preceding week, the series of lectures on the Eastern World to which we alluded in our paper of Monday last. Most of our contemporaries have taken the trouble to give outlines of these lectures, as if Mr. Buckingham had been describing countries of which the public had never before heard a single word, and as if his description of Egypt, Arabia, and Persia had all the charm of novelty ! We must say, that we admire the industry more than we do the judgment which our brother editors have displayed on this occasion. We do not mean to say, that Mr. Buckingham did not succeed in rendering his lectures interesting ; on the contrary, we thought that both his matter and his manner were eminently pleasing. He relieved the dry geographical, antiquarian, and statistical details which composed the chief part of his discourses by the occasional introduction of philosophical observations on society and manners, as well as by the seasonable use of a little wit and sarcasm. His audiences, which were numerous and respectable, were highly delighted with the series of lectures, and testified their approbation of the lecturer by frequent and repeated plaudits. In consequence of the lecturer not having been able to treat of all the topics in his syllabus in the number of three discourses, he was under the necessity of delivering a fourth, or supplementary lecture, on Saturday. This was the most interesting lecture of the course, and transcended all the rest in importance. Its object was to develop all the injuries which England suffers by being excluded from the trade to China, and from a free intercourse with the interior of India, and to propose measures for removing these evils. Of a lecture which occupied nearly two hours in the delivery, and which contained a great mass of statement and detail, it is impossible for us to do more than furnish our readers with an outline of the principal topics discussed by the lecturer.

[To this succeeds a very accurate outline report of the supplementary lecture alluded to.]

From Gore's Liverpool Advertiser, January 15.

Mr. Buckingham delivered his third lecture on Friday, and on Saturday he entered at large into the question of the East India Company's monopoly. On both occasions the attendance was numerous and highly respectable, and on the latter day we felt much pleasure in finding him surrounded by a large portion of the mercantile wealth and eminence of the town. Among the gentlemen who filled the orchestra, we noticed the Mayor, (N. Robinson, Esq.,) Mr. J. Cropper, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Robert Benson, Mr. Grant, Mr. D. Hodgson, Mr. W. Rathbone, Mr. Alston, Mr. H. Booth, Mr. W. Earle, Mr. Thomas Thornley, Mr. E. Roscoe, Mr. T. Leathom, Mr. Prevost, Mr. Hardman Earle, Mr. Edward Cropper, Mr. James Riley, jun., Mr. T. B. Barclay, Mr.

Samuel Hope, Mr. Porter, &c. &c. Persia and India, their geographical positions, antiquities, population, commerce, &c. were fully explained in the course of the third lecture, and the details given were of the most interesting description. The same classic purity of style, simplicity of manner, and fidelity of narration which we observed upon⁴ in our last, distinguished the lecturer on the present occasion. He really fascinated his auditors, and drew down the liveliest marks of approbation. The supplementary lecture considerably exceeded the others in importance.

From the Liverpool Times, January 13.

The visit of Mr. Buckingham to this town has been attended with surprising success, in arousing our mercantile men to a sense of the importance of using every effort to obtain the abolition of all restrictions on the trade to India and China, on the approaching expiration of the East India Company's Charter. This is a subject on which the country only needs to be *informed*, in order to raise its voice loudly against the prolongation of the anomalous and baneful system which has so long existed. We refer our readers to an article in another column, containing an outline of the luminous and admirable lecture given by Mr. Buckingham on Saturday. The facts it exhibits ought to be universally known, and deeply impressed upon the public mind. They prove, beyond all question, that the system of despotic government and commercial monopoly maintained by the East India Company is pregnant with the most serious and extensive evils. They go, indeed, the full length of proving the absolute unfitness of the East India Company, from its very constitution, to govern the immense territories, and to superintend and control the boundless field of commerce in the East. They show that we have neglected, and are neglecting, in consequence of the exclusive privileges granted to this Company, the cultivation of an intercourse with the people of India and China, which would certainly produce a vast extension of our own commerce, and an incalculable improvement in the circumstances, habits, and morals of the natives of Asia.

The Charter of the East India Company erects a barrier between a country small in extent, but surpassing every other in moral and commercial power, and that 'hive of nations' on the vast continent of Asia, whose myriads are in a state of semi-barbarism, and to whom the greatest happiness that could possibly arrive would be an infusion of the energies and arts of Europe. Asia abounds, perhaps above all other quarters of the globe, in the *materials* of wealth and greatness; but they lie miserably neglected, in consequence of the indolence, ignorance, prejudices, and superstitions of the inhabitants. England, on the other hand, has the power of turning these materials to account. She can impart all the Asiatics want—civilization, liberty, maritime skill, manufacturing industry,

commercial enterprise, moral and intellectual energy, and—last, but greatest—the light of a pure religion. Nor can she impart these benefits without receiving an equivalent.

But whilst these are things which she *might* do, let us inquire what she *has* done. She has resigned the government of one hundred millions of Asiatics, and the commerce of four or five hundred millions, into the hands of a mere Company of merchants, to whom is given absolute power and all but absolute monopoly,—a Company whose very constitution unfits it for acting with an enlarged view either to its own profit or the happiness of the nations whom it governs,—whose commercial system is founded on the narrowest and worst principles,—whose government is a clumsy despotism,—a Company which is daily committing egregious blunders and acts of oppression,—which impoverishes India, and not only does not enrich, but positively burdens England. Perhaps no institution can be pointed out in the whole world, which *stands in the way of so much good* as the East India Company. We need not say that the renewal of its charter would be a calamity not merely to this country, but to the species.

We rejoice, therefore, that the inhabitants of this great commercial town have been aroused betimes to a sense of the importance of this subject. All the other towns in the kingdom, not even excepting London, look for example to Liverpool. The metropolis is overspread with the ramifications of the East India Company, which in a considerable degree embarrass and fetter its mercantile population; but Liverpool is nearly free from that kind of influence, and is so situated as to be deeply interested in the opening of the trade to the East. Mr. Buckingham has, therefore, been received with open arms by all classes of our merchants. His lectures have been attended by audiences, whose numbers and respectability have never been surpassed on any similar occasion in this town, and who have manifested the most lively interest in the subjects discussed. The manner in which he was attended in the Orchestra of the Music Hall at his last lecture, with the resolution of thanks moved by the Mayor and Mr. Cropper, and enthusiastically adopted by the meeting, proves that he will be seconded in his public-spirited exertions by all the influence of the town of Liverpool.

We have seen with very great satisfaction the cordial reception which Mr. Buckingham, the public-spirited advocate of Free Trade to the East, has met with, during the last week, from all classes of the inhabitants of this town, and especially from the most active and enlightened of our merchants. His lectures on Wednesday and Friday were attended by even larger audiences than that on Monday, and on Friday evening the body of our spacious Music Hall was filled almost to overflowing. We have never, on any occasion, seen larger or more respectable audiences at lectures in this town; and the spirit manifested was one of the most cordial pleasure at the

enlightened views and generous sentiments of Mr. Buckingham, mingled with astonishment at the infatuated policy of the East India Company.

During the first three lectures, Mr. Buckingham went rapidly over the classical ground of Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, and India. His sketches of these countries, though brief, were spirited and interesting in the highest degree. We do not use too strong a term when we say that his hearers were fascinated by the beautiful simplicity, liveliness, clearness, and natural eloquence with which Mr. Buckingham drew his pictures. All the lectures, too, were made to bear in some degree on the subject of commerce, to illustrate its advantages, and especially to show the benefits of free and unrestricted trade. We cannot attempt to follow the lecturer over the extensive—the *too* extensive—field which he traversed, through which his audience followed him with no other regret than that his course was necessarily so hurried; but we shall give an abstract of the statements and arguments of his supplementary lecture on Saturday, which was devoted to the great objects of exposing the pernicious effects of the monopoly and despotic power exercised by the East India Company, and the incalculable benefits which would accrue to this country and to Asia from the opening of the trade to the free competition of all British merchants.

The one object desired by the friends of free trade was, that the legislature would refuse to grant the next application of the East India Company for the renewal of their charter. By uttering the single monosyllable 'No,' they would change the face of Asia, and revive and extend beyond all its former limits the drooping trade of this country. Mr. Buckingham earnestly pressed on his audience the great importance of exerting themselves with vigour and perseverance to prevent the national calamity of the renewal of the Company's charter. He declared his own determination to use every effort in his power for this end, and he called for their most active co-operation. He said that he hoped again to have the honour of appearing before them on this subject—an announcement which the audience received with three loud and distinct rounds of applause. Mr. Buckingham expressed his deep and lively sense of the extreme kindness which he had experienced in Liverpool, and concluded his lecture amidst enthusiastic expressions of approbation from the audience.

The Mayor here came forward, and said, that he could not permit the meeting to separate, without attempting to express the obligations under which Mr. Buckingham had laid the inhabitants of Liverpool, by his exertions to give them information, and to rouse them to activity on the subject of the India and China trade. He therefore begged leave to move—'That the cordial thanks of this meeting be presented to Mr. Buckingham, for his exertions in ex-

posing the injurious effects consequent on a continuance of the monopoly of the East India Company : and that this meeting cannot permit Mr. Buckingham to leave Liverpool without expressing their best wishes for his success in the towns which he is about to visit.' (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. James Cropper said, that he had the greatest pleasure in seconding the motion of thanks to his friend, Mr. Buckingham, for the exertions he had made to promote the prosperity of his own country and the interests of a large portion of the human race. (*Cheers.*) A cordial expression of their feelings would, however, mean little, if they did not follow it up by ulterior measures.. It had been already mentioned, that a requisition for a public meeting was in course of signature, and was, he believed, almost universally signed, for he knew no one who opposed it ; what reception it was likely to meet with from their worthy chief magistrate, they had already seen. (*Cheers.*) But they must not suppose, because they were all of one mind here, that the triumph was gained : it would require great exertions to struggle against a monopoly which had lasted so long. So many advantages had been stated to them as certain to result from opening the trade to the East, and with so much talent, as to leave him little or nothing to say. One consideration, however, he would mention, and that was, that in most new trades they could not contemplate any advantage to arise for some years, whereas in the China trade, the moment it was opened, they would all have tea of better quality at half the price. But great as the commercial advantages of opening the trade would be, they were nothing compared with the interests of so many millions of our fellow-subjects in India sunk in ignorance and superstition. (*Cheers.*) He would read an extract of a letter which he had lately received from a friend in India, and which presented considerations of immense importance : ' In the district of Tirhoot, where the British indigo planters are numerous, there has taken place a very happy improvement in the state of the Natives, especially in those connected with the indigo planters, who are so respectable and respected as to be applied to by the Natives to settle their disputes, instead of going to law, and who give them advice and medicine when they are in trouble or sickness.' If by the cultivation of one small article so much had been done, and if the labours of the missionaries had opened the way to the improvement of the Natives by scriptural instruction, what might they not expect when the mighty engine of commercial intercourse was added to the present causes of improvement ? (*Cheers.*) Could they doubt that they were bound to use every faculty they were endowed with for the happiness of the human family ? And could they any more doubt what would be their doom, if they neglected to avail themselves of the almost miraculous opportunities they now enjoyed of conferring the greatest blessings on the inhabitants of India ? (*Cheers.*) He would now

put the resolution of thanks to the vote] (It was carried with the loudest acclamations.)

Mr. Buckingham acknowledged the vote of thanks, and took his leave in the following terms: 'Ladies and Gentlemen, I began these lectures by expressing my regrets at the difficulty of finding adequate terms in which to acknowledge, as it deserved, your generous and flattering attention. In the course of their delivery, I had frequent occasion to repeat those regrets: but, at their termination, I have now to say, that of all the emotions I have felt for many, many months, the most powerful is the excess of pleasure and delight which I feel at this mark of your countenance and approbation. This excess of feeling has so passed all ordinary bounds as to have become even painful to sustain. It has been said, indeed, by the royal sage, that "out of the fullness of the heart the mouth speaketh;" but the fullness of the heart under which I suffer is such as to place a seal upon my lips. I can only say, in words the simplicity of which I desire to be impressive—May God be with you all! May we think of each other during our absence as persons allied in the same holy cause, and may we always remember that the eye of the Omnipresent observes us in the performance of our duty!' Mr. B. then retired amidst warm and long-continued applause.

The three following letters appeared in the *Liverpool papers* during the period of the lectures being delivered there; and may be received as additional testimony of the general interest excited on the subject:

To the Editor of the Liverpool Chronicle.

SIR,—The visit of Mr. Buckingham to this town, and the dissemination of his varied information on East Indian affairs, cannot fail to awaken very great interest in the minds of the *Liverpool* merchants. I am very anxious that this feeling should not be permitted to expire, but that it should be cherished and encouraged in every possible way, and by every possible means. A society ought to be at once instituted, which should have for its prime object the agitation of the Indian question, the spread of just notions on the unjust monopoly, and the consolidation of all the energies of the enemies of monopoly into a focus. There is no man who will not be interested in the success of the scheme, for there is no man who will not be benefited by it. It is not the ship-owners merely—it is the artisan of every description, who must be advantaged by the opening of the trade; his labour will become more valuable, and his expenditure will be less.

The Indian question is, in fact, one which lies between the whole of the people of this country and the little knot of merchants whose counting-house is in *Leadenhall-street*. If proper exertion is used,

and the whole country well awakened to the value of the question, no one can doubt the result. The House of Commons ought to be filled with petitions, coming from public meetings of the people. Farmers, merchants, and manufacturers, are alike interested in the success of the cause; and when they are once well awake to it, they will not, I hope, relinquish the object.

Too much praise cannot be given to Mr. Buckingham, who has, by his ability and zeal, commenced this good work; he can, however, but lay the case before the people, and the rest must be done by the community. Mr. Buckingham has, however, a fair claim to the merit of having first publicly agitated, in these times, this great question; and, though he is singly opposed to a host, he, no doubt, remembers that the monster Goliath was slain by a shepherd, with no better weapons than a sling and a stone.

A MERCHANT.

To the Editor of the Liverpool Observer.

SIR,—I hope that the visit of a gentleman to this town, so justly celebrated for his zeal and activity as Mr. Buckingham, will have a tendency to rouse the mercantile and shipping interests, and the public generally, from the lethargy into which they seem unaccountably to have fallen with regard to that great question of such moment to Liverpool and the adjacent district,—*the extension of our Trade to China, and the unrestricted Navigation of the Indian Seas.*

It certainly is galling in the extreme to witness foreign shipping come here to enter *for Canton direct*, and take on board a lading of *specie*, thus operating in various ways to the disadvantage of this country, first as respects our ship-owners by injuring their property, and again by draining the country of precious metals; besides, as the article of tea generally finds the best market, there is every reason to suppose a great part of these cargoes are reshipped to this country in a *clandestine manner*, thereby injuring the revenue to an indefinite extent, which would be avoided if a *reduction of duty* on this article was allowed, and the trade thrown open to honourable competition.

In fact, this subject is of such paramount interest, and branches out into such innumerable channels, that for the present I will only speak of it, in the hope that some of your intelligent correspondents will take up the pen and wield it in an abler manner than I can. What I have to urge upon your readers generally is, that 'the ball should be kept up,' and every one be on the *qui vive* till the grand object is accomplished. The time, in prospect appears long ere the charter of the Company expires, but we should recollect *delays are dangerous*; and I would recommend it seriously to our merchants, &c., to enter into arrangements *immediately*, (if necessary, call a

town's meeting,) and form a junction with Manchester, Birmingham, Glasgow, Hull, Bristol, Leeds, &c., and concert measures for carrying on the war with the Leadenhall-street gentry; and, no doubt, if taken in time, there is little reason to fear any thing but a successful issue to their exertions, which, that it may be the case, is the prayer of

AN ENEMY TO MONOPOLY.

To the Editors of the Liverpool Times.

GENTLEMEN,—Perusing your paper of the 13th instant, and reading the most praiseworthy efforts of Mr. Buckingham to rouse the people of this kingdom to make a simultaneous effort, when the charter of the East India Company expires, to prevent the renewal of its monopoly, which is like a millstone round the neck of this country, paralysing the efforts of the merchant, the ship-owner, the revenue of the kingdom, the manufacturer as well as the agriculturist, to an amazing extent, I beg the last-named highly respectable class of individuals to consider the following statement, and see whether, in petitioning for a duty on the import of foreign wool, they have not in their own power, by vigorously uniting with the commercial interest, a more certain means of advancing the value of their wool than by any restrictions of import; especially when it is considered that the wool of this country is not of a quality which can ever to a great extent supersede foreign wool, whilst the produce of this country is peculiarly applicable to the manufacture of woollen goods exported to China. An article in your paper tells us the East India Company have only contracted for 25,000 pieces of serges; and in consequence of which, your paper further tells us, the inhabitants of Ashburton are thrown into the greatest distress, and hundreds destitute of the common necessities of life. About seven years ago, the purchases of the East India Company were about 350,000 pieces of long ells annually; these are now reduced to 100,000 or 150,000 pieces; and, as each long ell in its manufacture requires about 11 lbs. of wool, the produce of this country, we must conclude, from the reduction in the purchases of the Company, there would have been not less than an accumulated stock of 15,400,000 lbs. of British wool, equal to 64,170 packs of 240 lbs. each on hand, applicable to this purpose, if the energies of our merchants had not found other channels. I trust the complaint of reduced prices and accumulated stock of wool is here most satisfactorily accounted for. Persons unacquainted with the manufactures of the kingdom may consider this an exaggerated statement, but the writer of this paper has been long conversant with the subject, and its authenticity may be relied on. Conclusions to be drawn from the preceding facts are left to the consideration of every intelligent mind; but I would ask, how immense would have been the diffusion of labour and capital, and the

employ and comforts distributed amongst thousands, if, instead of exporting bullion to China to purchase teas, the Company had continued to send out long ells as extensively as it once did, and I believe was compelled to do to the extent I have named, previous to the last renewal of its charter? Extended as the trade in long ells then was, I conceive, if the trade with China was once open, such is its immense population, with their universal desire for woollen goods, the extent of traffic in these articles would be incalculable; but, if they have to procure them, as we may well conceive, with similar imposts to those which are placed on our tea, need we to wonder that the consumption of long ells and all goods exported to China is extremely limited?

E. P.

The most gratifying proof, however, next to the vote of thanks by the Mayor of Liverpool, which Mr. Buckingham received, of not having sown his seed on barren ground, is the fact, that before he quitted Liverpool, the following Requisition, containing the signatures of all the most opulent, enterprising, and best-informed merchants of the place, was presented to the worshipful the Mayor :

To the Worshipful the Mayor.

Liverpool, January 14, 1829.

SIR,—We, the undersigned bankers, merchants, free burgesses, and other inhabitants of Liverpool, deeply impressed with the importance of extending the commercial relations of this country with his Majesty's dominions in the East Indies, and with China, respectfully request that you will call a Public Meeting for the purpose of taking into consideration the best means of removing the restrictions imposed upon commerce by the present charter of the East India Company; and of prevailing on the Legislature to secure to the public all those benefits which a free commercial intercourse with India and China is capable of affording.

J. Bolton
John Gladstone
James Cropper
Arthur Heywood
Robert Benson
Rich. Leyland
J. A. Yates
Eyre Bams
Geo. Grant
Chas. Lawrence
John Garnett
William Myres
John Ewart
Thomas Case
H. B. Hollinshead
J. T. Alston
C. Tayleur
W. Wallace Currie

Henry Booth
Samuel Hope
John Murray
Thomas Ogilvy
Will. Ward
Thos. Tinley
Wm. Stewart
Thos. Tattersall
Jas. Bunnell
Adam Hodgson
R. F. Breed
John Cragg
Charles Shand
Edward Jones
W. Rotheram
Wm. Potter
John Gordon
C. Lorimer

Gilbert Henderson
John Orr
Benj. Thomas
Samuel Parkes
David Jackson
George Maxwell
T. K. Finlay
Francis Jordan
W. Latham
Hardman Earle
Wellwood Maxwell
Jas. Aikin
Cyrus Morrall
John Dennison
Wm. Robinson
Thos. Leatham
John Richardson
R. M'Neill

John Fletcher	E. D. Falkner	Walker, Wetherby & Co
Charles Holland	Rowland Edwards	John Finch
Samuel Lacon	Perrott and Campbell	Thos. Jevons
John Taylor	Robert Whittle	John Smith
Thos. Crowder	Andrew Leadley	W. F. Porter
W. A. Brown	H. Mattheie	Thos. Sneyd
James Brebner	Duncan Gibb	John Bewley
Alex. Smith, jun.	Nicholas Hurry	Jas. Mullineux
A. Reiman	J. J. Smith	R. Radcliffe
Theodore W. Rathbone	Richard Vaughan	James Crooke
Francis Heywood	James Lea	Henry Crooke
William Rathbone	Hugh Duckworth	John Owen
George Prevost	Thomas Bolton	Robert Cooke
Colin Campbell	James Chapman	Richard Griffiths
Thos. Moore	Hadfield and Glynn	Geo. Crane
James Phillips	W. Corrie	Francis Banks
John Bibby	Thos. Langton	Josh. T. Hobson
Charles S. Middleton	John Marriott	Daniel Willis
Thos. Brocklebank	Miles Barton	John Priestley
Robert Preston	R. E. Hyde	Richard Alison
Harold Littledale	James Ackers	Willis Earle, jun.
G. F. Dickson	John Wybergh	John Welch
Edward Rushton	William Lowes	Robert Jones
A. T. Patterson	David Hodgson	James Leader
Richd. Bateson	T. B. Barclay	Edward Willmer
John Frederick Muller	Edward Roscoe	Thomas C. Porter
Thomas Davenport	Edward Baines, jun.	W. S. Roscoe
J. B. Sefton	Edward Cropper	Christopher Bullin
James Powell	Richard V. Yates	Hugh Jones
James Ritson	Thomas Thornely	Samuel Thompson
Charles Humberston	John Field, jun.	Henry Moss
J. B. Boothby	Timothy Bourne	Edward Rogers
Henry Whitaker	John D. Thornely	John Wright
John Taylor	James Ryley	Thos. Littledale
Wm. Dickson	Francis Boulton	Josh. C. Ewart
M. Wotherspoon	John Fearon	G. J. Duncan.

The Mayor, in compliance with the above requisition, has appointed Wednesday, the 28th of January inst., for the public meeting.

The Liverpool papers of the same and succeeding week contain each of them very able and powerful articles bearing on this great question, which are so perfectly in unison with the views we have always advocated, both in 'The Calcutta Journal' before leaving India, and in 'The Oriental Herald' since our return to this country, that we gladly quit the subject of the lectures, on which we have collected, we hope, sufficient testimony to show the effect produced by the delivery, and the manner in which the auditors sympathized with the speaker in all his views, and proceed to give the general articles of the Liverpool Editors on the India and China Trade :

From the Liverpool Observer, January 15.

The question of the opening of the East India and China trade has, for some years, been a subject of great interest amongst our

commercial fellow-townsmen; and, as the period of the expiration of the Company's charter approaches, it is naturally contemplated with increasing anxiety, and has given rise to much discussion and speculative opinion.

Mr. Buckingham, the celebrated traveller and author, by the lectures he lately delivered on the Eastern World, the last of which bore immediately on this topic, gave a fresh impulse to the already lively feeling that pervaded our mercantile community, of the injustice and impolicy of a restriction, the existence of which tends, in a high degree, to paralyze the manufacturing and commercial interests of England; and which, while it operates as a positive loss to the revenue, tends to perpetuate the mental abasement of the immense population of India, and to close up the grand sources of wealth and happiness with which that country is, by its fertility and position, so peculiarly favoured.

In this question are involved the future destinies of millions of our fellow-men; and, if the system continue, (by the concession of a new charter,) the local boundaries of our commercial enterprise are already marked out,—to be extended only by the slow increase of population, and the consequent slow increase of demand for our staple commodities in those countries with which we now trade:—if the monopoly be abolished, a new world will be thrown open to the enterprise of our merchants, an immense territory, the natives of which are eager for the reception of our manufactures, in return for their valuable produce. Mutual wealth and mutual wants would thus be supplied, and profitable employment given to a vast number of our population; while the numerous inhabitants of India, now enervated by indolence, and debased by superstition, would, by their intercourse with Europeans, and the consequent introduction amongst them of the arts of civilized life,—rise from their present degradation, to the dignity and the enjoyments of rational beings.

The position of the East India Company is simply this:—A grant was, long ago, given to them by Government, of a charter, for a certain time only, to be exclusive traders to the East. They were preferred to others, in consequence of their superior means to prosecute the objects of Government with effect. In course of time, they were found to be not over-punctilious in their money transactions; and, in 1793, Government entertained thoughts of discontinuing their charter. They became involved in pecuniary embarrassments, and required time to pay an amount of 25 millions! Where a bankruptcy would, in common cases, have ensued, an indulgence was granted, in pursuance of a policy, probably dictated by an ignorance, on the part of the Government, of the real state of the case, and an apprehension that the tenure of India might be endangered by their removal. Now that the time approaches when they will doubtless make a struggle, if opposed, for a further renewal of their charter, they cannot stand forth as faithful stewards, who have redeemed their trust, or as the true protectors and ameliorators of the

millions who are still unhappily placed under their control. The whole system is, indeed, unconstitutional and absurd. The Company are invested with such supreme command, that no Englishman can land, or reside, in any part of India without their special license; and they are too far distant from the seat of the British Government to be under any salutary apprehension of control. Hardship and injustice to individuals are the frequent and natural consequences of such a system.

The country, indeed, is under a sort of military government; but the stability of its tenure, by the Company, arises chiefly from their acquiescence in the barbarous customs of the Natives, and the ignorance in which they hold them; although they are a people capable of attaining, by education, a respectable rank in civilized society.

It is remarkable, that the East India Company, after all, gain little or nothing by their connection with India. But the monopoly embraces China, whence the Company derive those emoluments which render them so tenacious of their exclusive privileges.

At present, (as explained by Mr Buckingham,) no English vessel, not belonging to the Company, can enter a port of China, even though in distress; while the vessels of every other nation have full liberty there to trade and to harbour. This is but one instance of the oppressive and partial operation of the charter of that body,—a charter which, in this case, compels England (as a late Minister might express it) ‘to turn her back upon herself.’

It is truly humiliating to reflect, that British merchants are excluded, by this paltry Company, from trading on coasts which are accessible to the subjects of every other nation. It would appear that ‘the superannuated gentlemen, widows, spinsters, &c.,’ who compose that Association, conceive themselves, or their servants, to be the only persons, natives of England, who are capable of conducting themselves with propriety; but that all foreigners are worthy of confidence and respect.

We trust, however, that the whole of the commercial community of England will bestir themselves, to impress upon Government the necessity, for the public good, of an abolition of the East India charter, and thereby of establishing the right of settlement in India, and free trade to China. We could then not only supply foreign nations with the staple commodities of the East, on terms more favourable than those on which they can import them themselves, but the market for our manufactures would be vastly extended—affording additional employment to thousands and thousands of our industrious countrymen.

From the Liverpool Chronicle, January 17.

In whatever light the consequences resulting from an opening of the India trade be considered, the question assumes an aspect of

the most interesting character to the great bulk of the population of this country. The capitalist would be advantaged by the profits of a trade to China, which even now, when it is conducted on a system but ill adapted to develop its importance, or in any great degree to advance its extent, yields a profit sufficiently great to enable the Company to withstand the loss and expense attending the misgovernment of Hindoostan. Not contenting ourselves, however, with the mere assertion of that principle which shows clearly that the whole nation would be benefited by the opening of the trade, we shall give two facts, which, in cases of this kind, are worth a hundred assertions.

On a recent voyage to the west coast of America, a ship belonging to Liverpool was offered a valuable charter, to convey the family and the effects of an old Spaniard from that country to Canton. The terms of the charter were agreed on a basis highly advantageous to the owners of the Liverpool ship, when the British Consul interfered, and reminded the captain that he could not undertake the voyage, as Canton was prohibited to all vessels bearing the British flag, unless sailing in the employment of the East India Company. The consequence of this interference was, that the British ship was compelled to abandon the profitable voyage, and to return to Liverpool in ballast, whilst an inferior American vessel was employed for the purpose, and derived an enormous profit from the voyage. Well might Mr. Buckingham, when he mentioned this fact, say that the resources and enterprise of this country were wasted, and the national flag made the ensign of slavery and prohibition, rather than the proud symbol of perfect freedom.

The foregoing only affects, in its direct operation, the ship-owners and the sailors, but the following will show that it is only reasonable to say, that our artisans and labourers are also prevented acquiring that comfort which an unbounded demand for their labours could not fail to produce. Last week, we extracted a passage from a pamphlet on Free Trade and Colonization, which showed what good had been effected by the attention of Europeans to the cultivation of indigo. If the trade were open, the same attention and capital would be applied to the production of cotton and sugar; nor can it be doubted that the same improvement would be made both in the quantity and quality of these articles. The cultivation of sugar and cotton in Hindoostan has not, in all probability, undergone any change for two or three thousand years; but, in the islands of the Indian Ocean, where no restrictions have been opposed to the application of European industry, skill, and capital, in the raising and improving of the produce of the soil, not only has the result equalled, but it has far surpassed, the most sanguine expectations ever entertained on the subject. And the effect of the application of European industry

and capital to these objects, may be gathered from the fact, that the prosperity of the islands has materially increased, whilst the produce has been extensively improved. The effect abroad has been most beneficial, but the effect on England has not been less so, and the good effect on the artisans of Liverpool has been considerable; for the foundry of Fawcett and Co. in this town, has sent, during the last eight years, to the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon, no less than 200 sugar-mills, most of them with steam-engines attached,* thus calling into active industry crowds of intelligent and well-paid mechanics. If the two islands of Bourbon and Mauritius, which are but specks of earth compared to the extent of British India, demand from Liverpool alone so large a supply of machinery, what would be required for that territory—as fertile as any other of the tropical regions—with a population of one hundred millions of the most docile and most temperate people of the earth!

It is evident that the mechanic would be better paid than he is now, and that the weaver would no longer languish at his loom; for, just in the same proportion as British capital and example raised the Hindoo from his present miserable condition, would be the demand for our manufactures, which, even now, though loaded with duties, and difficult to obtain, are eagerly sought as articles of dress by the Hindoos. To the merchant, the mechanic, and the philosopher, the question brings claims for active and unremitting exertion, which cannot be slighted. If the question be taken up by the country, there is not a doubt of its success; and, if it succeed, there is no part of the community which will not be greatly benefited by the triumph.

• *From the Liverpool Times, January 20.*

It will be seen that the Mayor has called a public meeting of the inhabitants of Liverpool on the subject of the Trade to India and China, to be held to-morrow week, the 28th instant. The requisition presented to the Mayor on this subject was the most respectable we have ever seen on any similar occasion. It comprises our wealthiest, most intelligent, and most influential merchants, without any distinction of party; and, if the document had either been laid in a public place for signature, or handed about with a wish to obtain a great number of names, the list might easily have been swelled to thousands. There is but one feeling in the town on this subject, which is, that the monopoly of the East India Company imposes a monstrous tax on the nation, and shuts us out from the most extensive field of commerce this country ever knew. In every aspect in which the subject can be viewed, whether as to England, India, or China, as to the Company's commercial mono-

poly or its political government, as to wealth, to civilization, to morals, or to religion, the present system is considered in the highest degree absurd and prejudicial. We are happy to learn that the same feeling prevails at Munchester; and that Mr. Buckingham, in his visit of a single day to that town, received such manifestations of the spirit that prevails there, as to afford an earnest that his appeal to the inhabitants next month will call forth an expression of hostility to monopoly not less cordial and unanimous than that which has been witnessed in Liverpool. "

A meeting of the Requisitionists took place on Saturday, Mr. Gladstone in the chair, when a Sub-Committee was appointed to prepare the resolutions which are to be submitted to the public meeting.

From the Liverpool Kaleidoscope, January 20.

Many of our readers, we doubt not, have participated in the gratification and advantages afforded to numerous and most respectable audiences by Mr. Buckingham's lectures at the Music Hall, on that most important and interesting subject, the Eastern World. Mr. Buckingham has travelled and seen much; and, to the possession of extensive knowledge and information, he adds the facility of communicating them to others, in a manner so pleasing and familiar, as greatly to enhance the gratification of those who hear him. He is evidently a gentleman of refined taste and cultivated imagination. From the immense extent and discursive nature of his subjects, it is astonishing that he could do any thing like justice to them; his materials would afford ample scope for a much more extended course of lectures; and we have no doubt that such a course would prove not only interesting and instructive to the hearers, but also lucrative to the lecturer, who, with the experience he has now acquired, (this being his first attempt at public lecturing,) would be enabled to improve both the classification and treatment of his subjects. Perhaps, too, his style of delivery is rather too easy and colloquial, and might occasionally, when the dignity of his subject requires it, be more elevated. Be this as it may, his lectures have been received here with very great satisfaction and applause by a numerous and respectable audience; and we hope that the success of his experiment here will lead him to repeat it elsewhere, and thus disseminate throughout the kingdom, in the most pleasing manner, the most extensive and important information of which he is possessed. He can perform no greater good to his country or mankind than by lending his powerful aid to produce upon the public that impression which will lead to the destruction of the monstrous monopoly which has so long fettered and cramped the energies and resources of the Eastern World, and, for the advantage of a few, prevented the access of Europeans to a market almost unlimited, to the great injury and loss of both Asiatics and Europeans. But the subject is leading us beyond the bounds of a reasonable introduc-

tion; and we will, therefore, break off these remarks with the hope that Mr. Buckingham will persevere in the good work, and that success will speedily crown his efforts, and those of such real friends to their country and their fellow-creatures as co-operate with him. Though, of course, much of the ground occupied by Mr. Buckingham has been gone over before by other travellers, we trust we shall need no apology for laying before our readers as complete a report of the lectures as it is in our power to give. Much of the information is new—much important—and all interesting; and instead of giving detached and unconnected fragments, it shall be our object, as far as we can accomplish it, to lay before our readers a correct and symmetrical whole. One further remark, and we have done with all we have to say by way of preface;—the applause was so frequent, that, for our own convenience, we shall not attempt to note every place where it occurred, but shall merely mention it where it was peculiarly warm and flattering.

From the Liverpool Courier, January 21.

Beside the general information given to the public by Mr. Buckingham, on the state, customs, and commercial capabilities of the countries in which he has travelled, the greatest benefit, we think, will result from his giving lectures in the principal towns of the kingdom, by turning the attention of the public to that great question, the opening of the trade to India. If Mr. Buckingham had intended to take ample revenge upon the Company for their harsh treatment of him, he could not have taken a more effectual method than thus proceeding to excite an ardent effort to infringe upon their monopoly in the commercial and manufacturing communities of the domestic empire. To dissipate the mystery in which Indian affairs have been involved, to expose the artifices of an interested monopoly to maintain itself, and to awaken attention to the great resources of our Indian possessions, are the sure means of raising obstructions, great, and, we hope, effectual to the renewal of the charter. We acquit Mr. Buckingham of a vengeful motive; but that this must be the effect is manifest, and we know not that a more public-spirited act could have been performed by an individual.

We do not think it necessary to call for absolute proof of all Mr. Buckingham's statements as to India and China, in order to support the argument that the time is fully come for Parliament to be just to the country at large, and to wrest an exclusive right from hands which are not powerful enough to turn it to good account for themselves, although they are able to shut out the public from the benefit. The case does not, in fact, rest so much upon details as upon general and unquestionable facts, which all who have turned the least attention to India could not but know, independent of Mr. Buckingham's statements, although we grant that they come in

very opportunely to support and corroborate them. For, whether we regard India with reference to empire or to trade, the argument against the Company is equally demonstrative. That the Company governs India, is certain ; but that India is a part of the British empire, subdued by our valour, and maintained by our might, is equally certain ; and, that it should be governed directly from the Crown, and independent of the anomaly of an *imperium in imperio*, is a point on which, we think, tried, disinterested, and unprejudiced men, will not be found to differ. Up to a certain period, the anomaly, which had grown up gradually with circumstances, might innocently have remained ; but that, when a sovereignty was effected in that part of the world ; when millions became the subjects of his Britannic Majesty in as strict a sense as any others, a Company of merchants and stockholders should be suffered any longer to interpose between the Crown and its subjects, was a monstrosity in politics which nothing but negligence on the one part, and a corrupt parliamentary influence on the other, could suffer to remain. We ask why India alone, of our foreign possessions, should be governed by the intervention of a power wholly unknown to the constitution ? and why George the Fourth should be less a sovereign there than in any other part of his dominions ? The only answers we ever heard merged themselves into two points : the danger of exciting the Natives on the subject of their superstitions, and the oppressions which might be practised upon them. Both pretences are ridiculous. With the superstitions of the Natives, Government would no more concern itself than the Company, save and except that it would not make a dishonourable gain of them, as the Company's servants, in their cupidity, have done ; and, as for oppression, the benefit would, in the change, be altogether on the side of the Natives. No colony, no foreign possession of ours, is oppressed ; and, if the Company is not free from this charge as to India, then the objection is abundantly answered. The grand remedy for oppression is to bring the governors under the influence of public opinion. This cannot be whilst India is a locked-up country ; and this can only take place when it is placed under the eye, and in the interests, of this country, by free and unrestricted intercourse. The true policy of Great Britain is to consolidate her vast, but scattered, empire ; and, for effecting this, there is no means but that of exerting a direct protective influence upon every part, and by opening the door for the circulation of her science, her laws, and her liberties, throughout every part, as it may be prepared for them. So much for the question of empire ; let India feel that it is protected by just laws and by a paternal government, and she becomes, for ages yet to come, all our own. The half-castes especially, now shut out from all interest in the country which has bred them, and who ought to be the connecting link between the aboriginal natives and us, would, in that case, become our natural allies, and the best agents for the diffusion of our knowledge, our arts, and our modes of thinking.

As for the question of *trade*, it is too obvious to dwell upon. We can spin cotton for India, we can manufacture it for India ; we have a thousand manufactures which the people would be glad to take, if they had any thing to give for them. They have now little to give, not because their country is not productive, but because its productiveness is not called forth. That only is wanting to open markets among countless millions, and to give us, in return, the articles we now get from countries of more scanty population.

That, in effecting a change demanded by the welfare and improvement of our Indian empire, and by the general right of the mercantile interest at home to be placed on equal ground with the monopolists, every just consideration is to be paid to circumstances, so that no mischief shall arise from hasty and ill-digested arrangements, we concede. The first step is to open the trade, and to afford facilities for the establishment of mercantile houses in different parts of India, and for the employment of British capital to improve the produce of the country, both in its quality and quantity. For this no delay is required. The change in the government of India is more delicate, because any change is apt to awaken suspicion among an ignorant population, and because the constant cry of the Company's servants in the ears of the Natives has been, that India is now better governed by themselves than any other administration of its affairs would allow. The alterations ought, therefore, to be brought on by degrees, and with as few changes in names, and designations of officers and magistrates, as possible. We grant, too, that to form a just and well-adapted government for India, will require great deliberation, and more especially in order to secure its constant responsibility to public opinion at home, which is the best check that affairs so distant can be placed under. But these are the very reasons why the public should now agitate the question, and force it immediately upon the attention of our statesmen, that, when the time for bringing the subject before Parliament shall arrive, every plan may be mature. Mr. Buckingham's lectures will employ the attention of the community at large in the towns he may visit ; but our enlightened and practical merchants must no longer let the matter sleep. They must unite to lead on, and rightly to direct, public opinion, and so to bring the case, in due time, before Parliament, that all may feel that the claims they make are the result of wise and well-informed consideration, and that they will be maintained by firmness. With regard to Liverpool, at least, the matter will not sleep ; as a requisition, numerous and most respectably signed, has been presented to our worthy Chief Magistrate, requesting him to call a meeting to consider of the best means of removing the present restrictions upon our commercial intercourse with China and India. His Worship has appointed next Wednesday for the meeting, and we doubt not but it will present an array of influence and talent worthy of the high commercial rank which Liverpool holds in the empire.

Before quitting Liverpool, the following fact, first learnt there, and placed in Mr. Buckingham's hands, in writing, during the delivery of his last lecture deserves to be recorded. It is given in the words of the original writer :

' A ship-owner of this town had a vessel on the west coast of Mexico, the captain of which was offered a very eligible charter to go from thence to Canton, to convey thither the person, family, and effects of an old Spaniard, resident there, who was apprehensive of the confiscation of his property by the Mexican Government. The terms of the charter had been agreed upon, when the British Consul reminded the captain that it would be an infringement of the East India Company's charter for a British vessel to go from any part of the world to China, and the voyage was consequently abandoned ; when the vessel, not being able to procure any other employment, was compelled to come away in ballast. The absurdity of such a regulation is very evident, as this is a trade in which the East India Company do not participate. An American, French, or any other ship, except one bearing the British flag, might perform the voyage, but the same indulgence is refused to a British ship, although it cannot be shown how such a permission could possibly interfere even with the *monopoly* of the East India Company, admitting, for argument's sake, that it should still be tolerated.'

On his return through Manchester and Birmingham, in his way to London, Mr. Buckingham met with the same cordial reception, and same assurance of support, from men of all parties ; and on his arrival in town, found letters already awaiting him from Glasgow, Leeds, Hull, Whitby, Bristol, and Dublin, inviting him to make an early visit to each.

The contrast to all this presented by the London papers generally is worthy of remark. The leading daily prints, not yet being able to see how their pecuniary interests would be likely to be affected by any early disclosure of hostility to the East India Company, had hitherto maintained a dignified silence. Two among them only ventured on any direct advocacy of abolishing the existing state of things ; and their articles we give :

From the Morning Advertiser, January 15.

The visit of Mr. Buckingham to Liverpool, for the purpose of organizing an opposition to the renewal of the East India Company's charter, has been followed by more decisive success than could well have been expected. From the merchants of Liverpool, he has already, on the motion of the Mayor, received a vote of thanks, and the most cordial wishes for the success of his enterprise in other towns he may visit ; and from the opinions entertained in this country generally respecting the advantages of a free trade with

India and China, we doubt not that his doctrines will everywhere meet with the most enthusiastic reception.

We have no wish either to damp the ardour of Mr. Buckingham, or to depreciate, in public estimation, the value of the trade which is now almost monopolized by the East India Company. We are fully alive to the merits of the former, and the advantages which would accrue to the public from the latter ; for, if there is any one respecting the commerce of this country more notorious than another, it is that of the great national loss at which the trade, both to India and China, is carried on by the East India Company. For every article, in fact, of really national consumption which we receive from either quarter, we pay, on the lowest calculation, a full third more than we should be under any necessity of paying, were the trade free ; while, to add still more to the disadvantages accruing from the present system, it is all but certain that the Company which enjoys such exclusive benefits at the expense of the country, does not reap any corresponding advantage from them.

In discussing this question, however, it ought to be taken into account that, but for the East India Company, we should not now have possessed either the paramount dominion which we now exercise in the East ; or India, on the other hand, have proved such a fertile mine of wealth and commercial enterprise as it now is. It is to it that we owe both the one and the other ; and it must also be taken into consideration, that the Company is entitled to compensation whenever its dominion shall be wrested from it. This is one drawback on the advantages which would accrue to the public from throwing open the trade with India and China, and there are others of no mean importance which might be stated ; but, after all, if a satisfactory arrangement can be entered into with the Company, there is no denying that, when the excessive anticipations of immense and unheard-of advantages from it have died away, and regular commerce succeeded to the foolish speculations which a free trade would be certain to create, great national advantages would result from a change of system ; and that the public mind could not in the mean time be better employed, than in acquiring correct notions on the subject, and preparing itself for a full, fair, and unbiassed discussion of the question.

It would be very easy to show, in reference to this last paragraph, that were it not for the *national* wealth and *national* forces, the East India Company could never have either obtained or secured their conquests in India ; and that the *dominion* is not the Company's but the King's. It is part of the British empire, and in the entire custody of King, Lords, and Commons, to give away, by treaty, to any foreign power, to declare independent, or to retain under any form of government they choose ;—but there will be time enough to discuss this view of the question when the exclusive monopoly of the trade is done away.

Mr. Buckingham's lectures on the advantages to be derived from the opening of the trade with India and China, have produced a very strong impression in Liverpool; and as it is the intention of that gentleman to advocate the same cause in all the principal towns and cities of the kingdom, the friends of free trade will find him an efficient and active labourer in the promotion of one of the greatest objects they can desire,—the overthrow of that giant of monopoly, the East India Company.

There is something of retributive justice in this. Mr. Buckingham has felt the arm of power; he was persecuted in India; he has been driven to England; and here he stands up with the authority of an eye-witness and a sufferer to oppose the system, and rouse the energies of the country to the vindication of its commercial and political character from reproach. His enemies, and the enemies of every thing that is liberal in trade and government, have themselves placed him upon that stage from whence he can annoy them with most effect; and we hope, for the sake of all the great principles involved in the question, that they will reap the full benefit of his spirited exertions.

His lecture, which appeared at some length in 'The Liverpool Times' of Tuesday, furnishes the most conclusive testimony of the evils which have resulted from the continuance of the charter. The people of that enterprising city in which he commenced his labours, have acknowledged them by a vote of thanks; and, indeed, it would be strange if, upon a question so clear as the impolicy of perpetuating the most enormous and unwieldy monopoly that ever existed, there should be any difference of opinion amongst a class of merchants as intelligent as any that can be found in any part of the kingdom, not excepting London itself.

In addition to the commercial advantages which would at once be realized by a total change of system towards our Asiatic colonies, there are still wider and brighter views of improvement to stimulate the benevolent feelings of society on this important subject. We owe to India a great moral debt. The misgovernment of a commercial junta, actuated by a grasping spirit, and constructed upon a principle which excludes all that is elevating in the soul of commerce, while it accumulates and condenses all that is demoralizing and injurious, has visited the kingdoms and principalities of Asia like a plague. The history of our connection with that country, is one upon which no Englishman would wish to dwell. It is time that we should furnish a brighter page—it is time that we should contribute to the moral and intellectual improvement of the Natives; not by sending missionaries to wander over tracts of desolation and ignorance, but by encouraging, or, we should rather say, permitting, British residents to settle amongst them, and carry into the heart

of those extensive regions the habits and institutions which are calculated to spread by example. The philanthropist and the religionist will find an ample field for the exercise of their best affections in forwarding the promotion of those enlightened commercial views, which are identified with the prosperity of nations, and the general improvement of the human race.

We turn to another side of the picture, for the purpose of seeing what are the sort of arguments, and what the force with which they are used, by those who propose any alteration in the existing system. We are satisfied that the mere exhibition of the folly they display will be sufficient to work its own remedy. Take the following:

From the Morning Journal, January 14.

Mr. Buckingham, who, we should have thought, had obtained notoriety enough, is, we perceive, riding the provinces, in order to teach the natives of Liverpool and other places his maxims of political economy, and his system of governing India. It is rather farcical, considering the extent of this gentleman's pretensions, to see him reading lectures, written by himself, perhaps, in the English language, to the grave and learned sages of Liverpool. It is a stretch of complaisance on his part for which certainly we were not prepared, and a stretch of absurdity on the part of his hearers which we could not have expected. After this, we should not be surprised to see Mr. Hunt lecturing to the Parisians on the art of making blacking, or a London chimney-sweep expounding to our country cousins the mysteries of cleaning flues, sweeping soot, or wheedling with the kitchen maids in the cold mornings.

That Mr. Buckingham has published a few books about India, and a few more about himself, we can easily credit, though, we thank Heaven, we have never had the pleasure of reading either the one set or the other. That he may have something to communicate relative to the trade of India is possible enough. We do not insinuate that Mr. Buckingham is *not* a very well-informed man, for we positively know nothing to the contrary. He is quite justified, we also admit, in hawking his knowledge, of whatever nature it may be, through the country, and to the best market. We protest we find no fault with this. He has a clear right to travel and sell, even without a license; and we wish him success and good returns.

But the rather revolting part of the business is to see the gentlemen of Liverpool—the Croppers, Gladstones, Bensons, Roscoes, and others—liberally patronising such charlatanerie and presumption. If the motives of the parties were pure—if they had the good of their country in view—if they were not tainted by paltry selfishness on the one side, and mean revenge and disappointment on the other, then their folly would be more pardonable. They wish the destruction of the East India Company, and are desirous to partake of the profits of the Canton tea trade. All this is very natural, and

it is equally natural for the Company to oppose their wishes, and retain their monopoly as long as they can. But by what motives is their travelling teacher inspired? He is a disappointed applicant at the East India Board—he was sent out of India for his meddling politics—and he has lived upon ‘his misfortunes,’ as he calls them, ever since. In all our experience we never knew a man turn his mishaps into such a source of revenue as Mr. Buckingham. *Puff* in the play’s calamities, in point of profit, were mere scrapings to those of this injured and unfortunate editor. He seems to be desirous of injuring the Company from the same motives. He, perhaps, thinks that to rob them of their business is the only way to save them, and that to reduce their profits is the best mode of increasing their dividends. But Mr. Buckingham forgets that *their* condition and *his* are rather different. *They* are not likely to flourish on their wrongs, nor find sugar for their tea, if the tea be taken away from them.

But the exhibition shows to what shifts the Liverpool patriots will resort in order to gain their object. Base lucre is the motive, and, therefore, Mr. Cropper smiles on Mr. Buckingham!—the twist and the calicoes are concerned, therefore Mr. Gladstone bows to the traveller!—the sugar and tea trade are involved, therefore Mr. Benson stands *behind* the chair of Mr. Buckingham! Oh dear! oh dear!—but so much for quackery and Mr. Buckingham!

Nota Bene.—How comes it that the Liverpool people have taken a useful avocation out of the hands of Mr. Huskisson, and preferred Mr. Buckingham to him? Their representative being now out of office, and consequently in good health, ought to have obtained the lectureship.

On reading this article, the following letter was addressed to the Editor in reply:

To the Editor of the Morning Journal.

SIR,—The space you have bestowed, in your Journal of the 14th, on a notice of my late visit to Liverpool, is a proof that it possessed at least sufficient importance in your estimation to deserve accusation; and you are too much of an Englishman, I should hope, to refuse an equal space to a defence. I therefore rely with confidence on your admitting from me a brief reply.

Whether my pretensions to communicate to my fellow-countrymen such knowledge as I may possess, be not quite as well-founded as those of any other public writer who communicates his opinions to the world; and whether there be any greater presumption in seeking to inform mankind by reading or speaking in a large assembly, than by writing in the columns of a newspaper, others may determine: but the world has at least some guarantee for my experience on the subjects on which I treat, having passed nearly fifteen years as a traveller and a merchant in Asia, and a public writer in India.

and in England on the affairs of the East. If all the writers in your Journal can produce as good credentials, you are more fortunate than most of your contemporaries.

That you have never read any of the works which have met with such flattering reception from the rest of my countrymen, I can very readily believe: but this, with most men, would be a reason why they should suspend their judgment as to the capacities of their author. But when you suppose that I make my information a mere matter of trade, and 'hawk it about,' as you elegantly term it, at the best market, you must also be ignorant that I have devoted the whole of the profits arising from my late lectures to the public use, and have not touched a shilling of it as my own. When 'The Morning Journal,' or any other English newspaper, does the same, no one, I should hope, would deny them the merit of sincerity and disinterestedness at least, and this is all the merit I claim.

It is a mistake to suppose that I was sent out of India for my 'meddling politics,'—a very vague, but sufficiently expressive phrase;—I was removed from that country for anticipating the decision of the constituted authorities in this country, in calling in question the propriety of a local appointment of a Scotch clergyman to be a clerk to a committee for supplying the Indian Government with stationery, which appointment was no sooner heard of in England, than it was annulled by the united voice of the India Company and the Board of Control. My offence, therefore, was, maintaining the opinion of the *higher* authorities in this country, against the *inferior* authorities on the spot,—an indiscretion of which 'The Morning Journal' would, I thought, have been the last to complain. It would be deemed rather a severe punishment by you, no doubt, to have your journal suppressed, your fortune destroyed, and yourself transported, without trial, to a distant country, for venturing to censure some local appointment in Ireland, which the Cabinet itself should equally, as soon as it heard of it, disapprove. This, then, was exactly my case.

Whether the gentlemen of Liverpool were less pure than other merchants, when actuated by motives of gain, it is not for me to pronounce. But I have yet to learn that the East India Company, or any other trading bodies, are free from the 'selfishness' of which you seem to think so ill. If it be 'quackery' to endeavour to increase the revenue of the country from trade, then are the wisest and best of men in your own calendar the greatest 'quacks' in the land, for this is their perpetual boast, and their chief praise; and if it be also 'quackery' to endeavour, by free commercial intercourse, to enrich this country, as well as those with which such intercourse is maintained, and by this means to introduce improvement and civilization among millions of our fellow-beings, now sunk in ignorance, idolatry, and wretchedness, then I am

willing to be considered guilty of what other men designate by a less obnoxious term:—this, and not my own profit or pleasure merely, (though I hold these to be no dishonour for any man justly to pursue,) being what I chiefly have in view.

If there be others, entirely free, in all their thoughts and actions, from any thing which can even bear the semblance of interested motives, I should say, 'Let him that is without sin cast the first stone.'—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.*

A still better answer to this tirade of 'The Morning Journal' is to be found, however, in the following article from 'The Liverpool Times' of January 20:

'A London paper, "The Morning Journal," which is labouring to write itself into notoriety by all manner of violent and abusive articles, by reckless assertions and extravagant declamation, tries to throw contempt on Mr Buckingham and on the merchants of Liverpool for the part they are taking to oppose the renewal of the East India Company's charter. The palpable folly of this journalist counteracts the effect of his unprincipled abuse. He confesses he has never read Mr Buckingham's works, and yet he presumes to designate him an empiric. He says that the Gladstones, the Croppers, &c. of this town are influenced by the mere selfish consideration of a wish to extend their own trade to the East. Grant that it were so. Are *merchants* the only persons who are to be debarred from expressing their opinions on a *mercantile* question? Is it a heinous crime for intelligent commercial men to show the legislature how the commerce of the country may be extended? Are the free and enlightened merchants of Liverpool, or the interested proprietors of the East India Company—a large proportion of whom are wholly ignorant of trade, being landed gentlemen, women, and children—more likely to give such advice to Government as would best promote the interests of the community? Can there, by possibility, be a better guide to the legislature as to the capability of

* This letter was sent to 'The Morning Journal' by a messenger; but refused insertion, on the plea of wanting room (and this at a time when neither parliamentary nor any other public proceedings occupied its space); but, on a second application, the truth was made more apparent, as it was distinctly stated, that it would not appear in 'The Morning Journal' unless paid for! This is a fair specimen of the manner in which the worst part of the London press is made subservient to the most disgraceful traffic—first, obtaining (as there can now be little doubt that it was obtained from an interested quarter) the requisite payment for attacking an individual; and then demanding payment for inserting his defence: for there can be no good reason to suppose that the one would be done *without payment*, any more than the other. Upon such a traffic in men's reputation as this, it is unnecessary to offer a word of comment.

improvement in any branch of trade, than the opinions of the most experienced merchants of the country, who are in constant correspondence with all parts of the world? If the Gladstones and the Croppers think they can derive benefit from opening the trade to the East, their opinion is worth more than that of all the ministerial and opposition benches of the Houses of Parliament put together; and we defy those gentlemen to derive profit themselves, without sharing the benefit with manufacturers, shippers, and indeed, directly or indirectly, with every class in the nation.

We might safely challenge a more ingenious and better informed person than the writer above-mentioned, to point out any town or city in the kingdom where the East India question is likely to be so well understood and so independently viewed as in Liverpool. No town, except London, has such frequent intercourse with India, or sees so many individuals who are returning from that country. No town whatever contains merchants who have more enlarged views, or more extensive information, with regard to the commerce of the world. No town is more exempt from any ties or interests, which could influence its merchants to oppose the general good. *Inasmuch as Liverpool is interested in the question, precisely inasmuch is the opinion of its merchants the more valuable*; because it is manifest that Liverpool cannot be benefited in this matter but by *an extension of the trade*; and an extension of the trade is a benefit to the whole nation. It is true that Liverpool is interested in abolishing the Company's monopoly; but so is all England; and, therefore, if this is a reason why Liverpool should not be active, it is an equally good reason against the activity of any other place within the limits of the British dominions. In short, according to the reasoning of this sapient journalist, nobody has a right to oppose the wrong done by the Company, except those who have *no interest in the question, and know nothing about it!*

But we shall give, in the fewest possible words, several weighty reasons why the mercantile population of Liverpool should earnestly and perseveringly seek the entire abolition of the East India Company's charter and government;

1st. Because the East India Company is the largest, closest, and most prejudicial monopoly existing in this country, and stands in flagrant opposition to the principles of free trade.

2d. Because it shuts out the merchants and the capital of England from the whole territory of India, with the exception of a few towns on the coast, where merchants have no means of sending their goods into the interior, except such as depend wholly on the Company's pleasure.

3d. Because the vast population of Hindoostan, who are eager to receive our goods, cannot obtain them but at such enhanced prices and with so much difficulty (owing to the Company's regulations) as almost to amount to prohibition.

4th. Because Englishmen going out to India are subject to the arbitrary authority of the Company, who may banish them from their concerns and the country without trial, and at an hour's notice.

5th. Because the Company, from its very constitution, is wholly unfit to govern an extensive territory, and has more powerful motives to bad and negligent government than to good government.

6th. Because the Company has, *in fact*, misgoverned India, oppressed Englishmen, incurred an enormous debt, and grossly mismanaged its own mercantile concerns.

7th. Because the rapid and extraordinary increase of the private trade to India, since the partial opening of the trade in 1813, (notwithstanding all the restrictions to which it is subject,) whilst the Company's trade has, during the same period, been stationary, proves, beyond dispute, the infinite superiority of free trade to monopoly, and the great capabilities of Indian commerce.

8th. Because the East India Company engrosses the trade to China, shutting out our merchants from the most extensive market in the world, and enhancing the price of teas nearly 100 per cent. to the people of this country; thereby exacting from them, for the support of its own costly and corrupt system, a tax of nearly *one million sterling per annum*.

9th. Because the merchants of Great Britain are thus subjected to restrictions from which the merchants of all other nations are exempt, and our commercial rivals are benefiting by our loss.

10th. Because the United States have their teas at little more than half the price of this country, and have cultivated the commerce with China to so great an extent, that within thirty or forty years it has risen (in imports and exports) to 3,443,504*l.* per annum,—being only 275,884*l.* less than the amount of the commerce of the East India Company with China, though the latter has been established 150 years, and though England has vastly greater means of consuming the products of China, and of sending in return such manufactures as the Chinese are likely to buy.

We might assign many other reasons, political, commercial, and moral, and put those already assigned in new lights; but the foregoing are in our opinion far more than sufficient to convince any man, not biassed by some powerful interest, that every exertion ought to be made, with unremitting perseverance, by the people of this country, to prevent the renewal of the East India Company's charter.

The next article on this subject which has met our observation is the following:

From the Morning Post, January 17.

It was to be expected, that as the period approaches for the renewal of the East India Company's charter, or for effecting a total

change in the system of governing our Oriental empire, the large class of British merchants interested in the private trade would be sufficiently anxious and sufficiently active in their exertions to secure all practicable extension of their privileges.

We some time ago recommended to all the parties interested in this very important question to abstain from all premature agitation of it; assuring them that it would in due time undergo the most careful, anxious, and deliberate revision of his Majesty's Government, and that, previous to any decision, every source of information would be explored, and the views and representations of every party be not only received, but fairly weighed, rigorously sifted, and accurately compared, in order to enable Ministers to arrive at a conclusion the most conducive to the general welfare of the state.

The mercantile body, we rejoice to say, have coincided with us in opinion, and have accordingly reposed in the tranquil and satisfied assurance that their interests, and those of the community at large, involved in this important subject, might be safely left to the wisdom, moderation, and equity which distinguish his Majesty's advisers. That this is the predominant feeling of the commercial world, no stronger proof need be adduced than the fact, that the first movement towards the public discussion of the subject, as one of immediate and practical importance, has proceeded, not from any commercial corporation, not from any sea-port town, not even from any individual merchant, but from the Editor of a monthly publication, who has set up the trade of an itinerant lecturer, and very modestly elected himself to the office of instructor-general to the merchants of England, and their guardian and protector against the imminent danger of misconceiving or overlooking their own interests, in connection with East India affairs.

Among the enterprising and intelligent merchants of Liverpool, Bristol, Hull, and the other out-ports of the kingdom, opinions and arguments adverse to the monopoly of the East India Company are popular, no doubt; and the self-appointed lecturer selected the former of those places, with great discretion, for his *début* in the new character he has assumed. His auditors of the above description, if he had any such, would, he therefore knew, content themselves with laughing at his presumption without exposing or chastising it, while those of a lower grade were sure to acquiesce and applaud. The selection of Liverpool, therefore, as the scene of his inaugural dissertation, was judicious; although it would perhaps have argued greater magnanimity, a stronger confidence in the solidity of his arguments, and in his own powers of enforcing them, as well as a more accurate judgment as to the circle in which such instruction as he had to offer was most likely to be required, if he had chosen a spot somewhat nearer to Leadenhall-street, and had commenced his meritorious crusade against the commercial apathy and the political ignorance which he deems himself of all mankind the best qualified to encounter and subdue, in some region of the mercantile world,

where prejudices in favour of the chartered privileges of a Company of merchants, the founders of a boundless and splendid empire, may be still supposed to lurk.

As an authority upon the commercial branch of the subject, there is little danger of this travelling lecturer being overrated by the persons whom he has so generously undertaken to instruct; and upon its political and constitutional branches, which are of much higher importance, they will judge how well he is qualified for a teacher, when they recollect him as the individual who was expelled from India, because, after repeated expostulations, he persisted in the belief, that unreserved political discussion might be carried on by means of the Press of Calcutta with as little danger as in the Strand. As to the anecdotes with which he will seek, no doubt, to enliven his discourses, and to illustrate the character of the Indian Government; the only safe course, and that which his auditors will no doubt adopt, is to receive them with great caution. He has sustained severe losses and disappointments from what he considers the arbitrary, and what other more disinterested persons think the prudent and necessary, conduct of the Indian Government. He is personally and individually the enemy of that Government; and this will be sufficient, in the estimation of every candid mind, to render the personal testimony he may offer against any part of its conduct not only suspicious but inadmissible.

As an illustration of the character of this paper, whose circulation is confined to what are called exclusively the 'fashionable circles,' we cannot resist giving this short sentence, as the conclusion of the article immediately following the one we have quoted, and relating to the recall of Lord Anglesea from Ireland. The writer says:

'Our army and navy is an ample shield for their protection; while the hand of taxation lies more lightly on Ireland than upon almost any other country in Europe, and we would not be far out of the way of saying in the whole world. But it may be asked, how will you govern Ireland? Will you grant the Agitators what they demand? Certainly not; and for the most plain and intelligible reason, that they form no part of the necessary condition and happiness of the great bulk of the people of that country; and we are persuaded that from the moment the Catholics are admitted into political power in this country, the downfall of our Protestant constitution will commence, and the sun of England's glory will set for ever. Send them a Lord Lieutenant who will govern them as they ought to be governed, by trampling down the seeds of rebellion, and manacled the Agitators by the strong arm of the law. Emancipation such as the priests and their colleagues are now calling for, is a dreadful farce—nothing more than a mountebank trick got up by a few, with a view to deceive the British people!!!'

After such a declaration with respect to our *sister-country*, as it is sometimes called, (though this is rather harsh treatment for so endearing a relation,) we might expect but little mercy for India. Though such a *writer*, however, might be inaccessible to reason himself, some of his *readers* might be worth convincing; and accordingly the following letter was addressed to him :

To the Editor of the Morning Post.

SIR,—It was not until my return to town from Liverpool, that I had an opportunity of seeing your remarks on my late visit to that place, as contained in your paper of the 17th inst. I embrace the first opportunity, therefore, of claiming that fair hearing, in reply to which, as an English gentleman, and a warm friend to 'the constitution as by law established,' you will no doubt accord to me: since it is one of the best parts of that constitution, that no man shall be condemned unheard.

You remark, first, that I have 'taken up the TRADE of an *itinerant* lecturer,' and have 'very modestly elected myself to the office of instructor-general to the merchants of England.' It may, perhaps, be a sufficient answer to this, to say, that I have given over all the PROFITS of the trade, if it must so be called, to a public fund for promoting the object which I advocated by my pen,—a degree of self-denial which is not, I believe, usually practised by those who 'take up the TRADE of *stationary* lecturers,' and 'elect themselves to the office of instructor-general,' in the newspapers of England. I do not feel myself, therefore, at all injured by the comparison with other public speakers, whether they are *itinerant*, as are our judges and barristers, or fixed to one assembly, like our members of parliament; since *my* trade, at least, is not to fill my own pockets, nor my authority for addressing others derived from a less popular source than that of any newspaper editor in England.

You observe that the selection of Liverpool as the place of my *début* was judicious, but that it would have argued greater confidence and magnanimity, if I had commenced my opposition to the India Company somewhat nearer to Leadenhall-street. Sir, my opposition was commenced under the very eye, nay, I may say, in the very teeth of the Government in India itself, with the sword suspended over my neck,—a situation in which men who are much troubled with fear, do not usually oppose authority. I sacrificed an income of 8,000*l.* per annum, rather than shrink from what I conscientiously deemed my duty: and on my landing in England, I continued my opposition to the India Company, in their own court, in Leadenhall-street—face to face with its Directors: before the King in Council, and all the Judges of the land: and, lastly, in Parliament, and before a Committee, com-

posed chiefly of the very Directors to whom I was opposed. I have since, for five successive years, continued my opposition by the monthly journal to which you allude, which is more eagerly read in Leadenhall-street than in any other part of the kingdom. I am, therefore, free, I hope, from the charge of seeking a distant spot as the place of my *début*. I have attacked the enemy in his own fortress, and ask nothing better than to meet him there again.

You anticipate that 'the enterprising and intelligent merchants of Liverpool, if any such should form part of my audience, would content themselves with laughing at my presumption, without exposing or chastising it.' How this anticipation has been fulfilled, may be gathered from the fact, that the Mayor of that opulent town, and twenty or thirty of its leading merchants, including a majority of those whose political opinions and general confidence in the wisdom of his Majesty's ministers resemble your own, thought my lectures worthy of the very unusual honour of a public vote of thanks—which did not meet with *one* dissentient voice in an assembly of several hundreds; that a requisition for a public meeting, with which this was followed up, received, in the course of a single day, 164 signatures of the very first merchants of Liverpool, whether they are judged by their wealth, their intelligence, or their loyalty; and that there is no example, within the memory of any inhabitant of that great commercial town, of such perfect unanimity, of all sects and parties, as prevailed on this occasion.

I need, perhaps, say little more, except that I am anxious to undeceive you as to the cause of my removal from India. It was not, as you suppose, for persisting in any particular *belief*, though that would, indeed, be a strange reason to assign for utterly ruining any man; but it was for observing what, I am sure, no one will more readily admit than yourself, that the sacred character of the clergy ought to be respected; and that the uniting in their persons lay offices derogatory to their clerical dignity, was an error of judgment in the local government, which was likely to be corrected by the authorities at home. This prediction was literally fulfilled. The appointment in question, which gave to a minister of the church the place of clerk to a committee for supplying the offices in India with stationery, was no sooner heard of by the India Company and the Board of Control in England, than both these authorities concurred in its impropriety, and the individual was accordingly deprived of the very appointment which I had ventured to predict would be taken from him. With all the respect which you profess, and, no doubt, sincerely entertain, towards those powerful bodies, I cannot believe that an anticipation of their official judgment and decision will be regarded by you as a very heinous crime, since it

is practised by every newspaper that supports the measures of Government in England, every day, and is often productive of very great public good.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.*

From the Public Ledger, January 22.

'Considerable agitation has been created in Liverpool, in consequence of some lectures delivered by Mr. Buckingham, upon the subject of a free trade with India. It will be seen, from an article in our paper to-day, that this gentleman lately introduced to the notice of the commercial residents of that most populous and flourishing town, the advantages which would arise if the trade to that part of the world was thrown open. He described—a fact, however, which is well known—the immense benefits which would accrue by removing the present restrictions to a free intercourse. He particularised the commodities, the productions of the soil, and enumerated some of them as being peculiarly under the control of the East India Company, who participate in the trade exclusively. With that, of course, we, as Journalists, have nothing to do; but, whatever relates to the commerce of this country with our foreign possessions, naturally becomes with us a matter for consideration and notice. It is on that account we have deemed it expedient to give some extracts from the lectures of Mr. Buckingham, who seems to have obtained considerable information upon the subjects upon which he dilates. Indeed, his long residence in India has given him frequent opportunities of making himself acquainted with the Indian trade, and with the productions of the country, and of forming an estimate of the benefits likely to ensue from removing the restrictions. This, as we have before said, is a subject upon which we offer no opinion. But he seems to have made some impression upon the merchants of Liverpool, for a meeting was lately held in the Music Hall of that town, which was attended by most of the leading men engaged in commercial pursuits. Mr. Buckingham at that meeting unfolded his views upon the subject; from

* This letter the Editor, with great justice and liberality, inserted in his paper of the 22d, and affixed to it the following note:

' Upon the subject of the above letter, we have to observe, that we are now, as much as ever, anxious to recommend to all the parties interested in so important a question as the Trade to India, to abstain from all *premature* agitation of it; and we have only to repeat our assurance to them, that it will in due time undergo the most careful, anxious, and deliberate revision of his Majesty's Government, who are using every means to arrive at a conclusion the most conducive to the general welfare of the state. To Mr. Buckingham we never meant to offer any personal disrespect. We may differ from him in opinion, but we must always respect his character and his talents.'

which it appeared that merchants, though permitted to trade with India, were proscribed from advancing into the interior, and from having establishments in the country. His object, therefore, was to open the commerce of Hindoostan to our merchants generally. Mr. Buckingham, in throwing out this suggestion, must have been aware, that, if his proposition was adopted, the interests of the East India Company would be materially affected; and, consequently, that such a proposition would be met, in other quarters than Liverpool, with decided opposition. So far as the commerce of England is concerned, little doubt can exist but that it must be the sincere desire of all to see it flourish. That the merchants of Liverpool would reap immense benefits by an introduction into the interior of India, is beyond question; and, if such an opening could be made for them, and, in fact, for the commercial world generally, it would be desirable. But there are such rights as vested rights, which intervene sometimes to stop the march of improvement, and which are as sacred as the property guaranteed by all the *formula* of law, by title-deeds, possession, reversion, and remainder. In the present case, for the reasons before stated, the merchants of Liverpool, under the authority of the constitutional law of England, have only the claim of expectancy—that claim, however good, may, by possibility, be met—we do not know how that is—but it may be met by the production of the title-deeds of the East India Company. *We rejoice in the extension of British commerce, and should rejoice if the merchants of Liverpool fully participated in the benefits arising from an intercourse with the interior of India—but we much fear that the East India Company's claim to the government of India will operate as a bar. It is true that the opening of the trade with the East Indies and with China, in the manner proposed, would be a national benefit, supposing injustice to one portion of the community could be avoided.* However that may be, the subject has made a great impression upon the town of Liverpool, we mean the most influential of the mercantile part; and, in consequence, a public meeting is to be held on Wednesday next. The requisition for calling it received the signatures of no less than *one hundred and sixty-two* of the most respectable merchants. The requisition states the object to be, 'To consider the best means of removing the restrictions imposed upon commerce by the present charter of the East India Company, and of prevailing upon the Legislature to secure to the public all those benefits which a free commercial intercourse with India and China is capable of affording.'

We repeat, that we suspect the East India Company's charter is almost as impregnable as Magna Charta.

To this the following letter was addressed to the Editor in reply:

To the Editor of the Public Ledger.

SIR, I have read, with much pleasure, the article contained in your paper of yesterday (the 22d) relative to the opening of the trade with India and China, as it concedes all that is asked for, namely, that the Legislature of the country should give to the commercial interests of the people due consideration; and that whatever can promote the commerce of the country, must be considered a national blessing. Now, that the East India Company have, for years past, traded at a loss, to every part of India, we have their own repeated confessions in Parliament and elsewhere; and that the free trade permitted, since the last extension of the charter, to be carried on by private individuals, to the three principal ports of India—not, however, to the interior—has greatly increased, both in exports, imports, and the consequent employment of shipping, is also undoubted, and familiarly known to every merchant in the city of London.

On the other hand, the trade to China, of which the Company still hold exclusive possession, and into which no Englishman dare enter, is now carried on by American ships loading even in the port of London, and still more frequently at Liverpool, with British goods for Canton, which are there sold at a profit, the returns invested in tea, which gives a homeward freight, and large profits, whether sold in America, Hamburg, or elsewhere. Thus, while the docks along the banks of the Thames are filled with ships rotting in idleness, and captains, officers, and seamen, lingering around them in poverty and despair, the ships of every other flag but British may trade to Canton freely, and make fortunes for their owners, and comfortable provision for their crews. English vessels and English seamen alone are prohibited by the East India Company's charter from participating in this trade: so that our Legislature is placed in the monstrous situation of making laws by which foreigners are enabled to reap benefits that Englishmen dare not touch!

Sir, I have myself been a seaman for the best part of a long and active life: I commanded a ship out of the port of London at the early age of twenty-one; and have visited, in that capacity, the West Indies as well as the East, both Americas, and the Mediterranean sea. I can speak with some experience, therefore, on matters of shipping and commerce as well as on matters of politics and literature; and hope, before another year has passed away, to see a flag, with the words 'Free Trade to India and China,' flying at the mast-head of every ship in the Thames.

But it is to the last part of your article that I meant particularly to advert, wherein you speak of the 'title-deeds' of the East India Company, and suspect their charter to be almost as impregnable as Magna Charta. It will sufficiently remove all your apprehensions on this subject, I hope, when I call to your attention the fact, that their 'title-deeds' have never been anything but 'leases for twenty

years,' perpetually discussed at their termination ; but the right' of the country to refuse them further extension or renewal, never was called in question, even by themselves. On the last renewal, there was a motion for granting the lease for ten years instead of twenty, which was powerfully supported by Mr Canning, and lost by a very small majority. Indeed, to suppose their lease for twenty years as impregnable as Magna Charta, is to suppose that the lease of any estate in England for a given term of seven, fourteen, or twenty-one years, is as good as a freehold,—a doctrine that no person would be bold enough to maintain.

My object, however, is not to destroy or dissolve the East India Company, who may continue, like other companies, to trade when and where and how they please ; but my object is to prevent that Company, who do not trade at a mercantile profit to themselves, from standing in the way of all other companies or individuals trading in the same manner. Let India be thrown open to the settlement of native-born Englishmen, as every other part of the British dominions now is ; and let China be as freely visited by British merchants and British ships as it is by the Americans, French, Dutch, or the people of any other foreign nation. This is all I ask ; and this, I am persuaded, the whole country (always excepting the East India Company itself) will also ask ; and in a manner that will induce the Legislature to grant this demand.

If you would deem it a monstrous injustice (and I am certain you would do so) for any one company of newspaper proprietors to have the exclusive privilege of publishing a journal, or any one company of insurers to have the exclusive privilege of insuring his Majesty's subjects from loss by fire or other calamity ; so you must think it monstrous that a Company, composed of 4,000 or 5,000 proprietors, half of whom are old women and children, and the other half a mixture of all kinds and sorts of men, should have the exclusive privilege of ruling a country ten times as large as our own ; the exclusive privilege of supplying the nation with an article next in consumption to bread—namely, tea ; for which we are made to pay ten shillings a pound, while the same article can be had at 2s. 6d. at Hamburg, Guernsey, and other places close to our own shores.

I have only to ask the conductors of the public press in England to investigate this subject calmly, and keep their hands pure, (which I am quite certain you will do,) and then I do not fear the result ; for, with the merchants, the manufacturers, the ship-owners, the seamen, the landed gentry, the religious community, the press, and the people, on our side, we shall win them all ; the issue will be triumphant ; and the country will rejoice, not at the downfall or injury of any fellow-being, for that we do not desire, but at the opening of sources of wealth and happiness to millions, now shut up, and unproductive of good to any one.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

We have heard it stated, on authority which we cannot doubt, that the East India Company have already begun to tamper with the London press, and that emissaries have been employed to feel the pulse of several of the leading periodicals. Indeed, a statement was made to the editor of one of those publications, to the effect that 60,000*l.* were put by, for the purpose of seeing JUSTICE done to their claims by the London press ! and that it would be well for those who had not already committed themselves by their opposition to the monopolists !! That such a course is very likely to be pursued by them, no man who knows anything of that body, and the principles on which it is governed, can for a moment doubt. If they would suppress the truth by censorships, licenses, and utter destruction of public journals in the country where they had the power to use these engines for gagging them, who can doubt but that in this country, where no such power existed, they would try to effect the same end by bribes, especially as the abstraction of 60,000*l.*, or even ten times that sum, from their Treasury, would not lessen any Director's dividends, or lessen the value of India stock ? That *some* of the London journals will take the bait, we have no doubt whatever ; and we shall soon see which they are. But the Country press is, we hope, beyond their reach ; and, at all events, the country at large must surely be able to raise as great a sum (if that is the only way in which it can be accomplished) as the India Company, to see JUSTICE done to its claims also.

To show, by actual proof, to what arts the East India Company will descend, in order to support their sinking credit, we shall mention the following fact, communicated to us by one of the most intelligent merchants of Liverpool, who took a leading part in the opposition to the last renewal of the charter. He states, that on that occasion, the late Sir Thomas Munro, recently Governor of Madras, came down to Liverpool, and offered himself to the Committee of that town, as ready to appear before the House of Commons, or elsewhere, in order to give evidence from actual experience in India of the great desire which the Hindoos evinced to possess British manufactures, and the vast consumption of them which would necessarily follow on opening the trade to India. It appears that the Company, getting information of this, contrived to let Sir Thomas Munro know that any thing within their gift was at his command, provided his evidence was shaped as they desired. The perfidious and traitorous General took the hint—came up to London, threw himself into the arms of the Company, and, when asked before the Committee of Parliament whether he had observed, among the people of India, any disposition towards the purchase of European goods ? he answers, 'None,' and goes on throughout his evidence to express his belief that, in the event of a free trade, no greater consumption of English goods would take place in any part of India with which he was acquainted ! This is a degree of profligacy

which is difficult to conceive, in the case of any man but one trained in the slavish system of the East India Company. In this instance, the proverb of 'Like master, like man' is fully realized, and we are sorry to add, that, on the score of evidence, there are others who have as great names, but who cut no better figure than Sir Thomas Munro. Sir John Malcolm, for instance, with 'all his reputation, and with many excellent social and private qualities, uttered as much untruth, and as much nonsense, before the Parliamentary Committee as any witness called before it; and we hear, by recent letters from Bombay, that his stay there is to be comparatively short, as the Directors have promised to relieve him; that he may come home previous to the discussion on the charter; take his seat in the House of Commons for one of the Clive boroughs, and bring forward a fresh supply of fallacies and misrepresentations to delude the unthinking country gentlemen into a belief that nothing in India can be altered for the better. We shall be glad to meet him in that assembly face to face; for there at last the question must be decided: and this it is which should especially make all the friends of Free Trade to the East determined so to fortify themselves in that stronghold, as to be able to meet their enemies without any apprehension of losing the victory for want of timely preparation for the day of battle.

SONG.—*GODLIKE LIBERTY.*

Who denies that life and love,
 Gifts of heaven, should cherish'd be?
 Yet prize we still those gifts above
 Godlike Liberty!

Life is like a branching tree,
 Valued for the fruit it gives:
 Who plucks not from it Liberty,
 Tell me why he lives?

Music's voice is sweetest then,
 When it thrills to Patriot's name,
 Giving back those sounds again,
 That kindle Freedom's flame.

BION.

ON THE DISTINCTIONS IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES ARISING
FROM MIXTURE OF BLOOD.

——— ‘ Strange is it, that our bloods,
Of colour, weight and heat, pour’d altogether,
Would quite confound distinction, yet stand off
In differences so mighty.’

ROBERTSON, in his historical disquisition concerning India, in the spirit of benevolence which marked his life and characterized his writings, makes this remark : ‘ Unfortunately for the human species, in whatever quarter of the globe the people of Europe have acquired dominion, they have found the inhabitants entirely in a state of society and improvement far inferior to their own, but different in their complexion, and in all their habits of life. Men in every stage of their career, are so satisfied with the progress made by the community of which they are members, that it becomes to them a standard of perfection, and they are apt to regard people whose condition is not similar with contempt and even aversion. In Africa and America the dissimilitude is so conspicuous, that, in the pride of their superiority, Europeans thought themselves entitled to reduce the natives of the former to slavery, and to exterminate those of the latter. Even in India, though far advanced beyond the two other quarters of the globe in improvement, the colour of the inhabitants, their effeminate appearance, their unwarlike spirit, the wild extravagance of their religious tenets and ceremonies, and many other circumstances, confirmed Europeans in such an opinion of their own pre-eminence, that they have always viewed and treated them as an inferior race of men. Happy would it be if any of the four European nations, who have successively acquired extensive territories and power in India, could altogether vindicate itself from having acted in this manner.’

If these sentiments have influenced the conduct of Europeans in their intercourse with society in India, or led them to associate ideas of inferiority with difference of complexion, or induced them first to oppress and then to despise their Asiatic subjects, because, in the progress of years, their own march from barbarism to civilization has acquired for them a degree of knowledge for all practical purposes, infinitely superior to the boasted wisdom of the East, whilst in the revolutions of time, and in the vicissitudes which attend nations as well as individuals, the Orientals have fallen from that high intellectual state which they exhibited in the early history of the world, and have sunk into feebleness from a long acquaintance with luxury and ease,—very different causes have suggested similar sentiments in the conduct of Europeans towards their subjects in the American colonies ; and those who look no farther

than to the complexional differences of the oppressed and the oppressors, as a reason for the unequal measure of liberty and social life dealt out to all who have the misfortune to exhibit this physical difference, or who are known to have had those that did exhibit it for their ancestors,—have mistaken one of the adventitious circumstances which characterize certain moral and political distinctions in the religious history of the Spanish discoverers of America for the cause itself. We propose, in the present article, to assign this remarkable policy to its true historical source and to demonstrate to what casualty the empire of complexional prejudice owes its origin in the transatlantic world, and, in tracing it, to unfold one of the most remarkable caprices of the human mind—a caprice the more melancholy in its results, from its prejudicial operation on the political destinies, the fortunes, and happiness of so great a portion of the human family.

Where Slavery is established, Freedom becomes not merely an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege. Unassociated with abject toil, and with that misery which is the exterior of servitude, it carries with it a distinction of nobleness. Though it be undoubtedly true that much of the restriction and disqualification, under which the respective races in the European colonies of America have existed and still exist, results from the institution of Indian vassalage and African Slavery among them, yet inasmuch as a great mass of the aboriginal natives, and their mixed descendants, maintained their liberty, and asserted the pride to which it entitled them, we cannot, in explaining the political disfranchisement to which these races were subjected, found it on an association of freedom with one difference of complexion, because servitude was occasionally the accompaniment of the other;—we must look for the peculiar prejudice upon which that policy is built, to the history of the discoverers of America. In the circumstances which gave rise to the institutions of Moorish Spain, we shall find its origin, and that also of the remarkable deviation from the morals of a Christian community, which is seen in tolerating a system of concubinage in relationship with those distinctions.

That there are prejudices inherent in a state in which slavery has an authorised existence, abstracted from any reference to complexional difference, is evident from what we know, through the Institutes of Justinian, of the laws regulating this species of domestic tyranny in imperial Rome. 'It was a maxim of the Roman jurisprudence that a slave had no country of his own, but acquired with his liberty an admission into the political society of which his patron was a member.' Lest the incitements of vanity or avarice, under the operation of this maxim, might concede by indiscriminate emancipation the exalted privileges of a Roman citizen to a mean and promiscuous multitude, we are informed, 'that some seasonable exceptions were provided, and the honourable distinction was con-

fin~~e~~d to such slaves only, as for just causes, and with the approbation of the magistrate, should receive a solemn and legal manumission.' We are told, that even these chosen freemen obtained no more than the private rights of citizens, and were rigorously excluded from civil or military honours; whatever might be the merit or fortune of their sons, they were esteemed unworthy of a seat in the senate; nor were the traces of a servile origin allowed to be completely obliterated till the third or fourth generation. 'Without destroying the distinction of ranks,' observes Gibbon, in his history of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, 'a distant prospect of freedom and honours was presented, even to those whom pride and prejudice almost disdained to number among the human species.'

To a person unacquainted with the distinctions arising from mixture of blood in the American colonies, the fourth generation, which in the Roman jurisprudence cancelled the servility of origin, might be mistaken for that fourth removal from the African ancestor, which, by the Colonial laws of Jamaica, and we believe, by those of all the British West India colonies, introduces the individual who can demonstrate this circumstance of his birth and descent, to all the rights and immunities of the most privileged citizen. The same commixture of blood having this approximation to the white ancestor, gives title to freedom in the slave himself, removes him from the restraints under which his maternal parent is held, and obliterates in his person the disabilities incident to the mixed classes of the colony from which he is withdrawn. Here we see a wide distinction marked between the two cases, of obliterating the servility of origin and cancelling the mixture of blood; since the one incident superseded the necessity of the other, and the slave was admitted to the franchises of a privileged citizen, by showing alone his relationship with the purity of blood in his European ancestor.

It is evident that the two institutions, co-existing in both cases with a slave community, have very peculiar differences, and involve a vast diversity of moral consequences. In the policy of the Roman legislators we see a feeling of hope, one of the most powerful and consolatory impulses of the human heart seized hold of—to tutor its slaves into a fitness for citizenship. Memory connected its objects with the past, sensation united them with the present; but the future was presented by imagination with all the blessings of a more honourable condition. What was felt of deprivation in the condition of the freedman, was destined to be diminished in the state of his immediate descendant, and was finally to be annulled in his children's children. The freedman beheld, in the promises held forth to his posterity, all that honour could concede, all that public patronage could grant to emulation and to merit. Impelled by the anticipations of a better hope, he was led to impart intellectual knowledge to his offspring, that he might be capable of attaining those

social blessings with which his condition was destined to be perfected by his country. On the other hand, in the institutions of Colonial America the results were far different—every thing was dark, and indefinite, and distant. There was nothing for immediate consolation unless accompanied by complexional exaltation. The history of the Moorish domination in Spain will develop the origin of this distinction.

In the Moorish period of the Spanish history, difference of religious faith included difference of colour. Time may erase political distinctions, but religious animosities are carried with us to the grave. The prejudice of the Spaniard associated itself with the history of his country, with the story of its wrongs, and with the cause of Christian Europe. Those who by alliances with their conquerors, who by an amalgamation of blood had removed the barriers which nature had raised between the opposing faiths,—having, by this acquiescence in the tyranny of their invaders, done more to perpetuate the oppressions of their country than ever had been effected by the treachery that first brought the hordes of the African desert into Europe,—were condemned to sustain in the blood of their mixed offspring the perpetual anathema of society. The least mixture of ‘*African, Indian, Moorish, or Jewish blood,*’ in European Spain, was therefore declared to taint a family to the most distant generation. The mark of Cain was upon them—distinguished by that complexional brand which they wore on their forehead, they laboured under a *ban* that separated them for ever from all honourable intercourse with society—they were to become fugitives from its rank and privileges, if not wanderers among their fellow men—they bore a curse like that from the spell of some magician—“the blight of the withered heart and the curse of the sleepless eye”—a condition unalleviated by a single ray of hope, but so embittered by unmitigated despair, that there was no shelter from its blasting influence but in the grave; and there even it followed them, for the law of exclusion, founding its definition of a person free from this repudiated blood on the very privileges of religion itself, seemed to carry its anathema even to a future world, by declaring the person of pure descent to be ‘an old Christian clear from all bad race and stain.’* The statutes of the colleges and universities of Spain guarded the offices of religion from being polluted by the mixed race administering its blessings. It excluded every person from being enrolled, matriculated, or admitted to be examined, or allowed to receive any degree in a science or faculty, unless he gave previous proof, among other exactions, of his birth, as being unmingled in blood (*limpieza de sangre*)†. The severity of this law, or rather of the public opinion enforcing it, shut out its victims from every employment in church and state, and

* *Christiano viego limpio di toda mala raza y mancha.*

† *Novissima Recopilacion di Castilla, 12. 8 lib. The proofs required were to be ‘de genere, moribus et vitâ.’*

resigned them to exclusion even from the fraternities or religious associations, which were otherwise open to persons of the lowest rank.

Whilst the dominion of the Moors existed in any of the kingdoms of Spain, this prejudice was never permitted to relax its violence, or to diminish in the severity of its operation, against those who showed in their blood that their ancestors had made their portion with the abhorred African race, the despoilers of their country, and had thus, as they conceived, been the violators of the Christian faith, threatening its very existence in Europe. The conquest of Grenada, the last hold of the Moors, had but just removed the only remaining seat of the faith of Islam from Spain, and consolidated the Christian empire under the union of the monarchies of Castile and Leon in the persons of Ferdinand and Isabella, when the discovery of America by Columbus opened a new world to Spanish enterprise. The people flocked to their colonial dependencies with all the prejudices and intolerant spirit of the olden time fresh and glowing within them. The progress of years lessened the rigour of the system of exclusion in European Spain, but circumstances were favourable to its perpetuity in her American possessions. Such in the colonial provinces was the force of this jealousy, supported by public opinion, that in defiance of the express compact of Charles V., which conceded, that the natives of the country of pure Spanish origin should be invested with civil, ecclesiastical, and financial power, they also seemed to lose their purity by birth in another territory, and were in like manner subjected to the proscription of inveterate prejudice. America has been lost to Spain through the powerful influence of this sentiment, and the rigidly exclusive nature of her colonial policy.*

* 'The Emperor Charles V.,' says Bolivar, in a letter dated from Jamaica, in 1818, 'formed a compact with the discoverers, conquerors, and settlers of America, which Guerra called our social contract. The kings of Spain agreed formally and solemnly with them, that it should be carried into effect by *themselves*, at their own risk, prohibiting expressly any interference with the royal prerogatives; and for that reason, gave them local titles of lords of the land; that they should take the 'indigenes' under their protection as vassals; that they should establish courts and appoint judges; that they should exercise, in their districts, the jurisdiction of appeals: all which, with many other privileges and immunities, which it would be prolix to detail, are set forth in the 4th volume of the Colonial Code. The king engaged never to disturb the American colonies, as he held no other jurisdiction over them than that of supreme domination; they being a kind of property held by the conquerors for him and his descendants. At the same time, there are express laws, which almost exclusively enact, that the *natives of the country of Spanish origin* should receive all civil, ecclesiastical, and financial appointments. * * * * By a manifest violation of all existing laws and compacts, the natives have been despoiled of that constitutional authority which was conferred by the Colonial Code.'

Though the Spaniard rejected the religion of his Moorish conqueror, yet those institutions which flattered his pride, excited his passions, and pampered his caprice, became interwoven with the frame of society. Repugnant as such illicit connection was to the spirit of the Christian morality, the custom of the *Barragana*, which allowed a plurality of wives under a toleration of concubinage, was sanctioned by long prescriptive habit, and countenanced by a law, which assigned inheritance to the children, in failure of legitimate descendants, in preference to collateral heirs. 'When a father died without making provision for such offspring, they were entitled to share in a division of his property with those born in lawful wedlock.* Illegitimacy presented no reproach, nor was it deemed a bar to advancement. The natural children, if qualified by purity of blood, had the same civil privileges as the legitimate offspring. They were publicly acknowledged by their father, and were educated in his house, with the same care, and under the same masters. If he chose to bestow upon them an adequate fortune, he could raise them to the rank and consideration of nobility.† Ancient Spain was the only Christian country where this species of polygamy was reduced to a system, and placed under the protection of the laws.

A custom so congenial to the luxury and indulgence of a tropical climate, independently of inducements to its perpetuity by the impulse of passion, in territories where the will of the European adventurer was almost the sole law of the land, became adopted in America as an almost necessary result of that inequality which opinion had long created between the pure and impure of blood. She who, under the taint of Indian or African descent, had not that political equality which might enable her to be esteemed as a companion, and received as a wife, was doomed to the less exalted and less holy state of the concubine.‡ It was a sufficient privilege in the eyes of the old prejudice in the Spaniard, that whilst the law divested the offspring

* Don Francisco Martinez Marina, in his '*Ensayo Histórico-crítico, sobre la antigua legislación, &c. de Leon y Castilla,*' &c. has given the words of the old authorities on this subject. '*La barragana si probada fuere fiel a su sennor, é buena, herede la meatad que amos en uno ganaren en muebles é en raiz.*'

† '*Esto es fuero de Castilla: quasi un fijo-dalgo a fijos de barragana, puede-los facer fijos-dalgo, e darlos quinientos sueldos.*'—*Marina.*

‡ Depons in his '*Voyage dans l'Amérique Meridional,*' speaks of laws abolished in 1803, which were intended to prevent misalliances in marriage. Difference of colour was a legal cause for refusing the nuptial ceremony. There were sumptuary laws restricting the costume and state of people of colour, and the abrogation of distinctions by a royal order, which raised the members of the family to the rank and privileges of persons of the pure blood, is the same Spanish source from which the House of Assembly of Jamaica derives its present system of private privilege bills; a scheme by which they remove coloured persons from the operation of the laws disqualifying them for office, &c.

of the immunities of the citizen, it abrogated the disadvantages of birth, and gave him, as an inheritance, the worldly substance of the father. Such was the frame of society in Spanish America; and so tenacious were the existing prejudices of the hold which they had taken in public opinion, that, since the conquest of the island of Jamaica by the British arms, 'the first important footing which England obtained among the tropical colonies of the Atlantic,' the liberal jurisprudence of England has been able to effect but very little, till of late years, in mitigating the rigorous social and political exclusion to which the mixed race of inhabitants had been subjected.

The English conquerors found this system of opinion, prejudice, and immorality interwoven in the frame of colonial society. It was not likely that a set of lawless soldiers, for such were the first settlers, would relinquish customs, or set themselves in opposition to habits so congenial to their passions, and so calculated to secure to themselves a monopoly of interest and of influence in their newly adopted country. All that spirit of liberty which pervaded the institutions of their own lately forsaken land, they retained, in the laws which should guide their own conduct, and preserve their own liberty unimpaired. They claimed the inalienable rights of Britons. The royal proclamations and charters, which guaranteed and confirmed to the first planters emigrating to America and the West Indies all the liberties, franchises, and immunities of free denizens remaining within the kingdom, were declaratory of these ancient rights. The royal recognitions expressed the reciprocal relation of the sovereign and his subjects, to whom, with the preservation of their allegiance, was assured the full and undisturbed enjoyment of those inherent rights, which no climate nor compact was to take away or diminish. On the other hand, all of illiberality, which opinion and long prescriptive custom had sanctioned and fostered—all that they found existing and acted upon in the colonies which they conquered, they retained in their oppressive control over the mixed race. Curtailing them of the fair proportion of liberty, their first legislative acts were to deny them the common protection of the law, to divest them of a fair opportunity of industry, and to restrict their appropriation of the personal wealth they might acquire, to a very unimportant extent in the soil that had given them birth. They went farther, they limited their participation in the property of their parents, and refused them all consideration as objects of spiritual regard to the public teachers of religion; thus placing them out the pale of society, they divested them of every right to which they were entitled by the common condition of their nature; for 'if,' says Burke, 'civil society be made for the advantage of man, all the advantages for which it is made become his right. It is an institution of beneficence, and law itself it only beneficence acting by rule. Men have a right to live by that rule; they have a right to justice, as between their fellows, whether their fellows are in politic function or in ordinary occupation. They have a right to the fruits of their industry, and to the means of making their indus-

try fruitful—they have a right to the acquisitions of their parents ; to the nourishment and improvement of their offspring ; to instruction in life, and to consolation in death. Whatever each man can separately do, without trespassing upon others, he has a right to do for himself ; and he has a right to a fair portion of all which society, with all its combinations of skill and force, can do in his favour.' It was not so, however, in the estimation of our Colonial Legislators. Denouncing and disfranchising, in the enactment of their laws, as in the institutes of Spain, 'Africans, Indians, Mulattoes, and Jews,' (for these are the words of their statutes), the other European nations, who by wresting from Spain her transatlantic settlements, have established a colonial empire in America, have entrenched their exclusive privileges in the very privileges of blood bequeathed them by the Spanish prejudice. They perpetuate to this day, with but very immaterial relaxation of public opinion, the distinctive epithets of *Negro, Mulatto, Quadroon, and Mestizos*, the names by which the respective races and gradations of blood are distinguished. The mountains, rivers, and districts, in these colonies, retain in their names the language of their Spanish discoverers ; and the laws controlling the inhabitants are still inscribed with the peculiar opinions and prejudices of their Moorish history. Time has obliterated every land-mark but the memorials of self-love ; the principles of eternal and immutable justice have perished, and liberty exists only as a prerogative for the few to enslave the many : so true is the observation, that in the experience of the world, sensibility is found no match for self-interest.

SONG.

Lady ! by yon silver star,
By the crescent moon afar,
By the silence of the night,
By its deep and pensive light,
By the sea's eternal flow,
Fiore bella, te amo !

By that low and thrilling tone
Love delights to call its own ;
By the tears that lovers weep,
By the visions of their sleep,
By young passion's trembling glow,
Fiore bella, te amo !

By the lustre of thine eye ;
By thy liquid minstrelsy ;
By the rapture of thy kiss,
By each name of love or bliss,
And by feelings which o'erflow—
Fiore bella, te amo !

VOYAGE FROM BUSSORAH DOWN THE RIVER EUPHRATES TO
BUSHIRE.*

WE had now been detained in the Euphrates nearly four months, waiting to complete our lading with the articles brought to Bagdad by the Damascus and Aleppo caravans ; but, as these consisted chiefly of coral, money, and other valuable commodities, occupying a small space, it was not thought necessary for the ship to wait till the last day abreast of the town, since they could be taken down to her in boats. On the spring of the full moon, preceding Christmas-day, we proceeded downward with the stream to cross the shoal of Debbeh, while the tides were high ; as we now drew sixteen and a half feet of water—the same draught which we had brought over the shoal on coming up. Mr. Colquhoun, the British resident at Bussorah, accompanied us down the river, to enjoy by the way a shooting excursion on the banks,—where hogs, ducks, partridges, and snipes, afford variety and abundance of game. On reaching our anchorage just above the shoal, we perceived the *Eliza*, a Bengal ship of about 400 tons, lying aground upon it ; and on sending our boats to sound over the flat between us, we found no where more than two and a half fathoms, at the top of high water. The shoal had, therefore, evidently increased during our stay at Bussorah, and there was now full half a fathom less on every part of it, at the same time of the moon and tide, than there was on our coming over it before. The rapid increase of this shoal was accounted for by the recent formation of a new channel near the island of Om-el-Kassaseef, where a long and narrow passage had been forced through the mud by the current of the stream, and every other part had become consequently shoaler. The *Ahmoody*, an Arab ship, under English colours, was the first vessel that had passed down through this new channel, and as this was only a few weeks ago, we were determined to examine it for ourselves, in order to see how far it was practicable for us also to proceed over it. By sounding in the ship's boats, we found but just sufficient depth of water for our vessel at three quarters flood ; but the greatest evil which it created was, that while the channel was fully six miles in length, there was no where in it more than twice the ship's length in breadth, so that there was neither room to veer nor stay, nor indeed even to back and fill through it ; consequently it could only be attempted with a favourable wind, and this in sufficient strength to enable us to stem the flood, since a falling tide would leave us aground before we could get half through. We employed the whole of the crew in starting our water from the tanks and casks, and trimming the ship to an even keel, which brought her draught to sixteen feet two inches.

* Continued from p. 542 of Vol. 19, and p. 66 of Vol. 20.

On the morning of the 23d of December, we weighed on the last of the ebb, and dropped down with the tide so as to ground at low water, which we did abreast of the *Eliza*, who still lay over on the flat where she had grounded at high water, and had only two feet alongside; thus, lying over on her bilge nearly dry, though shored up. The flood made about noon and floated us, and about two hours afterwards, or nearly half flood, there being a light breeze from the N.W., we weighed and made sail for the new channel. We had taken the precaution of stationing two boats a-head, at the entrance of it, through which we were to steer, and two others in the same way, about half channel down; while the first, on our passing them, were to weigh, and shoot a-head, that they might anchor in a similar way on each side of the outlet of this channel. Besides this, we ordered the ship's launch to go a-head under sail, and kept the ship's cutter and jolly boat on either bow, each with a lead and line to report their soundings, and enable us to steer by them accordingly. We entered the channel exactly a-breast the northern extremity of the island of Om-el-Kassaseef, and having there only two and a half fathoms at half flood, the ship dragged through the mud, and cleared her way over a sort of bar that is thus formed at its entrance. On clearing this we slowly and gradually deepened our water to a quarter less than three, at a mile from the entrance; three fathoms, at two miles; and three and a quarter, at three miles, or about half way through. From thence it again shoaled to three fathoms, then to a quarter less than three, and at last to two and a half, at the point of the outlet from it,—where a bar was formed, over which the ship dragged herself through the mud, as she did at the entrance. The deep part, or centre of this channel, is no where more than half a cable's length from the island of Om-el-Kassaseef, which lies on the north-east of it, or on the left bank of the river in descending. The point of entrance into it from above is exactly a-breast the northernmost point of the island, and following exactly a line with the shore of it; the outlet is exactly a-breast the southern extremity of the same island, which is fully six miles in length. On clearing the channel it was nearly sun-set, and deepening our water as we opened the stream of the Hafar, which empties itself into the Shat-el-Arab, close to the southern extremity of Om-el-Kassaseef, we hauled over to the opposite shore, on the eastern bank of the river, and anchored there a-breast of a point, in five fathoms water, where we moored ship.

Hafar is an artificial canal, connecting the river of Shooster, or the Karoon, with the river of Bussorah, or the Shat-el-Arab. It is conceived by Dr. Vincent to be the canal through which the fleets of Alexander were sent when they descended from Susa by the Choaspes, and from thence by the Euphrates to the sea. It is undoubtedly a work of great antiquity, as it at present retains

strong traces of its being effected by the labour of man, and it is as broad and as deep as either of the streams which it unites, though the Arabic name even at the present day signifies a place that has been excavated by art,—from the verb ‘Haffer,’ to dig up the earth, as applied to pits, graves, ditches, canals, &c. On each of its banks are fields and date groves, as on the banks of the Shat-el-Arab; and the stream itself is often covered with boats of various sizes, going from the ports of the Persian Gulf, and from Bussorah, up by the Karoon to the modern Shooster. The waters of this river, retain, even here, all the celebrity which they enjoy in the higher parts of Persia, when they pass the neighbourhood of Kermanshah, under the name of the Kara-Soo, and for which they were also renowned as the Choaspes of antiquity, when the Kings of Persia drank of no other, whether at home or abroad.

As the waters of the Karoon descend by the Hafar, and empty themselves into the Shat-el-Arab, we sent our boats into this channel, which was not more than a cable’s length from where we now lay, and filled up the water for our use from its stream, taking that which we anchored in for our horses, of which we had 125 on board for Bombay. Our own opinions agreed with those of all the natives, that the waters of the Karoon, as found in the Hafar, were sweeter, purer, lighter, and far more agreeable to the taste than those of the joint stream of the Tigris and Euphrates. The people of the country insist further on their possessing the peculiar property of both giving an appetite to the drinker before his meal, and helping digestion after it. As we were ourselves all in good health, we neither needed the one nor found any difficulties to obstruct the other; but we yielded to the general opinion that the waters of the Choaspes, or Karoon, were productive of both in a greater degree than usual.

On the 24th of December, having secured the passage of the ship over the shoal, I returned again to Bussorah, with Mr. Colquhoun, in the Factory boat, shooting on the banks of the river, which abound with partridges, snipes, and wild ducks,—a number of which were brought down on our way. As the wind was strong from the N.W., we did not reach the creek until near midnight, where, there not being water enough to take our boat up to the Resident’s house, we all landed, to walk. This afforded us a very striking proof of the great change effected in the police of Bussorah by the present Mutesellim, and assured us that his good government in this particular, at least, had not been undeservedly extolled. But a few months since, when the Arab power was predominant in the city, in opposition to the Turkish, of which the Mutesellim is at the head, it was considered unsafe for persons to go between the town and the river by the road along the creek after El-Assr, or about three o’clock in the afternoon; and English ships’ boats had even been attacked from the shore, while passing down the canal

to go on board their own vessels. At night, or after sun-set, it would have been deemed madness to have attempted it, without being armed, or in a large party, as all those who did so were invariably robbed, and often murdered. Now, however, we landed here just before midnight, and in walking home by this same road, we met the governor's guards at four different stations on the way, by whom we were hailed, examined, and suffered to pass on, but we saw not another individual.

We passed our Christmas-day at Bussorah, and enjoyed the occasion which it afforded us to toast our absent friends, and to exchange our conjectures as to their probable occupations on a winter evening of such domestic importance as this is, in the remoter counties especially of Scotland and England.

On the morning of the 28th, the ship *Hushimi* arrived in the river from Bengal, and in the afternoon, Captain Eatwell of the H. C. cruiser *Benares*, came up to town, having left his ship anchored alongside our own, the *Humayoon Shah*, abreast of the Hafar. The cause of his return to Bussorah, which place he had quitted but a few days since only for Bushire, was to afford us his protection down the river. He had been dispatched for this purpose by Mr. Bruce, the Resident at Bushire; and from that quarter he brought the following news:—It appeared, that in consequence of the repeated defeat of the Wahabee forces by the Egyptian troops in the Nedjed, their leader, Abdullah-ben-Saood, driven from place to place for refuge, had sent peremptory orders to Hassan-ben-Rahma, the chief at Ras-el-Khyma, to put to sea with all his fleet, and to embark himself at the head of them, in order to make a diversion in his favour, and to effect such conquests as they might be able to do elsewhere. As the orders of the Wahabee chief had been always regarded as sacred by the Joassamees, ever since they had been attached to him as followers of his sect, they were in the present instance immediately complied with. They were further encouraged to this boldness by finding that no British forces had been sent against them from India, which they constantly expected after their refusal to accede to the propositions made to them by the squadron under command of the *Challenger*, at the close of the last year, and the attack on their town from the vessels of the fleet which followed it. This had appeared to them, as well as to all the people of the Persian Gulf, so direct and so complete a declaration of war, that the fact of its not being followed up by other hostile measures, was interpreted by all as arising only from a dread of their power. 'The English Governor of Bombay,' said they, 'expressed at the first his decided disapprobation of this act of hostility, and he has sent no farther force against us, because he knew well that it was but for us to issue from our port, and all the British commerce of the Gulf was at our mercy.' Such were their reasonings, as they had been uttered by their friends and adherents, and as they had been com-

municated in correspondence ; and such were their opinions of their having nothing to dread from the English when they put to sea. On leaving Ras-el-Khyma, the number of boats was said to be about sixty sail, the whole of those belonging to their port having been gradually collecting and preparing for a general union. The number of armed and fighting men in these boats collectively, was stated to be seven thousand at the time of sailing, besides servants and other attendants, who were not reckoned. The vessel of Hassan-ben-Rahma, who was their chief and admiral, carried three hundred and fifty men, and was called the *Kuttilany*, or the *Slaughterer*, from the Arabic verb, *Kuttil*, to slay or kill. This had been easily changed by the English here to 'Catalani ;' and many sage wonders and conjectures had been made as to the probable cause of such a popular European name as this being given to the vessel of a piratical chief in the seas of Asia ! They were quite as profound and sagacious as those which supposed the Joassamees to be the tribe of one ' Joe Hassam,'—or the Wahabees to be named ' War Bees,' from this particular portion of their practising piracy—so fertile a subject is etymology. This fleet, under Hassan-ben-Rahma, are said to have first visited Kishom, where they met with some resistance from the opposition of the Sheik, who had formerly been an ally of theirs, but had considered himself injured. The resistance was ineffectual, however, and the place soon surrendered. No garrison was left here ; but the fleet was supplied with provisions, and two or three hundred men joined them as volunteers for the expedition in which they were engaged. They next went to Linga, on the Persian coast, where they were received in a friendly way, and their forces were augmented by upwards of two thousand men joining their standard from this place. They moved on to Cheeroo and Naqueelo, two towns still on the Persian coast, but farther to the westward, both of which they took by force of arms, and followed their conquest by their accustomed ravages of plunder, violation, and murder. Their next descent was at Assaloo, where their fleet entered the harbour, and the crews landed and encamped around the town, as the inhabitants had shut themselves up within their walls, and bade their invaders defiance. This was the latest account of their progress. On the day of the *Benares* leaving Bushire, a cassid, or courier, had arrived from Congoon, confirming all the former intelligence, and adding, that as they would soon reduce Assaloo, they intended coming from thence direct to Bushire, and after leaving a garrison in possession of that place, to move up the Shat-el-Arab, and attack the city of Bussorah. Mr. Bruce, the Resident at Bushire, had so far given credit to this account, that he had actually made preparations for the removal of his family into the country for safety ; and Bushire itself had been put into the best possible state of defence by its own Governor. His Majesty's sloop *Challenger* remained in the port for the security of such British subjects as

might be there, and the *Benares* had been dispatched up here to give us convoy.

Under this state of things, we were desirous of getting to sea as soon as possible, as we conceived that we should be better able to defeat twenty sail in good sea room than ten who might attack us in the confined channel of this river. The merchants of Bussorah who had property on board, were, on the contrary, desirous of having our ship brought again up abreast of the town, and moored there; and many of them even thought of re-landing their shipments. The damp which had thus been thrown on all commercial affairs by this alarming intelligence, not only militated much against our interests in a pecuniary way, but had the effect of positively retarding our departure from day to day, until the commencement of the new year. We passed the first day of the year with a party of all the Englishmen then at Bussorah, at Mr. Colquhoun's; and on the afternoon of the 2d, our business being at length brought to a close, I took leave of my hospitable entertainer, and set out to join the ship for sea. The whole of the treasure-freight, consisting of dollars, gold sequins, and other coins, as well as the coral for Bengal, had been sent down the river, as collected, by the ship's boats; but I had reserved, to be always under my own eyes, a portmanteau and half a dozen other packages, containing only pearls, diamonds, emeralds, and other jewels, to the amount of more than three lacs of rupees, or upwards of thirty thousand pounds sterling in value. As our own boats were all now with the ship, a government boat had been provided by our agent for me; and to insure the security of the property to be conveyed, as we should be on the river at night, twenty soldiers were also furnished by the government to accompany me. On reaching the mouth of the creek, where I had been accompanied by Mr. Colquhoun, I found a vessel, rather than a boat, waiting for me, and the twenty soldiers of the government who were to form my escort, all seated in her in readiness. Though this vessel had been held in requisition ever since the morning, and it was expected that we should have started before noon, she had been suffered to lie within the creek until the tide had fallen and left her hard and fast aground. By distributing money among a crowd of about eighty men, we succeeded in launching her fairly over the mud, and got her afloat before sun-set. I now looked round to enquire for the Naquodah and the crew, whom I saw at length collected, to the number of fifteen. These were ordered to get their masts stepped, their sails bent, and their rudder and oars on board with all dispatch, accompanied with a reproof for their not having them ready before. It will scarcely be credited, that the stupidity of these Arab boatmen was such, as that not one among them had thought of either of these things being necessary, though their boat was specifically engaged to take me and the Governor's troops who guarded the treasure down to the ship abreast the Hafar. It was full two

hours before the mast, the sail, the rudder, and the oars were collected, and when these were brought on board, the mast was to be stepped. There were no less than forty hands who set about this task, including the fifteen of the crew, the twenty soldiers, and half a dozen of my servants and attendants, who all assisted, with the Naquodah at their head. After many loud shouts and pious exclamations, the mast was raised half way, when, owing to lubberly management, rather than want of strength, it fell on a boat alongside, with a loud crash, and was within an inch or two of breaking the neck of a Bengal Sepoy stationed as a guard in her. Want of hands was the cause assigned, and their numbers were accordingly doubled, by men from the surrounding boats, to whom money was given for the purpose. A second attempt was made, and a second time the mast fell, though now within a foot, at most, of having crushed my own neck in its fall. The boat was filled with nearly a hundred people, who literally trod upon the valuable parcels of pearls and jewels which were in her, and a hundred tongues were going at once, each reproaching the other with bad management, and unseamanlike behaviour. There was no hope of our departure at this rate; and when I observed this to the chief of the guard, who had taken upon him to command the captain of the boat as his inferior, he replied, 'Wait patiently until the destined hour is come, and then, if it please God, we shall certainly move!' It appeared to me likely that, before this, some of the numerous crowd would lessen the number of the precious stores with which we were charged; so that abandoning all farther view of going in this ill-fated craft, I hailed one of the small river canoes, and embarking myself and all my treasure in her, paddled off to the ship *Eliza*, then at anchor in the middle of the river, leaving my servants to follow me by another, and bidding the guard to return to their master, and tell him of the incapacity of his own servants to execute his wishes. The boats of the *Eliza* were aground in the creek, and one of the Hashimis had already gone down with treasure for us, and had not yet returned; so that I could at present get no boat from either of those vessels. On dispatching a messenger, however, to Dr. Colquhoun, we had the boat of the Factory alongside by midnight, and embarked with all our stores.

It was near day-light on the morning of the 3d when we reached the ship, where our arrival was awaited with some anxiety. Another obstacle now prevented our immediate departure. A dow, called the *Nassry*, or '*Victorious*,' was chartered to take the remainder of our bulky cargo, which we could not load in the river, and accompany us with it to the deep water of the Khora Abdallah, outside the bar, where we were to take it in. She had grounded on the shoal of Debbah on coming down; but heaving in sight about noon, and being ready to accompany us soon after, we all weighed together before sun-set, to stand down the river—our companions, consist-

ing of twenty-two sail of Arab boats, bound down the Gulf, and all seeking protection from the pirates, by keeping company with the *Benares* and the *Humayoon Shah*.

Having stood on all night, with a light air from the N.W. the wind failed us before day-light, when we anchored on the morning of the 4th, abreast of Ghuzban Fort, in four and a half fathoms water, and nearly in the centre of the stream. In the afternoon we weighed again, and standing farther down with the ebb-tide, anchored at sun-set near to Buckinet-el-Masnat.

During a period of six days that we were detained here by calms and light variable winds, we made no less than four unsuccessful attempts to cross the bar, grounding on each occasion, and not once possessing sufficient wind to give the ship steerage way, or render her at all manageable under sail. The intervals were employed in exercising the crew to the use of arms, and stationing all the Arab grooms on board, as spear-men with boarding pikes, a weapon more familiar to them, from its resemblance to a spear, than any other. With the assistance of carpenters from the *Benares*, added to our own on board, we had two stern ports cut down, and fitted with bolts abaft, and got two long twelve pounders on the forecastle and two on the poop, for the better defence of the ship against the Pirates of the Gulf. The crew were also employed in making new wads, with fifty musket balls worked up in each, and indeed all our resources were called forth to prepare us for defence.

On the morning of the 9th we caught a N.E. breeze, and with it stood over the bar against the flood, having no where more than three and a quarter and no where less than three fathoms for a space of at least six miles in length, which constitutes the shoal ground of the bar. We began to deepen to three and a half and four fathoms just as the flood was done, and the wind drawing more to the S.E. when we edged away, and anchored in five fathoms at the entrance of the Khore Abdallah, with all our squadron. The dow hauled alongside, and we continued to be employed till night in taking out of her the remaining part of our cargo. The H. C. cruiser *Teignmouth*, Capt. Walker, anchored near us, on her way from Bombay and Bushire up to Bussorah, and on a visit to Capt. Eatwell of the *Benares*; finding that gentleman there, I learnt from him that he had on board, as a passenger from Bengal, the Smyrna Turk, Hadjee Mohammed, whom I had met in Bombay in May, 1816, and a sketch of whose life and adventures was published in the *Courier* of that place about the same time. By the liberality of the English society of India, he had been rescued from a state of positive want, and placed in possession of a moderate competency, with which he had wisely determined to return to his own country, and end his days at his native place of Smyrna. He sent me, by the captain, many warm remembrances and kind wishes, which were returned to him on my part, accompanied by letters for him to Mr. Colquhoun, and messages to my Smyrna friends.

Soon after noon on the 11th, having discharged the *Nassry*, and being at length ready for sea, we weighed in company with the *Benares*, and stood out with a freshening breeze and dark threatening appearances from the S.E. Five only of the largest of the Arab vessels remained with us, the whole of the rest bearing up and going back into the river, on observing the aspect of the weather. At midnight the sea had gathered up high, the ship laboured heavily, and the pumps were kept going every two hours, while we gained nothing from our being obliged to veer ship at short intervals, and from the wind remaining fixed from the S.E. As, since our loading outside the bar, we now drew too much water to recross it, we had no shelter to bear up for, so that there was no alternative left but that of keeping the sea.

The morning of the 12th offered us no symptoms of a change, but the wind freshened and the sky grew darker. We had already secured all our light sails, and taken in our first reefs during the night. We were now compelled to take in second reefs fore and aft, and send down topgallant yards. The ship laboured so heavily from the high sea running, and the movement of the horses between decks, which considerably increased the general motion of the vessel, that we strained all our rigging; and stays, backstays, topsail sheets, and ties were repeatedly carried away and refitted. The animals below suffered considerably too from the violent pitching and rolling, particularly from its coming on so suddenly after leaving the smooth water of the river. Many of them fell, and tore down the stanchions to which they were secured with them, and these we had the more difficulty in getting up on their legs again, as all their grooms and attendants were unable to stir from sea sickness, and many of our young Lascars were scarcely in a better condition after a stay of more than six months in harbour. A fine mare, the only one in the ship, now large with foal, which we were conveying to the Imaum of Muscat as a present, was the only one which died during this weather, and the violence of her fall, when thrown off her legs by the sudden pitching of the ship, was alone sufficient to effect this when so near to foaling.

Towards evening the weather broke, and the sky grew clear; but before the sea had gone down, the wind shifted instantly round to the N.W. and occasioned a cross sea, which was worse than the former heavy but regular one. We made all sail to it, however, and stood on for Bushire, with the *Benares* only; the five large boats in company with us when we left the bar, being all dispersed by the weather.

At day-light on the 13th, we hauled in east for the land, which we made about 9 A. M., and, skilfully our water gradually from twelve to four fathoms as we bore away S.E. for the anchorage of the outer

roads, we came to there soon after noon, in a quarter less four, with the town of Bushire bearing E. by S., distant six or seven miles, and the Peak of Halilah S.E. by E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E. Our draught of water, now eighteen feet six inches, prevented our going into the inner harbour, so that the *Benares* anchored near us for our protection, and as we calculated on a stay here of three or four days at least, we moored ship with an anchor to the N.W. and another to the S.E., and rode with thirty fathoms each way.

The first news which we learnt on landing, was, that his Majesty's ship *Towey*, Capt. Hill, had just arrived from India, with the first orders that had been issued 'to attack and destroy the pirates wherever they might be found.' The Bombay Government, it was said, had never felt itself possessed of sufficient authority to issue such orders from themselves, notwithstanding all that had transpired to call them forth, and these were now given by the Supreme Government in Bengal, and the *Towey* had been dispatched with them accordingly. At the present moment the Imaun of Muscat was at the head of an expedition against the island of Bahrein, which he claimed as his right, and his fleet was hourly expected to appear before that place. The Joassamees, as friends of the people of Bahrein, with whom they were at peace, though the latter were not Wahabees, and at the same time as enemies of the Imaun of Muscat, whose designs against this island were well known to them, had, it was said, abandoned their first intention of securing the shores of the Gulf on the Persian side, and gone over to Bahrein to assist their friends against the invaders. Capt. Hill of the *Towey*, on learning this, had dispatched the *Thetis* cruizer, Capt. Maitland, to Bussorah, to recall the *Teignmouth* from thence, and with these and the *Benares*, making altogether a force of about seventy guns, he intended making an attack on the pirates, and destroying them wherever they might be found. The *Challenger* had already taken in a large treasure freight for India, which her commander shared equally with the commodore and the admiral of the station, so that all parties being interested in her fulfilling her original destination, it was determined that she should still proceed to India, and that as our stay here could not be long, she should relieve the *Benares* from her charge, and give us protection down the Gulf.

GREECE.

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona,
Multi; sed omnes illachrymabiles
Urgenter, ignotique longa
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

Hor. Carm. 9, Lib. 4.

ERE Greece, roused to vengeance, for wrongs unforgiven
Sent her myriads to Ilion to combat and die,
In ages forgot other nations had striven,
Other warriors had conquer'd, whose breasts beat as high.

Chiefs as fearless had led to the red field of glory,
As they before whom Asia's mightiest sunk down;
There were heroes as brave as the proudest whom story
Points out as the first in the paths of renown.

But inglorious they pass'd unrecorded; and narrow
As the tomb that enclosed them, the fame that fate gave:
Not a trace is remaining, save where the lone barrow
Looks down from the mountain upon the blue wave.

And vainly the boldest and foremost in danger
They vanquish'd, and nations wept over their grave,
For the life-giving muse, to their bosoms a stranger,
Ne'er deign'd to accord them the verse that could save.

In the peasant's rude story their proud deeds might linger,
The wonder awhile of a barbarous age;
They fought and they conquer'd in vain, for the finger
Of oblivion hath blotted their name from time's page.

As when Greece cross'd those waters, his waves to the *Ægean*
Scamander yet rolls through the field of his fame,
And *Ida* still frowns on the plain where the *Pœan*,
A nation's dread knell, on the slumberers came.

'Twas the Muse that made sacred, and proudly and widely
She has given that high tale to the latest of time:
Else Scamander had flow'd but in vain; and as idly
Had tower'd then that mountain in grandeur sublime.

'Twas the lay of the poet that, meteor-like, breaking
On the night of far times made immortal the hour,
When the long ten years ended, and Ilion, awaking,
Saw the red flames that flash'd over palace and tower.

H. W.

ON THE MITIGATION OF NEGRO SLAVERY.

IN 'The Oriental Herald' for November last, (page 273), a brief extract was given from 'The Anti-Slavery Reporter,' on the subject of Slavery in India. This topic we propose to discuss, ere long, at greater length, and to advert also to the existing state of Slavery in other dependencies of the empire, especially, at the Mauritius and the Cape of Good Hope. At present, we turn to the striking contrast exhibited in the policy of England towards Slavery in the East Indies and in the West. In the former, all the authorities, as is justly remarked in the extract above referred to, are on the side of abolition, 'and are quite as eager to extinguish every trace of Slavery as we are. They seem to anticipate every suggestion, and to have a 'uniform, wakeful, and intense desire to prevent or to suppress the evil.' But how deplorably different is the case in our West India colonies! There, on the contrary, the authorities are systematically opposed to every effort, not of *abolition* merely, but of *amelioration*; and (to use the strong but just language of 'The Anti-Slavery Reporter,') 'no means of influence, combination, misrepresentation, and delusion, are left untried for preserving, in their unmitigated harshness, all the most revolting and disgusting features of the system.'

A few cursory remarks on some of the principal points which have recently attracted the public attention in the discussion of the present state of West India Slavery, and the progress of colonial legislation there, may perhaps not be uninteresting to our readers, and may probably be followed up by us, in future Numbers, with observations on other points of the same great question.

1. *On Legalising the Marriages of Slaves.*

This point had been so long and strenuously pressed upon the consideration of the Colonial Legislatures of the West Indies, that at length, in the close of 1826, the Jamaica House of Assembly found themselves constrained to pass some enactment on the subject. This they did by the introduction of a clause into their 'Consolidated Slave Law,' then passed by them (and which they held forth as a prodigious stretch of liberality), authorizing any clergyman of the Established Church to solemnize the marriage of slaves *who had been baptized*, and who produced the authority of the owner in writing; and it is then added, that in case of the owner's refusal, an appeal lay to the vestry, if both the slaves desirous of intermarrying belonged to the same owner. It appears, however, that this latter proviso in favour of the slaves, feeble and inefficient as it was, has been omitted in passing the law. There is, therefore, no appeal from the master, if, either from caprice, or from the most

unjustifiable motives, he thinks fit to refuse his consent to the legal union of his slaves with the objects of their choice.*

The decided hostility of the Jamaica planters to the establishment of legal marriage among their slaves, and the vexatious and absurd restrictions with which they have clogged the reluctant enactment which they recently passed on the subject, show very distinctly how justly they appreciate the real spirit of the system which they are so anxious to perpetuate. If marriage, as it is recognized in civilized communities, and particularly in such of them as have adopted the Christian religion, were suffered to take root in our slave colonies, even the cart-whip and unrewarded toil could not prevent the slave from perceiving that he was now raised one solid step above the brutes. The advance from casual and promiscuous intercourse to marriage is a most important step in the social system. No longer the capricious associates of an hour, not daring to confide to each other their thoughts or their property, the closest connection that can subsist has been established between the respective interests of the parties for life, by their own consent and at their own desire; and before passion subsides, habit, not less powerful and more steady, has bound up and sealed their union. The slave has now acquired a home and a property within the circle of the law. And suppose that home were but the corner of a hut, and that property comprised only the company and fidelity of his wife, a feeling of contentment and self-respect insensibly springs up in his heart. He can now confer benefits from day to day on one whom he loves, without fear or jealousy, and receive as a right reciprocal proofs of attachment. Children springing from such unions would tend to raise still higher the human character of the slave. But as matters at present exist in our West India colonies, the usurped claims of the owner supersede at will the most sacred rights of the slave husband and father. If connections more tender and lasting than such as result from mere sensual appetite are formed, the affections that elevate his moral character serve but to expose him to more bitter calamity. The deeper his degradation, therefore, the more he puts off the man and puts on the brute, the more he depraves his nature and deadens his feelings by promiscuous animal indulgence, the more he becomes centered in self and indifferent to others, the more suitable will be his character to his situation. If it were otherwise, if the separations which daily take place in our slave colonies between the reputed parents and reputed children, were marked by that depth of feeling which in similar circumstances the free peasantry of Europe would not fail to evince, these scenes, revolting as they are at present, would become too harrowing even

* This new Slave Law was eventually rejected by the Home Government, being disallowed by Mr. Huskisson, in his memorable despatch of 22d September, 1827, on account of its gross injustice and illiberality on several points, and its utter inefficiency even in regard to those where it most loudly boasted of improvement.

for West India sensibility. But in order to retain unlimited control over the slave, the better sympathies of humanity are designedly corrupted in their source. He is systematically brutalized, and the image of his Maker is as far as possible effaced in him, lest he should feel and claim his rights as a human being. The mother, indeed, when separated from her offspring, feels all the pangs of bereavement and the sorrows of desolation; but then she is weak, and has no husband or adult sons to join in her complaints or her resentments.

In the case of actual marriages, however, and of legalized offspring, the case would be different. The law would be compelled to mitigate its inhumanity from mere cowardice and sheer inability to violate and repress in a large community the least manageable sentiments of nature. Suppose, then, for an instant, that what civilized men call *families* were to grow up on the estate of a West India planter; that he saw under his very cart-whip the relations of husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister, and other branches of consanguinity, sanctioned by law, and flourishing in spite of that unbridled licentiousness—in all its modifications of fornication, adultery, and incest, so sedulously encouraged by the present system—would he not feel that his superiority was diminished by the moral march of these ‘heathen savages;’ and that, though their capabilities for every species of profitable employment would be thereby increased, (which no one but a mere theorist ever ventures to deny) his pride, his irresponsible bursts of passionate revenge, and the free indulgence of his sensual appetites, had met with a severe and formidable check; that, in short, his slave had regained some of the rights and feelings of a man, and might no longer with impunity be treated as a beast. These relationships, in fact, would constitute a sort of country, generate a species of patriotism, and give birth in the course of time to notions of personal and civil rights considerably at variance with the master’s claim of ‘*fee simple absolute*’ in the bodies of his labourers.

The nature of slave marriages, accordingly, has become a subject of warm dispute and rather unseemly wrangling between the West India Legislatures and the Colonial Department of his Majesty’s Government. Pressed by the declared sense of the public here, and by certain resolutions of Parliament, Lord Bathurst recommended to the Colonial Legislatures the adoption of sundry regulations in their Slave Codes, in some respects more distinguished by a deference to the prejudices of the planters than for a philosophic and statesman-like view of the subject. But forbearance, as was clearly foreseen by those who better understood the elements to be dealt with, has been completely thrown away, in every instance, on persons accustomed to exercise an irrational dominion over their fellow men.

Every provision thus recommended, which seemed calculated to produce any substantial amelioration in the condition of the slave, has been either altogether rejected, or so completely neutralized and

cramped by exceptions, omissions, and vexatious provisos, as to be rendered void and of no practical effect. Thus the clause sanctioning the marriage of slaves, which has at length passed the Jamaica Legislature, has been so framed that the slave can neither marry without being first baptized, nor without the consent of his master and the approbation of the parish clergyman; nor is there any authority to which he can appeal in case his wishes are unjustly or capriciously denied. No provision is made for a record being kept of slave marriages. The husband and wife, the parents and children, may be separated and sold to different purchasers. In fact the law does not acknowledge the marriage; it merely permits the established clergyman to perform the ceremony, thus rendered utterly unmeaning and ridiculous, and disdains to take farther cognizance of the parties, who may desert each other and be remarried according to circumstances. Whether the clergy ought, in such a case, to degrade the sacred character which the church has assigned to this rite may be fairly questioned: that the contract thus consecrated differs in its most essential parts from that contemplated by the Rubric admits of no doubt.

2. Authorizing Slaves to possess Property.

Next to marriage, and the relations arising from it, the accumulation of property in the hands of the slave, has been carefully guarded against by the West India lawgivers, even in their most recent enactments. Personal property he may be allowed to possess as long as he can; but the laws afford him no means of vindicating his right to it, even when invaded. It does not appear that he can bequeath it. If he wishes to derive any enjoyment from it, therefore, he must spend it on immediate gratifications. It is decreed, indeed, that if any person rob him of it, such offence may be punished by a small fine. But who is to prosecute? The slave cannot be a party in a civil suit—he cannot even be a witness.

3. Right of Purchasing their Freedom.

If, however, the slave should by any means acquire a considerable property, or sum of money, the planters have taken good care to prevent him from employing it as a means of ransoming himself, his wife, or his children, from the state of bondage which his masters have determined to perpetuate to the end of time. This is a most important point. Lord Bathurst required that a law should be passed for enabling the slave to claim his freedom upon paying a certain sum, to be fixed by equitable appraisement. As the planters had often declared, that if their slaves were to become the subject of any other legislation than their own, whereby their value might be diminished, compensation must be granted them by the party so interfering, his lordship naturally concluded that the full value of the slave in money might be considered as such. But no; the West Indians reject this proposal with as much astonishment and horror as if the word compensation had never before been heard of, and pronounce such a scheme destructive of the sacred rights of pro-

perty, and predict the utter ruin of the colonies should it be acted upon. It is perfectly obvious that the hope of working out his own freedom, or that of others who may be dear to him, would excite the industry of the slave, fortify his prudence, and protect him against many temptations to vice and profligacy; it would give him habits of foresight and self-command, and generate in him other attributes of a rational being. Is it on these accounts, in reality, that this beneficent proviso has been so strenuously opposed by the West Indian Legislatures?

On this subject Mr. Canning justly observed, that the granting of this right to the slave by law, is the only provision which went to the extent of meeting the pledge of Parliament in the resolutions of May, 1823. For, whilst every other modification of the Colonial Slave Code, in the way of ameliorating the condition of the slave, only went to show the terms on which in future Slavery should be permitted to exist, this alone provided for its ultimate extinction. This is a just and statesman-like view of the subject; and, indeed, this single right is clearly of such vital importance, that Parliament cannot in justice to its own declared determination; or with any regard to its own consistency, consider that the West Indians have done any thing for the eradication of the evils of Colonial Slavery, whilst 'compulsory manumission,' as they invidiously term it, is not fully conceded by them, as it was by the more beneficent slave laws of Spain.

4. *Appointment of Slave Protectors.*

The slave, thus stripped of hope, of the power of acquiring property, of domestic comforts and responsibilities, sunk beneath the level of social life, and deprived of every means of defending himself from the most cruel oppression, must, to ensure the continuance of the system, be strictly secured and cut off from all interference in his behalf from without. The home Government must not even dare to propose any amelioration in his condition—all suggestions of that sort are denounced as high treason against the rights, liberties, and dignity of the West India legislators. Lord Bathurst had proposed that a protector and guardian of slaves should be appointed in the several colonies, who should attend to their complaints, and watch the progress of the courts in redressing their grievances. The various legislatures, however, in the spirit of their other enactments, have unanimously rejected this proposal, under the pretence that there already exists a council of protection, consisting of the local magistracy—all of whom are slave owners. This was a delicate stroke of generalship. Complaints to such a board will neither be very numerous, nor very likely to annoy the parties complained of. Unfounded complaints, or such as are termed so by these impartial guardians, are always severely punished.

5. *The Cart Whip.*

The driving whip, and the flogging of females, are integral parts of the system; and the planters indignantly refuse to relinquish

them. They are of the very essence of West India slavery, which is founded on the assumption, that if the slave is not quite a beast, he ought, on that very account, to be treated with more severity than a beast, since his rank in the field, to which he must be kept down, is the rank of a beast. The encomiums recently passed in the Jamaica Assembly on the cart-whip, and the *delicacy* evinced by their declining to forbid the indecent exposure of females while undergoing corporal punishment, because it would 'be assuming the fact that females had been indecently exposed,' would incline us to recommend that these sensitive gentlemen should be relieved at once, and for ever, from the trouble of further legislation on the subject of Slavery. They are utterly incapable of conceiving a consistent and safe plan of reform, even were they favourable to it. But their hostility has been explicitly avowed: it is of no use to press them farther: they possess neither the will nor the power. His Majesty's Ministers, we sincerely hope, have both; at all events, they have not the power of resisting much longer the declared will of the British people and Parliament.

THE KENITE.*

CHILD of a mighty race!
 Strong is thy dwelling place,
 And thy high nest is the rock of the mountain;
 Many a vale is thine,
 Rich with the corn and vine,
 Flowers of the hill-side, and streams of the fountain.
 Sad yet thy doom shall be;
 Foemen shall carry thee
 Far from thy blue hills, and rock-guarded barrier:
 Strown on the battle-field,
 Banner, and spear, and shield,
 Helmet, and plume, and the pride of the warrior.
 Fierce and resistlessly,
 Assyr shall burst on thee,
 Princes and chieftains be scatter'd before him:
 Lo! on the battle-day,
 Far on his vengeful way,
 Heaven is his guide, and its banner is o'er him.
 Child of a lofty race!
 Dark is thy dwelling place,
 Darker the storm that shall break on thy nation:
 Lone as the wilderness,
 Prey to the merciless,
 Gloom for thy brightness—for joy desolation! H. W. J.

* Numbers, xxiv. 21.

ADVANTAGEOUS POSITION OF EGYPT, AS A CONNECTING LINK BETWEEN ENGLAND AND INDIA.

THE impression now so generally entertained, of the French having an eye to the future occupation of Egypt, and the possibility that if this event were to take place, a union might be formed between that power and Russia, for the purpose of making an attack on India from two separate points, has induced us to think that a few words on the subject of Egypt, as a colony, would not be ill-timed or unacceptable.

Colonel Macdonald Kinnier, in his book on Asia Minor, has a long chapter, the object of which is to show the difficulty of the Russians or any other military power approaching India successfully by land : and certainly, according to his account, the difficulties are very formidable. In the 'Reflections on the Present State of British India,' a second chapter from which we have given in our present number, these difficulties are made to appear as far from insurmountable ; and with our present force in India, such a visit of an invading army would be any thing but a welcome one. On the approach to India by way of the Red Sea from Egypt, however, there has been no such difference of opinion ; and it will be well, if Egypt really is to be possessed by any European power, that England should be the first to plant her standard on the banks of the Nile. In former numbers of this work we reviewed Mr. Wheatley's excellent Letter to the Duke of Devonshire on the Colonization of India and Canada ; but we omitted to say anything on the latter portion of it, relative to the colonization of Egypt. It is now, however, in better time ; and we accordingly think no apology necessary for reverting to the subject :—

'It is so much to our interest that Egypt should form another empire in the map of our dominions, and become another contributory power to our wealth, in addition to Canada and India, that it is earnestly to be hoped it may speedily again come into our possession. Among the transactions of last war, there was no event that reflected more honour on our arms than the conquest of this country, and none that reflected more disgrace on our councils than its surrender. Of all the acquisitions that England could make, whether in a military, political, commercial, or colonial point of view, Egypt is the most important. Not only is she the key to India, and the immediate connecting point between that country and England, but no territory offers more resources for the augmentation of our wealth, or presents a wider scope, "*tantum campi jacet* !" to our energy and ambition.

'Amid the revolutions of the world, it is melancholy to reflect, that this country, which was not only the first to be civilized, but

whose early period of civilization history cannot reach, which was the primeval school of the sciences, and the "*alma mater*" of the glory and greatness of Greece, should now be sunk below the lowest of the low, under the feeble sceptre but iron rule of a government that knows not the value of the pearl it possesses, and treads in the dust its precious brightness, notwithstanding the efforts of its present zealous but fleeting viceroy, Mohammed Ali, to rescue it from destruction, and recall its lustre. But under the mild auspices of England, if under her auspices it be her destiny to return, again might the days of her early happiness be restored to her—again might the light of science burst forth with increased splendour—and again might she astonish mankind by those stupendous powers of intellect, so long since lost to herself and the world, that knew to raise such mighty fabrics, now the only proofs that are left to tell us how much she excelled, and how much she has fallen. Then too might her glorious river, "*magna parens frugum*," once more lay claim to be termed the granary of the world, and Alexandria become what her illustrious founder intended, the emporium of the commerce of India and Europe. And then might be completed the often essayed canal of Ptolemy and Trajan,* whatever were the obstacles that baffled the skill of its earlier projectors. Those who have surmounted the difficulties of the Bridgewater, Ellesmere, and Caledonian canals, would triumph in the glory of bringing to perfection this celebrated work, and opening a road for the navy of England to ride through the Isthmus.

But there are other views besides those of uniting India to Europe, and possessing ourselves of the copious produce of the Nile, that should induce us again to become masters of Egypt. It is for the interest of the natives, and for the interest of the civilized world, as well as our own, that we should colonize and convert to a happier fate that interesting tract of country through which the mysterious stream of the Niger flows, and which the adventurous

* 'This canal was again undertaken by Amrou, the Saracen conqueror of Egypt, and again abandoned. Gibbon says, vol. ix. p. 444: "The genius of Amrou soon renewed the maritime communication, which had been attempted or achieved by the Pharaohs, the Ptolemies, or the Cæsars; and a canal, at least eighty miles in length, was opened from the Nile to the Red Sea. This inland navigation, which would have joined the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, was soon discontinued, as useless and dangerous: the throne was removed from Medina to Damascus, and the Grecian fleets might have explored a passage to the holy cities of Arabia." This precaution might possibly have been a wise one on the part of the Turks, as the Greeks for a long time possessed the supremacy at sea; but to England, as mistress of the ocean, the possession of Egypt, with the artificial straits of this canal, would not only be the security of India, but would bring the eastern nations to a closer intimacy with Europe, and tend to the recivilization of Persia and Asia Minor, once the proudest kingdoms of the earth.

spirit of Park and Burkhardt has already virtually made our own. It is in this now inhospitable region that the latent spark, which keeps alive the slave-trade, is so fatally nourished, as it is from her hidden storehouse that the victims are supplied, that form the human cargo of this barbarous traffic. Not only, therefore, should it be our object to possess ourselves of this territory, that we may close the scene of this repented trade, and drop an eternal veil over its remembrance, but that we may give further effect to the system here developed, by colonizing, cultivating, and civilizing a country whose productive powers may be made to equal those of India.

‘If it be thought that the colonization and civilization of Canada, India, and Egypt, are undertakings of too much difficulty to be attempted in these days, and by such a power as ours, let it be considered what was the cause of the greatness of Rome, as it was by conquest and colonization, and by these means only, that she became, from much smaller beginnings than is our existing capability, the mighty power that she was; and if we follow the same wise and judicious policy which she pursued, there is no reason why our destiny should not be as great and glorious as her own. Immediately that it was made known to the senate that the Roman arms were victorious, the country that was subdued was reduced into a province, and a certain number of commissioners,* usually to the amount of ten, were despatched to the newly acquired territory, to form a council, in conjunction with the commander who made the conquest, and settle the conditions that were to be granted. This council determined what was to be the extent of the annual tribute, what quantity of land was to be given up to Roman colonists, and what quantity was to be reserved to the vanquished, as well as how much rent, and how much produce of the soil, both the colonists and native proprietors were to be assessed at to the state. A Prætor was appointed to take the command of the permanent military force and administer justice, together with a Quæstor, whose duty it was to superintend the collection of the revenue, and keep an account of its receipt and expenditure. So extensive were the conquests of Rome, and the contributions of the provinces for the last 180 years before the reign of Augustus, that Rome, and all other cities that had the freedom of Rome, which was the enviable lot of almost all the cities of Italy, were exempted from the payment of taxes. On the effects of the colonizing policy of Rome, however, let her great historian,

———“Non sordidus auctor
Naturæ verique,”

again be heard.†

* ‘See Livy, 43 and 44; Plutarch’s *Life of Paulus Æmilius*; and Adam’s *Roman Antiquities*, p. 158.

† ‘See Gibbon, vol. i., p. 60.

“Wheresoever the Roman conquers, he inhabits,” is a very just observation of Seneca, confirmed by history and experience. The nations of Italy, allured by pleasure or by interest, hastened to enjoy the advantages of victory : and we may remark, that about forty years after the reduction of Asia 80,000 Romans were massacred in one day by the cruel order of Mithridates.* These voluntary exiles were engaged for the most part in the occupations of commerce, agriculture, and the farm of the revenue. But after the legions were rendered permanent by the emperors, the provinces were peopled by a race of soldiers, and the veterans, whether they received the reward of their service in land or in money, usually settled with their families in the country where they had honourably spent their youth. Throughout the empire, but more particularly in the western parts, the most fertile districts, and the most convenient situations were reserved for the establishment of colonies, some of which were of a civil, and others of a military nature. In their manners and internal policy, the colonies formed a perfect representation of their great parent : and as they were soon endeared to the natives by the ties of friendship and alliance, they effectually diffused a reverence for the Roman name, and a desire, which was seldom disappointed, of sharing in due time its honours and advantages.”

“After computing the population of the Roman empire, and enumerating its public works and the cities of Italy, the learned historian thus proceeds :—

“The spirit of improvement had passed the Alps, and had been felt even in the woods of Britain, which were gradually cleared away to open a free space for convenient and elegant habitations. York

* ‘Dr. Vincent, in his *Periplus*, says : “The Romans do not appear a commercial people, because their great officers and their historians are too much attached to war and the acquisition of power to notice it. All, therefore, that we hear of commerce is obliquely, that the wealth of merchants was proverbial. (See Horace, lib. iii. od. 6. l. 30.—See Cicero, who says, in contempt, indeed : Is such a man, who was a merchant, and neighbour of Scipio, greater than Scipio, because he is richer?) Neque me divitiæ monent quibus omnes Africanos et Lætios multi venaliciarii (mangones) mercatoresque superarunt. Cicero in *Corneliana* ut citatus ad Ammianom, p. 306. Paris ed. 1681. But attend only to the merchants who followed the armies who *fixed* in the provinces subdued or allied, the ‘*Italici generis nominis*,’ who were agents, traders, and monopolists, such as Jugurtha took at Zama, or the 100,000 that Mithridates slaughtered in Asia Minor, or the merchants killed at Genabun (Orleans). Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* and you see the spirit of adventure, and the extent of commerce at a single glance. See also the letters of Cicero, while proconsul of Cilicia. Dr. Campbell, in his *Political Survey*, has proved their conduct in this matter in regard to Britain ; and the present work will give a most extraordinary specimen of it in Egypt.—See the *Periplus*, p. 43.

was the seat of government, London was already enriched by commerce, and Bath was celebrated for the salutary effects of its medicinal waters. Gaul could boast of her 1200 cities; and though in the northern parts many of them, without excepting Paris itself, were little more than the rude and imperfect townships of a rising people, the southern provinces imitated the wealth and elegance of Italy. Many were the cities of Gaul, Marseilles, Arles, Nîmes, Narbonne, Thoulouse, Bourdeaux, Autun, Vienne, Lyons, Langués, and Treves, whose ancient condition might sustain an equal, and perhaps advantageous comparison with their present state. With regard to Spain, that country flourished as a province, and 'has declined as a kingdom. Exhausted by the abuse of her strength, by America, and by superstition, her pride might possibly be confounded if we required such a list of 360 cities as Pliny has exhibited under the reign of Vespasian. Three hundred African cities had once acknowledged the authority of Carthage, nor is it likely that their numbers diminished under the administration of the emperors. Carthage itself rose with new splendour from its ashes; and that capital, as well as Capua and Corinth, soon recovered all the advantages which can be separated from independent sovereignty. The provinces of the east present the contrast of Roman magnificence with Turkish barbarism. The ruins of antiquity, scattered over uncultivated fields, and ascribed by ignorance to the power of magic, scarcely afford a shelter to the oppressed peasant or wandering Arab. Under the reign of the Cæsars, the proper Asia alone contained 500 populous cities, enriched with all the gifts of nature, and adorned with all refinements of art. Eleven cities of Asia had once disputed the honour of dedicating a temple to Tiberius, and their respective merits were examined by the senate. Four of them were immediately rejected, as unequal to the burthen, and among these was Laodicea, whose splendour is still displayed in its ruins. Laodicea collected a very considerable revenue from its flocks of sheep, celebrated for the fineness of their wool, and had received a little before the contest a legacy of above 400,000*l*, by the testament of a generous citizen. If such was the poverty of Laodicea, what must have been the wealth of those cities, whose claims appeared preferable, and particularly of Pergamus, of Smyrna, and of Ephesus, who so long disputed with each other the titular primacy of Asia. The capitals of Syria and Egypt held a still superior rank in the empire. Antioch and Alexandria looked down with disdain on a crowd of dependant cities, and yielded with reluctance to the majesty of Rome itself.

“ All these cities were connected with each other, and the capital, by the public highways, which, issuing from the Forum of Rome, traversed Italy, pervaded the provinces, and were terminated only by the frontiers of the empire. If we carefully trace the distance from the wall of Antoninus to Rome, and from thence to Jerusalem,

it will be found that the great chain of communication from the north-west to the south-east point of the empire, was drawn out to the length of 4080 Roman miles. The public roads were accurately divided by mile-stones, and ran in a direct line from one city to another, with very little respect for the obstacles either of nature or private property. Mountains were perforated, and bold arches thrown over the broadest and most rapid streams. The middle part of the road was raised into a terrace, which commanded the adjacent country, consisted of several strata of sand, gravel, and cement, and was paved with large stones, or in some places near the capital with granite. Such was the solid construction of the Roman highways, whose firmness has not entirely yielded to the effort of fifteen centuries. They united the subjects of the most distant provinces by an easy and familiar intercourse; but their primary object had been to facilitate the marches of the legions; nor was any country considered as completely subdued, till it had been rendered in all its parts pervious to the arms and authority of the conqueror. The advantage of receiving the earliest intelligence, and conveying their orders with celerity, induced the emperors to establish throughout their extensive dominions the regular institution of posts. Houses were every where erected, at the distance of only five or six miles: each of them was constantly provided with forty horses, and by the help of these relays, it was easy to travel one hundred miles in a day along the Roman roads."

' In a subsequent part of his history, and at a later period, when Alaric besieged the city of Rome in 408, Gibbon enters more particularly into an investigation of the wealth of the Roman senators. After mentioning Probus, the chief of the Anician family, as the wealthiest of the Romans, he says: "His immense estates were scattered over the wide extent of the Roman world; and though the public might suspect or disapprove the methods by which they had been acquired, the generosity and magnificence of that fortunate statesman deserved the gratitude of his clients, and the admiration of strangers.

' "The accurate description of Rome, which was composed in the Theodosian age, enumerates 1780 houses, the residence of wealthy and honourable citizens. Many of these stately mansions might almost excuse the exaggeration of the poet, that Rome contained a multitude of palaces, and that each palace was equal to a city, since it included within its own precincts every thing that could be subservient either to use or luxury—markets, hippodromes, temples, fountains, baths, porticos, shady groves, and artificial aviaries. The historian Olympiodorus, who represents the state of Rome when it was besieged by the Goths, continues to observe, that several of the richest senators received from their estates an annual income of 4000 pounds of gold, above 160,000*l.* sterling, without computing the stated provision of corn and wine, which, had they been sold,

might have equalled in value one third of the money. Several examples are recorded in the age of Honorius, of vain and popular nobles who celebrated the year of their prætorship by a festival, which lasted seven days, and cost 100,000*l.* sterling. The estates of the Roman senators, which so far exceeded the proportion of modern wealth, were not confined to the limits of Italy. Their possessions extended far beyond the Ionian and Ægean Seas, to the most distant provinces. The city of Nicopolis, which Augustus had founded as an eternal monument of the Actian victory, was the property of the devout Paula : and it is observed by Seneca, that the rivers which had divided hostile nations now flowed through the lands of private citizens."

' Such was the flourishing state of the empire, and such the wealth of the senators of Rome, arising out of the system of colonization, so prudently and steadily adhered to by the Romans in the conquests which they made. Many of their provinces, but particularly those of Greece, Asia, and Africa, were undoubtedly in a highly civilized state before the invasion of their arms. But even in these provinces, the ruins that remain of Roman edifices, of amphitheatres, theatres, temples, porticos, triumphal arches, baths, and aqueducts, amply attest the useful and ornamental works that were added by colonists from Rome.* But in the western provinces, in Germany, Gaul, and Britain, such was the state of barbarism at the time of Cæsar's conquest, that the people could scarcely be said to be raised above the condition of savage life. Yet in a few years, by the science and intelligence introduced by the Romans, considerable progress was made in civilization, however soon their dawning prosperity was again to be enveloped in darkness and ignorance by the irruption of swarms more savage than themselves.

' If, then, we are to rise to Roman greatness, and rise to it we may, it is necessary that we should adopt the same policy which she adopted to create the same wealth which she created, whatever superior forbearance we may exercise towards our dependencies in exacting contributions, and whatever superior economy we may show in expending them. But without "inhabiting where we conquer," without founding colonies in our dependencies, without drawing a revenue from them, and without admitting their produce, we may just as well be without them as with them : and it is no wonder that the opinion should be so generally entertained, that foreign possessions are burthensome rather than lucrative establishments, when all our policy has been directed to export as much wealth, or as much produce, as we could to them, and import as little wealth, or as little produce, as we could from them : and till wealth and

* 'Gibbon is of opinion, that the magnificent buildings of Palmyra, whose ruins are the admiration of our Asiatic travellers, were constructed during the time that Palmyra was a Roman colony.—See vol. ii., p. 39.

produce, instead of wealth and money, be admitted to be the same thing, such most likely will continue to be our policy, notwithstanding the ignorance to which it exposes us, and the comparative poverty to which it condemns us.

“ Forsan miseros meliora sequentur.”

‘ There are four different ways in which foreign possessions may be made to contribute to the wealth of the governing country. These are by taxation, by the accumulation and remittance of fortunes, by the residence of absentee proprietors, and by the export of the agricultural surplus of the dependency, to be exchanged for the manufactures of the superior state. But whether one or all of these sources be opened, whether the wealth be to flow in by the channel of a public revenue, by the remittance of fortunes, by the residence of absentees, or by means of an agricultural surplus, however it is to come, it must come in produce; and, therefore, if the produce of our colonies is not to be received, no revenue and no fortunes can be remitted, no absentees can become resident, and no agricultural surplus can be imported.

‘ If no country now possesses sufficient energy and talent to keep an extensive foreign possession in dependency, what must be thought of the wisdom and valour of Rome, a city, not a kingdom, that held the world in subjection for six centuries, and during this long and triumphant period, though many a revolt occurred, never lost a single province. Why the Romans are to be the only power to afford a precedent to the world of sufficient force and firmness to subjugate and maintain in a state of obedience great and distant provinces for a long series of years, and why we are to be so degenerate as to be incapable of following where they led the way, it would be difficult to explain. There is no reason from any dissimilitude of circumstances,

“ Haud equidem credo, quia sit divinitus illis
Ingenium, aut rerum fato prudentia major,”

why they should have been capable of preserving their authority over the more powerful provinces of Europe, Asia, and Africa for so long a period, and we should not be equally capable of preserving ours over Canada, India, and Egypt, if Egypt be destined to belong to us, with as strong a hand, and for as long a duration; and if our councils and resources should be duly directed, nothing could dismember these settlements from us. It is impossible, therefore, that we can too soon shake off the unmanly doubts, which the unsuccessful issue of our contest with America has so groundlessly engendered, and show, by a general, but equal assessment over the whole empire, not only that we have the power to tax our foreign possessions, but that we have the power to retain them in loyalty and obedience, notwithstanding their taxation.

‘The second mode, in which I have stated that foreign possessions may contribute to the wealth of the governing country, is by the remittance of the fortunes that have been made by individuals belonging to the governing country who have resorted there. What addition the British possessions in the East Indies make to the wealth of England, they principally make in this manner. The other three channels are in a great degree closed up; for as the revenue is not more than sufficient to cover the expenses of India, there is no surplus to remit—as the holding of land is prohibited, there are no absentee proprietors to form a body of residents—and as the produce of India is for the most part loaded with too heavy a duty to pay the charges of transit, but little of its agricultural surplus is exported. But the fortunes of individuals amount comparatively to a very inconsiderable sum, and foreign possessions would be but of little utility, were this to be the only source of the produce that was to be admitted. Such, however, is the state of the existing relations between India and England, and such the insignificant use, to which we convert that immense and productive empire!

‘The third mode by which foreign possessions may contribute to the wealth of the governing country, is by the residence of absentee provincialists, who, by spending their incomes at the seat of empire, add to the wealth of the governing country precisely the same as if their estates were an integral part of it, and they themselves were native instead of provincial proprietors. It was by this mode, that the Roman provinces chiefly conduced to the wealth of Rome; and it is by this mode that our foreign possessions, if the tenure of their land and the admission of their produce were in all instances allowed, would materially contribute to the wealth of England. At the present moment, we have no resident provincialists, except West India planters, who, by drawing their sugars to England, and expending the produce they receive in exchange for them at their English residence, add to the wealth of England exactly the same as the English country gentleman or English manufacturer; as it is totally immaterial, whether it be so much sugar, so much corn, so much cotton, or so much cloth, that forms the substance of an individual's fortune. Whatever be the produce it consists of, by adding so much to the stock of the nation, it adds so much to its wealth. Foreign possessions in the tropics are, generally speaking, of more value than foreign possessions in the temperate zone, not only because their produce is of richer growth and greater variety and abundance, but because the landed proprietors, from the heat and sickliness of the climate, are more attracted to their native country, and therefore add more to its wealth by becoming resident in it. On this account, it is probable that India and Egypt, should it ever be our policy to colonize and civilize them, will conduce more largely to the wealth of England, than Canada, as at the same time that their produce will be more valuable, the oppressive nature

of the climate is more likely to induce British subjects, who possessed estates in them, to be resident at home. India and Egypt would then be to England precisely the same as Ireland: and as it will be admitted that Ireland is to all intents and purposes an integral part of Great Britain, India and Egypt, by the direction of their tributary streams to the same point, would be as virtually an integral part of Great Britain also.

But it should be our policy to bring every colony to contribute by all the four channels, instead of only by one; and if due encouragement were given to the system I have laid down, and the produce of the Ganges, the Nile, the Niger, and the St. Lawrence, arising from the four sources of remittance, were poured into the Thames, no further addition need be made to the wealth of England: it would be amply sufficient for the attainment of every great and good end, which it would ever be worthy of us to contemplate.

But India is at the present moment our '*maxima cura*,' and it is of more consequence that she should be advanced to the prosperity of which she is capable, by this system of wealth and colonization, than any other part of the British dominions. Though the sarcasm of Burke—that if we quitted India to-morrow, not a vestige would remain, from any works we had raised, or any improvements we had introduced, of our ever having had possession of the country—will apply with the same force now, that it did forty years ago, yet we may trust, if the name of England is to have any claim to the esteem of posterity, and the good of mankind is to be an object worthy of the attention and zeal of a British parliament, that it will not be equally applicable forty years hence. Under the present system of government, there can be no change for the better. The official servants of the Company are solely appointed to collect the revenue and administer justice. They have no other duty or occupation whatever. They are neither permitted to hold land, nor to trade, nor to exercise any kind of profession. They keep themselves entirely distinct from the natives, hold no intercourse with them, take no interest in their affairs, have no influence on their conduct, and suffer all things to go on as they have gone on from time immemorial, without the slightest interference on their part. They have no power, therefore, to instruct the native population by any example which they can give, in the arts and sciences of Europe, as they have no power to concern themselves with any thing, where the arts and sciences are applied. It is for this reason that all things remain precisely as they were before we had footing in the country—that the interior navigation is as nature made it—that all manufactures continue to be worked by the hand, without any machinery—that no cities, bridges, roads, canals, or public works of any kind are constructed—that all travelling is by the litter on men's shoulders, and that not an inn has been erected throughout the whole country—that goods are carried from place to

place, as in the earliest times, on the backs of oxen—that not a waggon; not a cart, not a plough, not a spade, not a wheelbarrow, has been introduced, and that even the mail still runs on foot from one end of India to the other. And such, under the present system of government, must continue to be the state of things, as without colonization, no opening can be made by which the arts and sciences can find entrance. Without the admission of land-agents, surveyors, irrigators, and drainers, civil architects and engineers, there can be no improvement in the various operations of husbandry, or in internal navigation. Without the admission of master workmen and mechanics belonging to the different trades, there can be no advancement in manufactures: and without a body of European land-owners, interested in making the most of their property, and establishing a ready communication from place to place, no roads, canals, or bridges will be made. But it was not for this that India was given to us,

“ Non hos quæsitum munus in usus.”

Nor is this the way in which the Roman senate would have dealt with her. There would have been roads, bridges, and canals all over the country. There would have been cities and theatres, colonnades and temples, baths and aqueducts, to vie with the greatest and noblest in the empire. There would have been rich and flourishing colonies, the opulent proprietors among whom would have erected villas to rival those of Lucullus, in taste, elegance, and magnificence, while almost every senator would have had estates on the Ganges, and would have luxuriated at Rome on the income he drew from them. The face of the country would then have presented the same happy aspect as in every other part of the empire: and had the Romans been dispossessed of the territory, the natives would have had reason for ages and ages to revere the memory of their conquerors for the works they had raised, the arts they had introduced, and the instruction they had imparted, and which no time and no revolutions would ever have effaced. If we are to derive no advantage from such a precedent, our schoolboy days are useless, and the enlightened page of Gibbon is blank paper. It is by our admiration of the laws and institutions of Rome, by the contemplation of her system, and the imitation of her example, that we may not only correct her errors, but by a judicious plan of colonization, rise superior to Rome herself, by the science and intelligence we give birth to, and if deprived of the country, leave a vestige behind us, not only which Burke himself would have been proud to acknowledge, but which would make our name deservedly more honoured even than the name of that celebrated people.

‘ But our colonial, our commercial, and our political system can never be perfect, unless we once more make ourselves masters of the connecting point, that is, to unite this great empire to England, and which humanity as well as interest alike pleads to us to regain.

So important is the acquisition of Egypt, that when the valour of Nelson, and the blood of Abercrombie, had once made it our own, as soon ought we to have thought of surrendering the Tower of London, as abandoning it. To leave this noble kingdom, this dear-bought prize of British valour, a prey to the deleterious influence of the tyranny and indolence of Turkey, is as much a reflection on our own name, from our tame and passive acquiescence, as it is an act of cruel neglect, and marked disloyalty to the memory of those great men. If the shades of these departed heroes could walk the earth, they would wander over the sacred, but deserted field of their glory,

“ *Magno inærentem corpore Nilum,*”

till, by repossessing ourselves of their hard-earned trophies by our repossession of the land where they are raised, we paid them the debt of gratitude we owed them, and composed their restless spirits by the soothing acknowledgment, that it was not for an object unworthy of the sacrifice that they fought, and bled, and conquered. If, however, notwithstanding the eventful and almost desperate condition of Ireland, Canada, and India, and the utter oppression and slavery of Egypt, our government is to make no attempt to relieve them, if the system of public wealth and colonization here recommended is to be totally neglected, and England is to forego all the wealth and all the power the execution of this system, in the full tide of its success, would give her—we can only regret, that we have not a Roman senate to rule us, instead of a British parliament; so great is the difference in the destiny of a nation, from a wise and unwise system of policy!

THE MANIAC.

THE spot was beautiful :
 A murmur'ing stream ran through a shady grove ;
 And wild flowers, sweet to cull,
 Of every hue, grew round ; here she would rove,
 And to the sighing winds would tell her tale of love.

Now she would pluck a flower,
 Which some unkindly blast had caused to fade ;
 And to her silent bower
 Would bear it, (emblem of the frantic maid,)
 Thus holding converse with it in the calm cool shade.

‘ Once thou wert lovely, rose ;
 Now what hath made thee thus to droop thy head ?
 Sweet flower, why not disclose
 Thy secret sorrow to me,—dost thou dread
 The phantom whose frail bloom, like thine, is early fled ?

' Ah ! hapless, faded flower !
 Sad semblance of our transitory state :
 Oh ! unpropitious hour,
 That made both thee and me thus desolate !
 Come flower to me, and thy tale of woes relate.'

And oft, at dead of night,
 When the rude winds would howl and tempest roar,
 And the pale moon's dim light
 Shone but at intervals, she would deplore
 Her wretched lot, and days that would return no more,

A tale of childhood's days
 Gleam'd like a meteor o'er her memory !
 And she would oft times gaze
 Upon the distant crags in ecstasy,
 Crying, ' Sadac haste, oblivion's waters bring to me.'

Sometimes on summer's eve,
 The gentle breezes sleeping on the ocean,
 She would recline beneath
 A spreading beech, absorbed in stern devotion,
 Betraying at her sad state a sign of deep emotion.

Above her hung her lyre,
 Upon whose strings soft zephyrs sweetly play'd :
 Now would its tones inspire
 With feelings of deep thought the afflicted maid :—
 Now see, she starts—her wild shriek echoes through the glade !

Ah ! beauteous maid, those eyes,
 Where once expression beam'd, are dim with care ;
 A lovely trace still lies
 Ling'ring across thy visage, sweetly fair,
 To tell what charming and chaste beauty once dwelt there.

Upon this lovely spot '
 She daily traces o'er her narrow bed,
 Where griefs will be forgot !
 ' Here, let me rest, deceitful world,' she said,
 ' Nor shed one tear of pity o'er my clay-cold head.'

' My sweet Æolian lyre
 Will play a melancholy dirge o'er me
 When this form shall expire ;
 And its angelic tone's soft harmony,
 May stop the pilgrim to exclaim ' farewell to thee !'

ON THE DANGER TO WHICH BRITISH INDIA IS EXPOSED
FROM INVASION.

IN our last Number we introduced a very interesting passage from a work, entitled 'Reflections on the Present State of British India,'* and the attention which that extract has excited, as well as the intrinsic merits of the work itself, induce us to lay before our readers this month the second chapter; on the subject of which—'The Danger of India from Russian Invasion'—we have already expressed our sentiments.† At a crisis like the present, especially—when the progress of the Russian arms in the east of Europe, and in Asia, is watched with such deep anxiety by all classes of reflecting men, however various may be their opinions as to the justice, or their anticipations as to the probable results, of the Turkish war,—many of our readers, we feel assured, will be gratified by an opportunity of perusing the 'Reflections' of this able writer on the dangers to which our own magnificent Asiatic Empire may perhaps ere long be exposed from the all-grasping ambition of Russia; and few, we think, who give due attention to the following pages, will venture to maintain that such dangers are altogether imaginary.

'La vostra nominanza è color d'erba
Che viene, e va, e quei la discolora
Per cui ell' esce della terra acerba.

'The view just taken of the nature of our Indian empire, suggests these two important inquiries: What are the dangers to which Hindostan is exposed, in the event of its being invaded by a powerful enemy capable of meeting a British army in the field? and, What degree of attachment can the natives be supposed to bear to our name and government? Upon the first of these points, a few observations will form the subject of the present chapter.

'The most careless reader of Indian history cannot have failed to observe, that every Asiatic people, with whom the British forces have come into contact, have shown themselves unable to resist the European system of war and discipline. Yet past exploits, and the transactions under the administrations of Lords Wellesley and Minto, were not of themselves sufficiently decisive upon this head, to convince those who had taken a superficial view of the causes of our success; and the then impending conflict with Nepaul, which may be said to have been bequeathed as a state legacy to Lord Hastings, was by many considered to be the *experimentum crucis* of the military character of the Indian government. So, indeed, it proved to be, as far as tactics and discipline were concerned, for it was by our superiority on those points alone that the struggle was decided in

* In one volume octavo. Published by Hurst and Chance, St. Paul's Church-yard.

† See Number LXI., p. 81.

our favour. The Nepaulese were superior in physical strength, if not in personal courage, to the greater part of our troops; they had numbers at their command, and their country abounded in natural obstacles and defensive positions; yet by the effect of comprehensive military arrangement, assisted by good discipline, were all these advantages set at naught, and the war, so formidable in its first aspect, brought to a successful termination in two short campaigns. Still, although the splendid government of Lord Hastings achieved this great and important triumph, which, in addition to those masterly operations which his lordship directed against the Mahrattas and Pindarries, appeared to place the Company's territories in a state of permanent security, there yet remained one enemy with whom the Indian army had not measured its strength; and as Lord Minto had left the war of Nepaul to him, so Lord Hastings left that of Ava to his successor. In the event, however, the Burmese proved to be even less formidable than any antagonist whom the British had hitherto been tempted to meet in the field, and the dismemberment of their empire, together with the establishment of military stations in Cachar, Arracan, and on the borders of Pegu, effectually put it out of their power to molest the Bengal government in future, even if their contemptible character, in a military point of view, did not render the occurrence of such a contingency comparatively unimportant. Thus, while the interior of India is entirely under British influence or authority, the whole frontier of that vast tract is tenanted by states, which not only have felt the weight of our arms, but which have been compelled to admit resident officers at their courts, or in their immediate vicinity, to watch over and report upon their conduct. The Seiks, who witnessed the operations of the British army in 1805, and have since acknowledged our influence, form no material exception to this general arrangement.

‘Whether it be in consequence of the influence of climate, or of imperfect social institutions, or, as is more probable, of both, it is observable that the Asiatic nations have shown themselves less susceptible of consistent and sustained exertions of warlike skill, in proportion as the country which they inhabit approaches towards the tropics. The sun, which imparts its fire and vivacity to them, seems to deny them the exercise of judgment and discretion. Even the natural advantages of a strong country appear to form no exception to the truth of this remark; and whilst the mountaineers of Nepaul excel the inhabitants of the hilly regions of Southern India, including Ceylon, the latter made a much firmer stand against the Moguls and the English, than the tribes established in the fastnesses of Java* have shown themselves capable of in their resistance to

* ‘By recent advices, however, it would appear that the extremely weak state of the European establishments of the Dutch in Java, has at length tempted the natives of that island to rise and make strenuous efforts to

the Dutch. Many of the nations now alluded to had acquired considerable knowledge in the arts of war and government; the Nepaulese and Burmese had subjugated several neighbouring states and provinces; but the latter, in particular, after pursuing the career of conquest with remarkable spirit for a series of years, had apparently become contented with what they had acquired, and, without evincing any genius for improvement, had deteriorated in the stupid tyranny of their domestic government, in proportion as they had relaxed from the energy of their foreign policy. It seems, indeed, to be a law of nature, that nothing in the history of mankind shall be stationary: to cease to advance in the career of improvement, is to retrograde; and thus we invariably find, that the half-civilized portions of the globe, when no longer acted upon by their first impulse, become alike the prey either of the civilized portion, on the one hand, or of the complete barbarian on the other. Thus the half-civilized states of China, Persia, and Hindostan, showed themselves as unable to resist the barbarian Tartar tribes, as the Asiatics of modern times have been to withstand the attacks of European invaders; whilst the Tartar conquerors in their turn, when they came to partake of the half-civilized character of the conquered, evinced themselves utterly incompetent to withstand the discipline and organized institutions of Great Britain and Russia.

‘The same reasoning, which is applicable to the English in their present attitude as an Asiatic power, is equally so to Russia; with this consideration, indeed, which gives additional force to it, that the latter is in a manner compelled, by her natural position, to that collision with the weaker states, which the former has traversed half the globe to provoke. It is evident, however, that the same train of consequences must in both cases attend upon the conflict between a people rapidly advancing in civilization, and one, if not in the act of retrograding, certainly almost stationary; and that, in proportion as the southern provinces of the Russian empire profit by the attention which is bestowed upon them by the government, the Autocrat of the North will be assailed by the same temptations to aggrandize himself at the expense of his semi-barbarous neighbours, which the East India Company’s agents were unable to resist in their progress towards the conquest of Hindostan. Nor are the facilities which the Russians enjoy for the prosecution of such enterprises, at all inferior to those which their superior maritime strength conferred upon the English. The water-communication between the Baltic and the Caspian is complete and uninterrupted; from St. Petersburg to the Neva, a canal runs along the margin of Lake Ladoga to the Walkowa, from which the navigation is continued by the Nesta and the Sna, to another canal which joins the

recover their independence. If the character here given of the Southern Asiatics does not operate to the disadvantage of the Javanese, we may shortly hear of the Dutch being totally expelled the island.’

Tuertsä, of which the waters flow into the Wolga; so that military stores can be conveyed, with comparatively small risk or expense, not only to the southern and eastern shores of the Caspian, but probably to the centre of Khorasan, or to the confines of Cabul.

'In weighing the inducements which are thus held out to Russia to aggrandize herself, it cannot but be perceived that the great prize at which she aims must undoubtedly be Hindostan. Persia, and the countries immediately contiguous, offer comparatively but a feeble temptation; the barren soil of the former, and its deficiency in navigable streams, render it unfit for colonization, and worthless as a conquest; whilst the tracts lying between Orenburg and Balkh contain so great a proportion of desert and uninhabitable land, that, notwithstanding the advantages to be derived from the fine streams which flow into the sea of Aral and the Caspian, any extensive settlement in that quarter would be a work of time and difficulty. It is probable, then, that Russia would covet no more of either than to afford her a safe and easy communication with the territories immediately adjacent to India. The whole line of her frontier, from the seas of Kamtschatka and Okhotsk to the Caspian, is so well guarded by the cautious policy of the Chinese, no less than by natural obstacles, that, taking into consideration the scanty population and bleak climate of Siberia, together with the difficulty of assembling a large force in those quarters, there can be little encouragement for her to attempt an advance in that direction. But when her frequent wars with Turkey and Persia are considered; the armies so long concentrated in Georgia and Armenia; the military colonies planted in her southern provinces, together with the now long-established habits of the people of those parts, which have reconciled them to the inconvenience of their situation, and taught them to meet the exigencies attendant upon so warlike a neighbourhood, we cannot but perceive that, whether from the elasticity of an increasing population,* or from the wish to employ large masses of troops, which it might be alike expensive and dangerous to remand to the northern provinces, the country extending towards our Eastern possessions is the line of least resistance, and the direction in which the explosion must take place.

'On the other hand, if to the operation of natural causes, as just described, we add the stimulus of political rivalry, we may be assured that every circumstance conspires to produce the collision of Great Britain and Russia on the confines of India, and that at no very distant period. Russia, at least, will leave nothing unattempted to

* 'See the Chevalier Gamba's Account of Georgia, for the encouragement afforded to commerce and agriculture by the Russian Government, and the immense accession to the population from the neighbouring provinces of the Persian and Turkish empires. In 1820, seven thousand families are said to have gone over to the Russian dominions.'

accelerate the meeting, or rather to place the occurrence of that meeting entirely at her own option in point of time; for in what other quarter can she detect a vulnerable point in the armour of her mighty antagonist, or where could she desire a nobler field on which to measure her colossal strength with her undaunted rival, than on the plains of Hindōstan?

‘In discussing the probability of such an attack being made upon India, the mind naturally recurs to the Macedonian conquest; and with reference to the loosely-recorded enterprise of Alexander, we form, perhaps, an exaggerated estimate of the length of the march, the difficulties of the road, and the hostile dispositions of the nations whose territories would have to be traversed. Making allowances for the improvement of modern warfare, this might, indeed, be the correct mode of reasoning, in the event of such an expedition as that which is said to have been meditated by Napoleon, after the conquest of Egypt; but great is the difference between the obstacles to be overcome on such a route, and those which oppose themselves to a march from the shores of the Caspian. On consulting the map, we may observe that the Russian possessions already extend very nearly to the spot whence most of the later conquerors of Hindostan set out on their route. The geography of that part of Asia is still so imperfectly known, that it has not yet been clearly ascertained whether the river upon which stands the city of Herat, disembogues itself into the Caspian by the Gulf of Balkan, or joins the Oxus in its course to the sea of Aral. If, however, as is most probable, the former be the fact, an establishment on the island of Naphtonia, or in the Gulf of Balkan, would place the Russians in communication with the Turcoman tribes, whose hostility to the Persians is deadly and hereditary, and secure the means of advancing by Herat to Cabul, without the necessity of taking the more circuitous route by the southern shores of the Caspian, or of following the more difficult track, already laid down, from Orenburg to the banks of the Oxus, and along the course of the Amu to Balkh. The Turcomans and Usbees, though formidable to a nation so weak in itself, and so defective in military organization as the Persians, would be unable to oppose a large well-appointed army of Russians, even if their hopes of plunder did not induce them eagerly to take part in the expedition. If, however, it be thought that an advance through Azerbaijan, and the north of Persia, into Khorasan, though the most tedious, would yet be the safest route, the progress which the Russian arms are now making in that direction,* afford every prospect of the way being very soon left open to them. Every conflict into which it is so easy for a powerful state to force its

* ‘If we may believe the latest intelligence, the Russians have taken possession of Tabriz, and are in full march upon Teheran, a point at least four hundred and fifty miles within the boundary, and on the route to Herat.

weaker neighbour, especially in a quarter so remote from general observation, and therefore so little liable to excite public animadversion, must of necessity end in defeat to the Persians, and, in consequence of their poverty, with reference to the probable demands of Russia, as well as to their misgovernment, in a cession of territory. Already has the feeble barrier of the Kur, and the Uras, been forced, and, in addition to their conquests, indemnification for the expenses of the war, may possibly place the Russians in possession of Ghilan and Mazenderan, provinces which Peter the Great considered necessary to the establishment of his complete ascendancy on the Caspian.

‘But it is not to war and conquest alone that we must look for the narrowing of that space which separates the two most powerful candidates, not only for the supremacy of Asia, but, through her, for preponderance in Europe also. For it is not to be doubted, that the possession of India would greatly increase the influence of Russia in the general councils of Europe—even its danger would probably have an unfavourable effect upon the politics of Great Britain. Nations, like individuals, to be honest, must be independent: and, under the bare possibility of our Asiatic territories being wrested from us, it is not difficult to conjecture the unworthy compliances into which we may be driven. But by open war, however efficient in the end, this crisis might not, possibly, be produced for many years; notwithstanding the direct interest which Russia must have in silently acquiring that position from which, eventually, she may be able to turn her attention towards India, without that previous ‘note of preparation,’ and hostility with neighbouring states, which her present situation would render unavoidable. A reference to the line of policy adopted by the East India Company, and the various means by which the whole country, from Cape Comorin to the Himmalah Mountains, has been reduced under the direct sway, or acknowledged influence of the English, would readily suggest those measures by which a paramount control in central Asia might be obtained with very little outward appearance of injustice or violence. The disputes which always attend the succession to the throne in Persia,* are fruitful in crimes, of which political hypocrisy might take advantage, to read a great moral lesson to that unfortunate nation; and such is the uncertainty of life, as well as right, among the members of the royal family, that any of them, whatever might be his pretensions, would gladly cede one half of the kingdom to an auxiliary who was powerful enough to secure him in the undisturbed possession of the remainder. This is by far the most rapid, as well as the most effectual mode, by

* ‘By late accounts, it appears that the Shekakee tribe, the most powerful in Azerbaijan, has joined the Russians: the father of Jehangir Khan, their chief, it will be recollected, disputed the crown with the present Shah.’

which Russia can obtain that vantage ground which will enable her to affront the Eastern world. In order to accomplish a measure, to her so desirable, the tranquillity of Europe, though, of course, favourable, is by no means indispensable; since the usual garrisons and provincial detachments, stationed in the neighbourhood of the Persian frontier, are, at any time, sufficient for the intimidation of a state, at once so uninformed in matters of political science, and so little entitled to respect on account of its military capabilities. By means of one of those treaties, which a power so formidable can always negotiate with one of the competitors for the throne of a nation, torn by internal dissensions, and in momentary dread of the incursions of the fierce and lawless tribes in its vicinity, Russia might obtain by cession, or under the condition of a temporary occupation, or by means of a permanent subsidiary force, not only the command of as much territory as would be necessary to facilitate her advance upon the Indian frontier, but a stipulation for such farther aid in cattle, provisions, or men, as Persia might be able to afford. Such, indeed, is the unsettled state of the Shah's dominions, even in the most quiet times, that it may well be doubted if such a treaty, coupled as it would be with actual assistance and great moral influence, in repressing insurrections of all kinds, would be mainly disadvantageous to him at any given period; but at the present moment, when the course of affairs in the Western world tend, if not to the total expulsion of the Mohammedans from Europe, at least to a very great retrenchment of their power in that quarter, Persia may shortly feel the necessity of strengthening her western frontier, to guard against that reaction which the spirit of the Turkish Government will probably display when confined almost entirely to her Asiatic possessions. If Russia, therefore, were to exact the assistance of the reigning Shah, in subduing the country lying in the direct route to India, by the Oxus and the Amu; or in acquiring military possession of Candahar, as the price of her support on the Tigris and Euphrates, and the confines of Kurdistan and Armenia, there would be little doubt of her success in the object she cannot but have most at heart,—that of bringing within the reach of her grasp the brightest jewel in the crown of her illustrious rival.

‘The route leading from Russia to the Indies is not, as before remarked, by the south of the Caspian and Khorasan alone, but may be traced out east of the Caspian, by Khiva and the course of the Oxus and Amu to Bokhara, Samarcand, and Balkh; or east of the Sea of Aral, by the Kirgies Desert, and the Sur, or Sihoon, to nearly the same point in the great line of trade established between eastern Russia and central Asia. Indeed, there can be little doubt that the attention of the Court of Petersburg has already been directed to this line, and that, whatever may have been the ostensible object of the recent missions to Khiva and Bokhara, no ordinary anxiety has

been evinced to ascertain how far an improvement in commercial intercourse might be turned to account in paving the way for the establishment of a political influence amongst hordes of barbarians, who, though apparently accessible to no kindness or conciliation, appear only to need the presence of some really formidable authority, to be reduced to the same state of tranquillity as the fierce and lawless inhabitants on the confines of Georgia and Armenia, and other districts into which Russia has successively introduced her system of rule.

‘But under whatever circumstances the invasion of India might be attempted, it is probable that the attacking army, instead of marching directly from Russia, would be composed principally of troops stationed in recent conquests, or in the employ of Persia, as a subsidiary force, or as an army of occupation. Thus the Russian troops, though apparently more closely connected with the parent country, are likely to lose much of their energy by a long sojourn in distant and, perhaps, uncongenial climes; and when to this circumstance is added the probability of a considerable admixture of Asiatic recruits, to fill up occasional vacancies, it may be supposed that the invading army would assimilate pretty nearly, as to its component parts, to the force which the English might be able to collect in defence of their possessions. Yet, supposing this to be the case, without any qualification, supposing the two armies to contain the same number of Europeans, the remainder being composed of natives of the countries in the possession of each nation respectively, still the advantage would rest with the invaders. A mixture of different nations in one army, if not permitted to impair its discipline, is no detriment to it, but probably the contrary, in offensive operations; but in defence, some feeling to counterbalance the effect of occasional failure is indispensable,—that feeling is patriotism: and it may be assumed as an axiom, that, whilst for invasion, an army may be composed of soldiers of one or of many nations, indifferently; for defence, every man in it ought to have a strong interest in the soil which he endeavours to protect.

‘In order, effectually, to oppose the invasion of India, it would be desirable to occupy the Punjab. That region once passed, there would no longer be any natural obstacles, of which the defenders could avail themselves, in opposing a direct advance into the heart of Hindostan. The Punjab, indeed, has always been the field in which the rulers of Delhi have defended themselves with the greatest advantage; when that is in possession of the enemy, no alternative remains to the invaded, beyond that of committing the fortune of the war to the event of one great battle on the plains of Kurnaul or Panniput—already too often fatal to Hindostan,—or of allowing the enemy to ravage and lay waste the country, and to advance unmolested to the siege of Delhi, in the confidence that, even if unsuccessful, they will always have a strong country in their

rear to retreat to and to encamp in, until the recurrence of the fair season for their operations, or the arrival of reinforcements from the other side of the Indus. On the other hand, the Indian army, by having the Punjab organized in its rear, would not only command the services of the warlike race inhabiting those tracts, but it would possess the advantage of receiving supplies by the Indus, and its tributary streams, instead of the circuitous route of the Bay of Bengal and the Ganges. The right flank of their army, too, would be greatly strengthened by the force which occupies the protected hill-states, extending its posts along the mountains to the borders of Cashmere, so as to bear upon the left and rear of the enemy.

‘It must not, however, be forgotten, that if the banks of the Indus be selected as the most favourable position in which to expect the attack, the British troops will have an immense march to perform, in addition to the ill effect of exposure to the climate of the hotter parts of India for many months, if not years, before they are called to the conflict. If the European troops latest from England are made to replace those who have been longest in the country, whilst the latter proceed to the frontier, the field-force will contain none but seasoned men; but in that case, their freshness and energy will have been considerably impaired. From five to eight years are in all cases a sufficient seasoning for European troops in India. After that period, the effects of climate become speedily apparent on the constitutions of men possessing so little power or motive for restraint as common soldiers; they are no longer capable of enduring the fatigues and privations of protracted warfare; and one, or at most, two active campaigns, would be sufficient to exhaust their strength. We too easily allow ourselves to be deceived on this point, by the imposing accounts which are so often given of our Indian wars; and we fancy that, because our countrymen cheerfully undergo the labours of a campaign or two, they would be a match for any troops that could make their appearance upon the same theatre. These campaigns, however, have generally been fought within a short distance of our resources, and with all the conveniences and accommodations at hand, which old and undisturbed establishments can command, in a country entirely at the disposal of the service. In the few instances in which this has not been the case, we uniformly observe sickness to prevail amongst the European troops to an alarming extent; whilst the natives, if they suffer less from that cause, (which, however, is not always the fact,) suffer more from disaffection and desertion. So much, indeed, are the sepoys accustomed to make war within the boundaries of Hindostan alone, and in the comparatively easy mode alluded to, that they soon become disgusted with any service that threatens either to abridge their comforts, or to prolong their absence from their native plains. Of the three distinct armies

which are at the disposal of the Indian Government, those of Madras and Bombay are generally considered to be better adapted for hard service than the Bengal troops; but as this is supposed to proceed entirely from the great attention which is paid to their equipment, and to the regular supply of everything conducive to their comfort, when on foreign service, whilst the Bengal troops are, in a great measure left to their own resources, it seems to follow, not only that the former are more expensive to the state, but that it will be difficult to bring large bodies of them to act with Bengal sepoys with reciprocal confidence and cordiality, without putting the latter upon an equality with them, in respect to pay, and all other advantages. Here, then, is another point to be attended to in conducting the defence of the country; and in order to secure an army which may act with union and effect, an equalization, in the particulars just referred to, of the troops of the three Presidencies, should immediately be adopted, upon the scale afforded by the most liberal of the whole.

‘But this is not all: in an army for the defence of India, assembled in the Punjab, comprising a considerable force of European as well as native troops, the former, though a great proportion of them would probably be over-seasoned, if brought up by easy marches, would benefit by the change of climate; whilst upon the latter, the cold and fatigue would have a directly contrary effect; and if harassed by active operations, especially night attacks, accompanied by that uncertainty of supplies which is likely to occur on such occasions, their number would shortly be diminished both by sickness and desertion, and a depression of spirits peculiar to the Hindoos, and resembling the *maladie du pays*, would unfit those who yet stood to their colours for any but the most ordinary camp duties. Under these circumstances, the commander-in-chief could never place entire reliance on the apparent strength of his army, as shown in figured statements; for although the natives would probably improve, if stationed nearer their own country, the Europeans would fall off in proportion to their exposure to the relaxing climate of Hindostan. Neither would the customs and institutions of the service be favourable to the views of the commander; and there is reason to believe, that the peculiarities which appear to adapt an Indian army to the performance of the duties which are now entrusted to it, would, in some measure, incapacitate it for a conflict,* in comparison of which any service it has yet seen may be denominated mere ‘playing at soldiers.’

* ‘The following description of the Russian soldiers will be read with deep interest by military men in India, as exhibiting the picture of an army admirably adapted for distant and arduous enterprises, even in a tropical climate:—“The Russian soldiers, unexcited by any spirituous liquors, with which the troops of other nations are often treated, previous to engaging in battle, make the sign of the cross, and, im-

'The strength of the Company's army, including the regiments of his Majesty's service usually stationed upon the continent of India, is about two hundred thousand upon the war establishment, exclusive of irregular corps of cavalry and infantry, of which the latter are

movably fixing their eyes on their leader, follow him in the most profound silence—unanimous in their impetuosity, constant and imperturbable in danger—qualities which in military nations are the exclusive patrimony of perfect discipline. Frugal and patient under privations as they are submissive, they spend the whole day in battle, and at night a ration of bread or biscuit, and a draught of water from the nearest brook, suffice to allay their hunger and thirst, whilst the bare ground for a bed, and their knapsack for a pillow, relieve their fatigue."—*Narrative of Don Juan Van Hulen, &c.*

'For a description of the Cossacks, too long to insert here, see Sir W. Scott's 'Life of Napoleon,' vol. v., p. 363.

'The account of the Russian army, given by Sir Walter Scott, is also subjoined, as peculiarly interesting at the present moment:—"In the mode of disciplining their forces, the Russians proceeded on the system most approved in Europe. Their infantry was confessedly excellent, composed of men in the prime of life, and carefully selected as best qualified for military service. Their artillery was of the first description, so far as the men, guns, and carriages, and appointments were concerned; but the rank of General of Artillery had not the predominant weight in the Russian army, which ought to be possessed by those particularly dedicated to the direction of that arm, by which, according to Napoleon, modern battles must be usually decided. The direction of their guns was too often intrusted to general officers of the line. The service of cavalry is less natural to the Russians than that of the infantry; but their horse regiments are nevertheless excellently trained, and have uniformly behaved well. But the Cossacks are a species of force belonging to Russia exclusively. The natives of the Don and the Volga hold their lands by military service, and enjoy certain immunities and prescriptions; in consequence of which, each individual is obliged to serve four years in the Russian armies. They are trained from early childhood to the use of the lance and sword, and familiarized to the management of a horse peculiar to the country, far from handsome in appearance, but tractable, hardy, swift, and sure-footed, beyond any breed perhaps in the world. At home, and with his family and children, the Cossack is kind, gentle, generous, and simple; but when in arms, and in a foreign country, he resumes the predatory, and sometimes the ferocious, habits of his ancestors, the roving Scythians. As the Cossacks receive no pay, plunder is generally their object; and as prisoners were esteemed a useless incumbrance, they granted no quarter, until Alexander promised a ducat for every Frenchman whom they brought in alive. In the actual field of battle their mode of attack is singular. Instead of acting in line, a body of Cossacks about to charge, disperse at the word of command, very much in the manner of a fan suddenly flung open, and joining in a loud yell, or *hourra*, rush, each acting individually, upon the object of attack, whether infantry, cavalry, or artillery, to all of which they have been, in their wild way of fighting, formidable assailants. But it is as light cavalry that the Cossacks are, perhaps, unrivalled. They and their horses have been known to march one

generally employed as guards and police in aid of the civil magistrates. In speaking of the defence of India, it is not unfrequently supposed that the whole of this force would be marshalled to oppose the invader on his crossing the Indus ; but a very slight glance at the map will be sufficient to explain the absurdity of this expectation. The distance from Madras to the centre of the Punjab, is as great as that from Moscow to Paris ; and from Calcutta to the same point, it is farther than from Madrid to Vienna. With such immense tracts of country in the rear of our army, tracts which are inhabited by various nations, differing as much from each other as the Portuguese from the Poles, it would be madness to attempt to concentrate more than a small proportion of the whole force upon a spot so far removed from the heart of our provinces. In point of fact, the greatest number of troops assembled for any one purpose in India, or upon any line of operations, has never been as much as fifty thousand. The regular forces at Seringapatam, though consisting of detachments from all the Presidencies, were less than forty thousand. The army before Bhurtpore, in 1825, did not amount to thirty thousand ; and the whole of the regular Bengal forces assembled by Lord Hastings, either against the Napaulese, or in his more extensive operations against the Pindarries and Malirattas, did *not much exceed* forty thousand. The Bengal troops *employed* on the latter occasion were about fifty-five thousand, including irregular levies of all descriptions ; these, however, were acting on a widely extended circle of concentric operations, and the army of occupation of each district contiguous to the seat of war, did not advance much beyond its accustomed boundary. On a straight line of operation towards the Indus, the case would be very different, and whole districts would be entirely denuded of troops. It is evident, then, that in the event of an invasion by a large army, the protecting force must either consist in a great measure of new levies, in addition to the present army of occupation, or new levies must be distributed about the provinces, in order to admit of the troops now stationed there being disposable. If we estimate the invading force at only fifty thousand men, it would require an equal force to defend the frontier, together with a strong reserve to form a rallying point, keep up the communication, and garrison the fortified places. The whole would not fall short of a hundred thousand men ; and allow-

hundred miles in twenty-four hours without halting. They plunge into woods, swim rivers, tread passes, cross deep morasses, and penetrate through deserts of snow, without undergoing material loss, or suffering from fatigue. No Russian army, with a large body of Cossacks in front, can be liable to surprise ; nor, on the other hand, can an enemy, surrounded by them, ever be confident against it. In covering the retreat of their own army, their velocity, activity, and courage, render pursuit by the enemy's cavalry peculiarly dangerous, and in pursuing a flying enemy, these qualities are still more redoubtable."—*Life of Napoleon Buonaparte* vol. v., p. 362, &c.

ing only one fourth part of the number to be Europeans, we should have seventy-five thousand natives, either to be brought to the scene of action by long and toilsome marches, from the remotest provinces, and through climates differing amongst each other as much as Spain and Italy do from Holland and Germany—or this portion of the army would be principally composed of new levies, drawn from the vicinity of the upper provinces, where the people, from circumstances which will be explained hereafter, are by no means well affected to the present government. Supposing, therefore, the Europeans to suffer nothing, either from the sudden change of climate, if arriving direct from England, or from being over-seasoned by the effects of a protracted residence in India, still, as they would have to bear the brunt of the attack against an army flushed with conquest, enured to fatigues, and allured by the hopes of plunder, their situation would be a very arduous one; for it is unreasonable to expect that our native troops, got together by either of the modes above described, would be a match for their opponents in the field, allowing three-fourths of the latter to be Persians, Affgans, or Tartars, disciplined in the Russian manner, or rather, intermixed in the same ranks with the Russian soldiers. Amidst the manifest disadvantages under which an army so circumstanced would labour, it would require the most consummate skill, on the part of the British commander, to conduct the most ordinary operations, even in the Punjab, where the face of the country is such as to afford positions favourable for defensive operations; but should the seat of war be transferred to Upper Hindostan, the whole tract lying between the Setledge and the richest part of the Bengal provinces is so totally destitute of natural strength, that he would be unable to avoid coming to a general engagement in any other manner than by taking post under the walls of Delhi or Agra, and allowing the enemy to levy contributions on all the open country. The officers of the Company's service, it is true, have a perfect knowledge of the country, and are, perhaps, more accustomed to the management of large masses, than officers of corresponding rank in most other services; but on ground so perfectly level as that upon which they have to manœuvre, those qualifications would be of very little assistance against an active and enterprising opponent, who, if inferior to themselves in those respects, would probably excel them in general military combination. But even on this point a good deal of exaggeration has been indulged in, and although the English would appear, if we judge from the accounts of battles gained and operations undertaken, to have waged war on a large scale in India, yet, as has been before remarked, their armies have always been comparatively small; and they have been indebted for their triumphs to their skill and discipline having been so vastly superior to their opponents, and not to their numbers. There is no doubt, that the masses which they are in the habit of directing—though, agreeably to the usual proportion in Indian armies, not more than one-tenth

consist of fighting-men, the rest being composed of baggage-servants and camp-followers,—have the effect of giving them the military *coup d'œil*, and of training them to those habits of self-possession and command, which qualify them for entering upon a wider sphere of action, with less preparation than officers accustomed to the command of but very limited numbers; but this circumstance, though undoubtedly it renders the approach of more active warfare less formidable than it otherwise might appear, does not entirely supersede the necessity for considerable experience, 'in actual operations, with opponents more entitled to respect than those with whom they have hitherto been in the habit of coping.

'As it is highly probable, then, that war, under a new aspect, will, ere long, approach our Indian possessions, and that the collision of England and Russia, on the plains of Hindostan, may be considered inevitable, to attempt to avert the storm by intriguing in the Court of Persia, is merely to prescribe for symptoms, instead of grappling with the disease itself; In place of employing every effort to conciliate the Persians, and to persuade them to adopt improvements in war and government, alike unsuited to the genius of the nation, and to the inclination of the leading families, we should turn our attention exclusively to our Indian empire, and take advantage of our unlimited influence and authority, to strengthen it, by infusing a feeling of love and respect for the British name, and a firm reliance on the mildness and the justice of its sway. A foreign government, ruling over such extensive realms as those now under the dominion of the Company, must have much more to apprehend from internal discontent, than from external force; and, in point of fact, we find that, since the Mussulman conquest, the invasion of Hindostan has not unfrequently been effected, by armies of comparatively inconsiderable strength, under a promise or expectation of support from the various tribes with which it is peopled,—tribes which all writers concur in describing as ever ready to rise in favour of the most formidable candidate for sovereign power. Baber states his army, enumerated, too, with apparent accuracy, to have amounted, great and small, good and bad, servants and no servants, to only twelve thousand men.—Memoirs, p. 293; and again, p. 310, 'When I invaded the country for the fifth time, overthrew Sultan Ibrahim, and subdued the empire of Hindostan, I had a larger army than I had ever before brought into it. My servants, the merchants, and their servants, and the followers of all descriptions that were in camp along with me, were numbered, and amounted to twelve thousand men.' Nadir Shah, invited into Hindostan by some discontented nobles, defeated the imperial army with his advanced guard alone; and when Ahmed Shah, better known by the name of Abdallah, was repulsed in his first attack upon Hindostan, the circumstance was attributed to his having neglected to secure the co-operation of any of the powerful tribes. The Tartars and Per-

sians, then in the service of the Mogul, were a sufficient match for his army: on his second advance, however, being assured of the assistance of Gazi-ud-dein, at the head of the Tartar interest, he conquered Delhi without any difficulty; and in his subsequent expeditions always maintained the ascendancy thus acquired. It is impossible, indeed, to peruse the history of the events just referred to, without being struck with the apparent ease with which Hindostan may be invaded either from Cabul or Candahar. The nearest road from Herat to Cabul and Attoc, through Huzarah and the hills, though difficult, and at some seasons almost impassible, is only a month's journey in fair weather; whilst the route by Candahar is described as straight and level, practicable without risk or trouble even in the winter, and requiring about forty or fifty days' march. If, however, Cabul be avoided, and the advance conducted through Candahar to Derah-Gazee-Khan, on the Indus, (the point at which the Affghans crossed that river, in their march to Cashmere, in 1813), it would require only fifty or sixty days' march to bring an army from the centre of Khorasan to the rear of the Punjab, upon the very borders of the British territory.*

Under the bare possibility of such an event occurring, it would be interesting to ascertain the actual state of our frontier provinces in respect to military preparation and local resources. Into this subject, however, it is not the intention of these pages to enter very deeply at present, but it may not be without its use to remark, that such is the security or supineness of the Indian Government, that, during the late siege of Bhutpore, when the battering guns were fast becoming unserviceable from incessant firing, the nearest depot, which was that of Agra, (from its situation and strength one of the most important stations in Upper India,) was incompetent to the supply of the requisite number to replace them. If the assault had failed, the army must have suspended its operations till both artillery and ammunition could have been procured from Allahabad, a distance of at least thirty days' march. This, too, it must be observed, was not in a part of the country where such an occurrence as a siege was unlooked for, but where the feeling of jealousy, which our failure in 1805 had occasioned, rendered the last twenty years little more than a season of preparation. In answer to this, it is asserted by the advocates of procrastination.

* 'It may be important to remark, that by whatever route the invasion of India by the Russians be accomplished, they will march with the stream of national antipathies in their favour: the Usbees have a rooted hatred against the Persians, and rival the latter in their hostile feelings towards the Affghans; whilst the Affghans cherish as much resentment against the Seiks for their uninterrupted encroachments, as the Seiks do against the English, for protecting the apostate chiefs on the left bank of the Setledge. Should the invaders cross the Indus at Derah-Gazee-Khan, they might conciliate Runjeet Sing, the present ruler of the Punjab, and induce him to co-operate in an attack upon the Company's territories.

tion, that no serious intention to invade our north-western provinces could be manifested by the Russian court, without affording us ample time for every species of preparation for defence. But, in addition to the example just given, it should be remembered, that the war with Ava, though for years considered unavoidable, yet found the Indian government almost entirely unprepared; so much so, indeed, that it cannot be denied, that if the Burmese general, Maha Bundoolah, had boldly pushed forward, after the decisive affair at Ramos, he would have met with little or no opposition in his advance upon Chittagong and Dacca, and might even have insulted the very suburbs of Calcutta. The north-western frontier, indeed, has been attended to more than any other, as the course of events has naturally led to that result; but it is doubtful whether, at the present moment, the whole country above Allahabad, contain the necessary equipments for an army of fifty thousand men. Neither is it certain that the whole of the Company's provinces could furnish a remount* of suitable horses for the cavalry and

* 'In Bengal, the government stud may be calculated to contain about six or seven thousand brood mares—the upper, or northern division, however, has not yet been productive; and the whole taken together have not hitherto been adequate to the supply of horses for the horse-artillery and dragoons, without taking the native cavalry into the account. The dispersion of the Pindarees, transferred a number of mares to the Company's provinces; but breeding was not much attended to till of late years, when entire horses being imported from Europe, government formed the northern division of the stud out of those materials. It requires, however, the greatest vigilance, on the part of the inspectors, to prevent the admission of under-sized or defective animals, and on this account, the annual produce of serviceable horses is by no means commensurate with the expense to the state. Indeed, the territorial system of the Company, so greatly augments the value of land hitherto appropriated to pasturage, that breeding upon a large scale seems to require the encouragement of very high prices for horses, and it may perhaps be doubted whether cattle of all kinds be not upon the decrease throughout the provinces. The Seik Rajah, with the short-sighted policy common to semi-barbarous states, has lately opposed, to the utmost of his power, the importation of horses into the Company's territories, through his dominions, from the north; which has ever been the principal mart, as the indigenous supply of Hindostan has at all times been small. In acting in this manner, however, he has rendered us no inconsiderable service, by turning the attention of the Indian Government to the necessity of improving their internal resources. But establishments for this purpose, when in the hands of government, are more expensive and less productive than when left to private speculation; yet, in Hindostan, the pressure of taxation is so great, and accumulation is so completely checked, that few individuals possess the means of entering upon a business which requires so large an outlay, and the returns of which are so precarious. The horses bred in this manner, without the assistance of government, are now scarcely more than sufficient for the supply of the irregular cavalry, in which corps the troopers themselves, or their immediate commanders, contract for the horses. In the Madras territory, since the abolition of the Ganjam stud,

horse-artillery, or cattle for the provision and transport of so large an army beyond two campaigns. The habits of the people are not such as to lead them to rear any but the small breed of cattle commonly used for purposes of agriculture and traffic, and for the dairy; and the breed of ponies called Tattoos, for general purposes. Extensive requisitions could only be complied with at the expense of the growing harvest, or of a serious interruption of the ordinary occupations of the inhabitants. Our army would be under the necessity of carrying its supplies of all kinds in its train, or otherwise it would prove as great a scourge to our own territories as the most rapacious invader; and in the event of a reverse, instead of falling back upon its resources, it would have to continue its retreat through an exhausted, and probably an exasperated population.

When hostilities commenced with Ava, the greater part of the expedition to Rangoon and Arracan was supplied from the Madras Presidency; Bengal was exempted from any considerable demands either for men, or for cattle and stores; and yet, although the declaration of war was issued in February, 1824, supplies for the advance of a force through Cachar to Ava had not been collected in September of the same year; and when that expedition was given up, and a much smaller one, under General Morrison, ordered to proceed, by Chittagong, to Arracan, it was not till January, 1825, that the troops were able to advance, and that with only a portion of their stores and cattle. Now, if this was the case with an army

there has been no breeding district, excepting on a very limited scale by private dealers; the celebrated Manantoddy jungle has almost ceased to afford any considerable number, and the remains of the breed from which the Mysorean horse were furnished, are fast disappearing, notwithstanding a feeble attempt lately made to encourage them. The practice, indeed, both at Madras and Bombay, of importing horses for the service of government, as well as for private purposes, from Arabia and Persia, tends greatly to depress the country market.

In Bombay, according to Mr. Chaplin's statement, there were in the whole Company's territories, in 1824, probably not more than 6000 horses, and of these, but a small number of the description whose progeny would answer for the service of our cavalry.

If, therefore, the importation of horses from Persia and Arabia were to cease, or be materially affected, as would probably be the case if the Russians were to establish an influence in the court of the Shah, it is not difficult to foresee what would be the embarrassment occasioned to our army. A complete remount for the regular cavalry, including dragoons and horse-artillery, of the three Establishments, would require about thirty thousand horses, besides the smaller description required for the foot-artillery and irregular corps. The march of cavalry and artillery from remote stations to the seat of war, would alone expend more than could well be replaced at the present moment, even by the liberality of the King of Oude, (who has before now mounted regiments of dragoons), or by the expensive markets of carriage-cattle to be found at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay.

of six or seven thousand, marching in the neighbourhood of our capital, and through some of the most rich and densely populous of our provinces, with the streams of the great rivers favourable for the transport of supplies of all kinds; what are we to expect when all these conditions are reversed; when supplies have to mount the long and often difficult course of the Ganges and Jumna, against a powerful current; where the country is comparatively wild and unproductive; where the inhabitants are, from recent conquest and other causes, by no means well affected to the government; and when they will be called upon for supplies, not for a mere detachment, but for an army perhaps a hundred thousand strong?

‘In speaking of supplies being sent to the Upper Provinces, it should be mentioned, that although the Company’s territory, on the Bengal establishment, is remarkably deficient in good roads fit for military purposes, the great rivers, in fact, affording a comparatively economical means of communication from Calcutta to Furrackabad and Delhi,—there is no public establishment of boats or river craft for the conveyance of stores. When supplies of any kind are required in the field stations, boats are hired by the army commissariat, ostensibly at a small expense, but in reality at a very great one; for such is the defective state of those which alone are procurable for the public service, and so badly are they navigated, that the accidents which occur in the loss of men, as well as stores, would form a very serious addition to the general rate of transport. The actual cost, also, is materially enhanced by the slow mode of travelling, and the difficulty of conducting a fleet of boats to such immense distances by means of the track-rope. From forty to sixty are as many as can be taken by one opportunity, according to the system now in force; and these, conveying altogether not more than twelve hundred tons upon an average, are three months in reaching Allahabad, and from thence two to Agra, and one to Fut-tighur; from either of which points, it would require a march of thirty days to reach the banks of the Setledge. When, indeed, we consider the difficulty of collecting transport, the slow rate of travelling against the strong current of the Ganges, and the limited supply either of stores or men which each fleet can convey, it is perhaps not too much to assert, that supposing the Russians to have secured, by treaty or otherwise, a free passage through Persia, they could at any time collect an army of fifty or a hundred thousand men upon the banks of the Indus, as soon as, and perhaps sooner, than the Indian government could complete the necessary arrangements for opposing them with effect. Startling as this opinion may appear, it is only necessary to consult the map, and to bear in mind the ease with which Russia can accumulate troops of all descriptions in her south-eastern frontier, to demonstrate its possible correctness. If Russia were, immediately after declaring war, to direct her attention to this point, her army in Georgia

would have been on its march long ere intelligence from Europe could reach Bengal. From the banks of the Kur (though it is probable the Russian boundary has already been pushed two hundred miles more to the south) to Herat, is about eleven hundred miles, or one hundred and ten days' march; and from Herat to the Indus at Cabul, or at Derah-Gazee-Khan, as has been already stated, is about fifty days' march, making upon the whole one hundred and sixty marches. Now, if we may believe the published Army Lists, in the whole of the territory above Allahabad, including Oude, Rohilcund, and Rajhpootana, there are not more than forty-five thousand regular troops,* including the regiments of his Majesty's service; and of these only about twenty thousand are nearer the frontier than twenty marches. But as no advance into the Punjab could prudently be attempted with less than thirty thousand men, it would be necessary to draw troops from stations as distant as Allahabad, which is at least fifty days' march from the frontier. So, far, however, there appears to be a great difference in favour of the Indian army reaching the point of rendezvous before the assailants; but we are not to overlook the important consideration, that of all the troops thus collected together, only about seven thousand five hundred are Europeans. To provide the necessary escorts and communications, and to raise the European force to the number of twenty thousand—which may be looked upon as the smallest proportion, if the invaders should cross the Indus with fifty thousand men—troops would have to march from all parts of our provinces, from a distance of twelve and fifteen hundred miles, proceeding either by the course of the rivers, or across a country but very indifferently provided either with roads or with the requisite supplies for such a force; and it would be necessary to send to Ceylon, the Mauritius, and even the Cape of Good Hope, for regiments of his Majesty's service to supply the place of those sent to the frontier.

‘Upon the whole, then, if we attend to the events now passing in Persia, and consider the great probability that Russia will ere long establish a permanent influence in that kingdom, too much attention cannot be paid to the political strength of our Indian pro-

* ‘To these may be added such troops as the Bombay Presidency could spare; but, in this case, the march from Mhow, Guzerat, and Cutch, to Moultan, or to Lodiana, on the Setledge, would be somewhat greater than from Allahabad to the last mentioned place; with the disadvantage of having a country but partially known, and certainly but badly supplied with necessaries of all kinds for troops to pass through. A division from Bombay, however, would be of the greatest service in threatening the right flank of the invading army, and in operating upon his communications, in the event of his pushing on to Delhi; though the moral effect, upon the Natives, of his gaining possession of that capital, would render it a matter of the utmost consequence to oppose him, before he could advance so far.

vinces ; and whatever may be the assistance which we can expect from the spirit or patriotism of the inhabitants, no time should be lost in providing those safeguards, which, as the conquerors of that extensive region, we are bound, as well in justice, as from a regard to our own welfare, to afford. But in order to estimate the degree of attachment which the Indian Government can claim, it will now be necessary to take a view of the condition of the people submitted to its sway.

‘ Since the foregoing pages were written, advice has been received that, in consequence no doubt of the diversion which the increasing importance of the affairs of Greece has operated in favour of Persia, Russia has made peace with that power. The conditions are severe : and while they secure to Russia at all times an easy access to Tabriz and Teheran, they put her in possession of a sum of money not only sufficient to defray the expense of the late war, but to provide means of future aggression, whenever it may suit her to renew hostilities. The war, indeed, may be considered to have set at rest the question, as to the practicability of transporting a large army from Russia to the heart of Persia : not only has the feeble barrier of the Araxes been passed, but the disposition of the inhabitants of the contiguous provinces to assist an invader, ascertained beyond all doubt. With little or no apparent effort on the part of Russia, a large and well-equipped army was assembled to the south of the Caucasus, and put in motion upon the capital of Persia, without the latter being able to offer any effectual resistance, or, indeed, possessing any other means of saving her hoarded treasures, excepting by the immediate sacrifice of a considerable portion of them, at the discretion of the conqueror. Such, too, is acknowledged to be the state of anarchy and disorder in which the greater part of Persia is plunged, that the Shah is fearful of removing the remains of his treasure to a more distant asylum ; whilst, therefore, his known avarice is a sufficient guarantee against profusion, the immense hoardings, which, according to a late writer, will amount to nearly thirty millions sterling, when the present demand has been satisfied,* will still be within the reach of Russia on any future occasion. On the other hand, the Shah’s advanced age and growing infirmities render it not improbable that Russia may very shortly be appealed to, to settle the claims of rival candidates for the throne ; in which case the devotion of Jehangir Khan, the present governor of Ardebil, to the cause of Russia, will no doubt meet with its reward, in the recognition of his relationship to the legitimate royal stock of Persia, for the assertion of which his father was cruelly put to death by the present Shah. The present Prince Royal, Abbas Mirza, has rendered himself unpopular in the north-western

* ‘ See Lieut. Alexander’s Travels.

provinces, by his arbitrary conduct during the progress of hostilities; and has lost the confidence of the nation, no less by the manner in which he forced the kingdom into a war, than by the rash and inconsiderate manner in which he opposed the advance of the enemy's force. Little doubt, therefore, need be entertained that in the event of peace with Constantinople again setting the southern division of the Russian forces at liberty, the late designs upon Persia will be resumed, and ample advantage taken of the information now acquired respecting the deficiencies, moral and physical, under which that unfortunate country appears destined to labour.

‘But whatever may be the future views of our great northern rival, the respite which has thus been afforded to the Indian Government is most valuable. Had the Russians continued to advance, the alarm which had begun to pervade our frontier provinces would have so greatly increased, as, in some measure, to have impaired the character of any measure which might be adopted for improving the condition of the inhabitants of that part of our territory, by giving it the appearance of being rather extorted by our fears than conceded by our justice. Now, however, all immediate danger being removed, and the recurrence, though still within the bounds of probability, not possibly distant in point of time, no such motives can be inferred. Indeed the only apprehension now is, that the improvidence of the Governors will lead them to neglect the solemn warning which they have received, and induce them again to consider the governed as safe from attack,* and as firm in their allegiance, as if no such danger had ever offered itself, or as if they had not just reason to complain of the general impoverishment to which they are reduced.’

* ‘Symptoms of this have already appeared in the orders issued respecting the reduction of the army:—from ten to twenty men per company in the infantry, and the same in the cavalry, have been reduced, and some companies of artillery have been dismounted and the horses sold. The impolicy of this proceeding, respecting the cavalry and artillery in particular, must be manifest from what has been observed with regard to the scarcity of horses in India; and the demand being so greatly reduced, there will be little or no encouragement for breeding; and, in addition to the time required for properly breaking horses for the public service, Government will not be able to procure them in the event of a sudden call. Advantage should be taken of a period of peace to prepare ourselves in every point for future wars; and if retrenchment in expenditure must be made, it should only be in those departments which admit of being easily restored to their original strength in time of need.’

HISTORIC SKETCHES,

Written in India.

OF all who here have ruled with delegated sway,
 Enacted laws, and made wide realms obey,
 In the long list one only name is found,
 With whose good deeds the native tongues resound :
 CORNWALLIS' name descends from sire to son,
 And will, so long as time its course shall run,
 As a vague symbol of philanthropy,
 That rich and poor regards with equal eye ;
 Tempering the dignity of high command
 With modest state, and manners frank and bland.
 Though bred in camps, and skill'd the storm to wield
 Of war's fierce conflict in th' ensanguined field,
 He most delighted in the arts of peace,
 Of quiet labour and protected ease.
 But when the faithless Tippoo dared provoke
 His just resentment, suddenly it broke.
 Like thunder-cloud, upon the prostrate foe,
 His empire shatter'd, and his pride laid low.
 Still in th' untutor'd Indian's simple mind,
 His fame to two great measures is confined.
 Th' insatiate thirst of revenue which reigns
 Through Asia's bounds, and devastates its plains,—
 That dire cupidity he first restrain'd,
 And by irrevocable laws enchain'd.
 To check oppression, and unmask deceit,
 He 'stablish'd first the judge's sacred seat.
 Till then the publican and judge were one,
 Who never, till his fiscal task were done,
 Till he'd exhausted each rapacious tax,
 Dispensed a dole of justice, scant and lax ;
 His earliest care to guard the public weal,
 And then to hear the tardy, faint appeal.
 Thus did our Indian Alfred sow the seeds
 Of better things, but mix'd with choking weeds ;
 And still inveterate tares the field deform,
 Contend for mastery, and defy reform,
 Save what would flow spontaneous from the force
 Of intercourse with colonists, the source
 Whose waters only, like Bethesda's pool,
 Can cure Monopoly's oppressive rule

And sordid appetite, as blind as vile,
That makes its malice on itself recoil.

On him who enters next upon the stage,
The eye is idly bent ; th' historic page
For ~~SHORE~~ scarce ventures to assert a claim
To mediocrity's unenvied fame.
His feeble policy, his wavering aim,
Threaten'd the vessel of the State to overwhelm,
But that a vigorous arm soon seized the helm,
Spread all her canvas to the favouring breeze,
And plough'd triumphantly the subject seas.

To WELLESLEY's genius and prevailing star
All difficulties yield in peace and war ;
Tippoo's stout heart his messages appal,
Like *mene tekel* written on the wall ;
Foreboding fears oppress his anxious mind,
Till life at once and kingdom are resign'd.
Scindia improvidently seeks to guard
His loose dominion, and his fall retard
By arts of discipline ;—the cumbrous weight
Prevents escape, precipitates his fate.
The pond'rous train that rend the vault of heaven,
Serve but as trophies to the victor given.
The clouds of horse, the legions' long array,
Are pierced and chased with rout and wild dismay.
'Twas then that Wellington's heroic name,
Resplendent now in full meridian fame,
First smote on Assye's field with slanting ray,
And thence ascended into brightest day.
Delhi, Laswary, Agra's captured towers
Proclaim the ardent Lake's resistless powers ;
Resistless, save at Bhurtpore's stubborn walls,
Where valour bleeds in vain, and all but honour falls.
The vagrant Holcar's predatory crew
He could but perseveringly pursue ;
By day and night, with never-tiring pace,
He urged incessantly the goading race.
But ere these wars are finally composed
In peace, great Wellesley is from power deposed.
A falcon, tow'ring in his pride of place,
By mousing owls was hawk'd into disgrace !
To merchants' grovelling eyes he seems t' abuse
His large authority by boundless views,
And vast gigantic projects, that deprive
Their trade of funds, by which it ought to thrive.

His sumptuous monument of Attic taste
 By them was deem'd intolerable waste ;
 His acts tyrannical, his Satrap pride
 Pass'd unreprieved ; his stern proscription wide
 Of British colonists was ratified.

Again CORNWALLIS was implored to save
 A sinking state, but came to find a grave.
 Fast by the margin of old Ganges' wave
 He sleeps as tranquilly as if his tomb
 Were shadow'd by Cathedral's solemn gloom.

Brief, dark, and evil, were cold BARLOW's days ;
 Nor do they yield a single theme for praise.
 Bewilder'd 'mid the fruits of Wellesley's fame,
 He dared to compromise the British name,
 And by repeated acts of tyranny
 Impell'd its army on to mutiny ;
 Prepared with arbitrary hand to quell
 The faintest murmur on his ear that fell,
 Till indignation, in short lapse of time,
 By steps successive ripen'd into crime.

Enough of Barlow :—let us next survey
 The noble MINTO's mild and placid sway.
 Him eloquence and varied learning grace,
 The tender heart, and kindness-beaming face ;
 He sought for merit with discerning eyes,
 And foster'd arts which caused himself to rise :
 The friend of Leyden stray'd in Fancy's bowers,
 And eager snatch'd her ever-blooming flowers.
 The even tenour of his peaceful reign
 Flows like a tranquil river, to the main ;
 And yet three islands, wrested from the foe,
 May tinge the patriot cheek with generous glow ;
 Three islands, bless'd with Nature's choicest care,
 And fragrant shrubs that scent the ambient air.

His veteran, laurell'd head, then MOIRA rears,
 And stately walks beneath a weight of years.
 Study and old experience combine
 To clear his judgment, and his mind refine ;
 While large professions and theatric show
 Had made the tide of expectation flow.
 The Goorkas, confident their hills among,
 Had worn our patience with redoubled wrong ;
 To scale their fastnesses, to pierce their screen
 Of tangled jungle, and of forest green,

Were labours worthy Ochterlony's power,
 Untried in fitting field till that late hour.
 The Goorka tamed, his means he next applied
 To break the secret bonds which held allied
 The fierce Mahratta, and the bandit swarm,
 That fill'd the plains with ravage and alarm ;
 Drenching the plunder'd villages with blood,
 And wrapping all in fire's consuming flood.
 These locust tribes, that Nature's face deform,
 Swept by the whirlwind of the vengeful storm,
 Cease to exist ; the wasted fields regain
 Their long lost culture, and are green again.
 Well had he closed his bright career, and met
 A fate mature, if *then* his sun had set
 'Mid clouds of glory, and a host that gaze
 With fond regret upon its crimson blaze.*
 The remnant of his days was full of pain
 From broken pledges, and a lengthen'd train
 Of debts which barr'd him from his native land,
 And sent to lay his bones in Malta's barren strand.

ADAM, with talents, nursed a bigot spite
 'Gainst every shape of freedom, and the right
 That by their birth to Englishmen belongs,
 T' avert, by law's strong shield, capricious wrongs.
 Succeeding rulers see his memory glare,
 An awful beacon, bidding them beware,
 Admonishing to dread, beyond the tomb,
 Avenging retribution's penal doom !

•The name of AMHERST *last* and *least* appears,
 Extorting indignation's bitter tears.
 With less than average share of sense,—a thing
 Worthy before Chinese its head to ring
 Thrice on the ground ; led ever by the nose ;
 Object of fear to friends, of hope to foes ;
 The fittest instrument that chance could place,
 T' exhibit power and station in disgrace ;
 Toss'd at the mercy of the wanton gale,
 And, helpless, driven wherc'er its gusts prevail.
 Arnot he banish'd ere a month was pass'd,
 And the rash act repented to the last :
 And yet stood calmly by while others, dress'd
 In brief authority, Gazettes suppress'd.

* ————— animam exhalasset opimam,
 Cum de Teutonico vellet descendere curru.

Before he look'd, he leap'd into a war,
The most inglorious and destructive far
Our history mentions ; not that we deplore
The Burmese fields incarnadined with gore,
But myriads sinking under fell disease,
And strewn like foliage from autumnal trees.
At last, when more than two long years are spent,
The wish'd-for answer to our prayers is sent :
Peace is attain'd ; the enemy a crore,
In compensation for fifteen, restore ;
And cede some leagues of flooded, saline plains,
Where pestilent miasma ever reigns.
When Ochterlony, prompt at honour's call,
Summon'd a leaguering host to Bhurtpore's wall,
Audacious usurpation to chastise,
And vindicate our name in India's eyes ;
Th' unstable Amherst, moved by dastard fear,
Quick interposed, and stopp'd his high career ;
With glozing sophistry belied his word,
And sheathed, with craven speed, the half-drawn sword.
A blot so foul, disaster so severe,
Soon laid the heart-struck hero on his bier :
Unscathed by hostile shot, or trenchant steel,
The mortal wound so mean a hand could deal.
Statues and pictures, attributes of fame,
Are often tokens of the donor's shame :
But not for Amherst did such incense rise ;
For him none forged the needful, monstrous lies :
No tribute of respect or love he bears,
To soothe, in life's decline, its anxious cares ;
'Tis joy, not grief, the public voice declares !

Calcutta, July 10, 1828.

M. B.

RECENT FRENCH SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITION TO EGYPT.

FINDING, in that excellent French Journal, *Le Globe*, a detailed account of the progress of the French Savans, recently sent on a scientific expedition to Egypt, in letters communicated to the Editor by one of its members, Mons. C. Lenormant, we feel that we shall be rendering an acceptable service to the readers of 'The Oriental Herald' by translating them for our pages; omitting the early part of the voyage, that we may commence with what strictly belongs to Egypt only, and launch with the writer at once upon the bosom of the Nile.

LETTER III.

Appearance of the Banks of the Nile—Arab Females—Ruins of Saïs—Cairo—Architecture of the Arabs.

The Nile, opposite Nadir, 18th of September, 1828.

'We left Alexandria on the 14th,' at noon; and at seven o'clock on the morning of the 15th, quitted the canal of Mahmoudie, the whole length of which we had traversed. This voyage offers very little interest to the traveller: no object presents itself but a continued line of sand banks on each side, beyond which nothing is visible but a barren desert, or those extensive marshes covered with saline efflorescence, to which is given the name of Mareotis, and lake Etko. At intervals, small mounds of sand mark the old Greek stations which bordered the ancient canal, the course of which was nearly the same as that of the new one; but the inhabitants have every where totally disappeared; and, for leagues, there are scarcely any traces of verdure to be seen; two or three palm trees, a few scattered huts and solitary human beings, being all that meet the eye. At this moment, the Nile being at its greatest height, fills the canal so as to make its navigation perfectly easy; but when its waters have completely retired, small boats alone are able to navigate where now the largest vessels float; and silence reigns throughout that vast tract, which is now a scene of bustle and animation.

'Such a country, in northern latitudes, would indeed be frightful. Such wretchedness, and such deprivations, could not be supported, accompanied by the miseries of cold and rain; but under this beautiful sky, nature incessantly effaces the ills of humanity, and repairs, by the mere force of its congenial influence, all the evils which arise from misery and improvidence. Thus nothing can prevent the poor *Fellah* from growing in all the vigour of a favoured race; from developing his faculties under the influence of a genial atmosphere; from opening his soul to the smiling impressions with which the very air seems to be impregnated; it is impossible that it should not form a poetic people, alive to the beauty of forms, to the power

of rhythm and sounds, and enjoying, in fact, that complete organisation which belongs only to the natives of the south. Even the villages, which are built of dried mud, assume, under I know not what secret influence, a noble and graceful aspect, and present the most striking reminiscences of the finest monuments of antiquity. The women, whose habits of labour do not in the slightest degree prevent their full developement, preserve, in the delicacy of their forms, and the just proportions of their limbs, a natural grace, which adds still more to the effect of their simple but striking garb. The poorest Arab girl, scarcely covered by a ragged blue chemise, would give lessons of grace, and, I might almost say, of coquetry, to the most beautiful *paysanne* of France.

‘A pretty Arab woman is the very ideal of an opera-dancer; possessing the same slim but exquisitely proportioned figure; delicate and well-shaped limbs; small and beautifully formed feet; and hands so delicate that the bracelets worn on the wrists will pass over them without being unclasped; with eyes like those of a gazelle, to which the black and penciled brows give at once softness and brilliancy. The poorer classes wear only a long blue chemise with a veil of the same colour, a corner of which they hold in their mouths whenever they pass one of the male sex, more particularly if he be a Frank. A large mask of black taffeta, which leaves no part of the countenance uncovered but the eyes and the forehead, is worn by the rich. Ear-rings, a profusion of neck-laces, composed of shells, or bits of glass, interspersed with amulets of silver or polished steel, bracelets equally numerous and varied, the blue tattooing of the chin, as well as the hands and part of the arms, and the black pencilling of the eyebrows, are the distinguishing characteristics of the dress of an Arab female, and which, in spite of their apparent singularity, form a strikingly original and graceful whole. It must be admitted, however, that this description is given in the most poetic point of view, and with the omission of many deteriorating facts, especially that of the revolting misery and filth which reigns throughout.

‘Our voyage continues to be very tedious, on account of the frequent changes of wind. The day before yesterday, the 16th, was one of great fatigue; we visited and examined the ruins of the ancient town of Saïs, exposed to all the ardour of an African sun. It is true, that there does not at present exist a single monument of it entire; but the wall of the Sacred Enclosure, which is almost all standing, and the remains of three necropolises, which are covered with fragments of marble, pottery, and Egyptian enamel, are sufficient to determine the site of the fourth city of Egypt under the Pharaohs, the name of which is preserved almost unaltered in that of the neighbouring village (Sa-el-Haggier, Saïs the Stoney). This great wall, which remains, is in itself a colossal monument; a kind of introduction to the impression produced by the great mass of the Pyramids. Picture to yourself an enclosure of 2,500 feet in length, and about 1,500 in width, formed by a wall of 80 feet in height, and

40 in thickness ; and in the midst of this enclosure a heap of ruined buildings, a labyrinth of delapidated rooms ; and all this, walls and necropolis, built of unburnt bricks, mixed with straw, without the slightest appearance of their ever having been baked ; so that the spectator scarcely knows whether to be more astonished at the immensity of such enterprises, or at the preservation of masses apparently so easy of destruction, and so ready to confound themselves with the surrounding earth. Besides this, a large sarcophagus, of green basalt, in two pieces, is the only monument of any importance which we met with in this excursion. We were also much pleased at the discovery of a little figure in enamel, almost microscopic, representing the principal goddess of Saïs, which is another proof of the accuracy of the position assigned to that city.

‘Cairo, 26th September, 1828.

‘You will perhaps be astonished at the interval which has elapsed between the date of this and my last letter ; but one cannot visit Cairo with impunity. There is in this great metropolis of the East something so bewildering, that for some days you scarcely know where you are or what you are doing. Obligated to confine my stay in this town to the shortest possible limits, I am overwhelmed with visiting mosques, and learning the names of Caliphs and Mamelukes. Added to this, we arrived during the celebration of one of the principal feasts of Islamism, and two days at least were requisite to celebrate the birth of the Prophet, by illuminations, dances, &c. ; the people throwing themselves into the most extravagant attitudes, some placing themselves under the feet of horses, others tearing serpents between their teeth, and, in fact, all the tricks which have been so frequently related by travellers, and which at first sight produce on the imagination of the beholder a singular impression of horror and disgust.

‘We arrived at Boulac on the evening of the 19th ; it is a very considerable town on the Nile, with many important establishments, and may be considered as the port of Cairo, from which it is distant about half a league. From the morning of the same day, we had perceived, at the distance of about eight leagues, the summits of the Pyramids, appearing majestically above clouds of brilliant vapours. As we approached Cairo, these beautiful and enormous monuments seemed advancing to meet us, so that, seen at three in the afternoon, it almost appeared as though we could have touched them. At the present moment, we have before us the village of Embabah, which is seated in the midst of palm trees and sycamores, and where the battle of the Pyramids began,—to the left Choubia, the country residence of the Pasha—before us the Mokatan—and below it the citadel, and the most elevated buildings of Cairo ; and the Pyramids, forming a back ground to the landscape, complete the most magnificent spectacle that the imagination can conceive. As far as Boulac, every change which took place in this picture only added still more to its beauty, until the minarets of Cairo were hidden behind the factiti-

ous vapour which overhangs the city, and the eye could no longer perceive any thing but the white walls of the long custom-house of Boulac, and the roof of the deserted palace of Ismael Pacha.

‘It was an arduous task to land all our luggage, and establish ourselves in a house, which, literally speaking, had only the four outside walls; and we, therefore, decided on not proceeding to Cairo until the evening of the following day. I undertook, on the morning of the 20th, to go and procure lodgings, and was, therefore, the first of our party to enter this second Babylon. The heat was on that day excessive, and feeling the ardent rays of the sun falling powerfully on my head, the sufferings of Roger, on visiting my *logistile*, forcibly occurred to my recollection. Although, from the surrounding objects, I might rather have been induced to believe I was approaching the palace of Aleine. The festival which the inhabitants were then celebrating gave to this once so flourishing city some portion of its former splendour; the beauty of the costumes, the brilliancy of the streamers, the joyous shouts of the populace, joined to the magnificence of the monuments, and the freshness of the surrounding vegetation, gave to the square of Esbekie, and the beautiful sheet of water which covers it at this season, an aspect worthy of the Thousand and One Nights. The intensity of the heat did not at all prevent the people from giving themselves up to their amusements, with an ardour and impetuosity which rarely tempers the habitual gravity of the Orientals. Rather borne along by the multitude than walking, my donkey and I traversed that part of the town in which the festival was held, to be engulfed in the sinuous windings of those narrow streets which give to Cairo the appearance of a labyrinth. Gradually the crowd diminished, and calm reigned throughout these dark avenues; and when, after having traversed five or six alleys, I found myself opposite the house which was to be appropriated to our use, I might have fancied myself in the solitudes of the Thebiades.

‘This contrast is met with in this city at every step. In the bazaars and mercantile streets the greatest precaution is requisite; and it is impossible to move but at the risk of being overturned by a dromedary, or cutting one’s knees against the sharp iron of the stirrups. The houses, which are principally built of beautiful freestone, are often of an enormous height; and as the streets are so narrow that they almost meet at the top, added to which, the inhabitants almost invariably hang mats across, the sun never penetrates into these depths, where the most refreshing coolness is enjoyed. No town, perhaps, was ever decorated with so much magnificence as Cairo, under its national sovereigns; the taste exhibited in the buildings is as good and remarkable, in every respect, as that of any other people fond of the arts. This country can only be properly judged by entering fully into the peculiar ideas to which it owes its developement. I feel all my incompetency to such a task; almost entirely ignorant of the Oriental languages, and, from

the peculiar nature of my studies, a complete stranger to the history and philosophy of these countries, I can only judge of what I see from appearances ; which, however, leave a very different impression on my mind from that which I had collected from books. As regards the monuments, I am quite in my element ; they abound throughout the city, and are of the very best kind. I have, for the first time, been able to appreciate justly the works of the Arabs, in the highest period of their glory, and the rank which they ought to hold in the history of the arts ; and my astonishment has indeed been great. That which belongs to the second and third ages of the Hejira struck me particularly, from its character of grandeur and simplicity, of which nothing that we have ever been accustomed to consider as models of Arabian architecture can furnish the slightest idea. It seems as if the vicinity of the sublime monuments of Egypt had inspired their artists ; it is at least certain, that at the time in which the mosque of Touloucca and the Gate of Victory, the two finest edifices of Cairo, were built, the splendid monuments of Memphis still existed entire. Be this as it may, however, it furnishes matter for numerous reflections, which I hasten to gather, alarmed at the impatience of my friend Champollion to quit this town, where I should require to pass months to solve all the doubts which have arisen in my mind. The most important, however, I am happy to say, no longer exists ; I now know, beyond a doubt, that the simple ogive used in our great gothic edifices, if it does not belong to the Arabs, was at least known and employed by them at the end of the ninth century ; the most magnificent example of which was afforded me in the mosque of Touloucca, of which I have before spoken.

‘ I should never conclude, were I to convey to you all the reflections with which this beautiful city has inspired me : it would be necessary for me to transport you with me into every spot, to make you follow me at every step, and contemplate, from the height of the citadel, that wonderful scene in which the savage and melancholy beauty of the desert appears to struggle for pre-eminence with the charms of the most glowing landscape in the valley of the Nile ; and where the hand of man seems, in erecting the stupendous fabrics of the Pyramids, to have vanquished both the desert and the valley.

‘ Sakhara, 6th October.

‘ We quitted Cairo, to my great regret, on the evening of the 30th of September, with an excellent wind, and the finest weather imaginable. I have already described to you the beautiful appearance of the banks of the Nile, at Boulac and near Cairo ; and the early part of our voyage by no means tended to weaken this impression. For the distance of a league from Boulac, the number of gardens and pleasure houses, and the beauty of the palm trees and sycamores increased at every step, until at last every thing seemed united to adorn one of the gems of Egypt, the island of Rhoda, almost as celebrated as those of Philœ and Elephanta. It is here

that the famous Nilometer is to be seen : want of time prevented our visiting it then, but on our return nothing will, I hope, occur to prevent my doing so. This Nilometer, or *Mekias*, as it is now called, is situated at the southern point of the island ; and beyond it is the town of Old Cairo, which is much more agreeable in appearance than in reality. The river here begins to be rather broader. On the left, nothing is visible but a low bank, until the pointed heights of the Lybian chain burst almost suddenly on the view. To the right extend long forests of palm trees ; behind, and on the same side, are the Pyramids of Ghizel ; and before, as far as the eye can reach, those of Sakhara and Dashour. Between these two extreme points, lies the immense and populous Memphis. Six years ago, its principal monuments were still in existence ; but now, nothing remains but a few shapeless ruins and tombs.

‘ We anchored in the evening at Maasara, on the left side of the river. From the information collected at Cairo, we determined on visiting the quarries from which Memphis and the Pyramids were built, and which, we had been assured, were filled with inscriptions, and monuments cut in the rock. Our attempt was perfectly successful. On the morning of the 2d of October, we commenced our expedition, directing our course across a desert plain, towards the perforated sides of Gebel-Towrah, where our first discovery was that of an inscription, really valuable, from proving that the temples of Memphis were undergoing *repair* as far back as 1900 years before Christ. In order to embrace as much as possible in so hurried a visit, we dispersed ourselves in pairs over an extent of nearly a league. A French artist, established at Cairo, and more than half an Arab, came with his dromedaries, and shared with us the fatigues of this extraordinary day.

‘ On the 5th, we crossed over to the right bank of the river, to the spot which, from the accurately determined site of Memphis, has for the last thirty years attracted so many travellers and antiquarians. Now a long forest of palm-trees, interspersed with villages which are only apparent at a short distance, occupies almost the whole extent of this once magnificent city. Pursuing our course under these palm-trees, we found the ground covered with fragments of granite, basalt, and sculptured stones. Near a village named Mit-Rainè, we discovered, extended on the ground, a statue of the great Sesostris, thirty feet high, composed of one single block, and exquisitely sculptured. I confess that I experienced a feeling of sympathy for the usage of this conqueror in its present fallen state ; and I felt still more moved when I learned that the Tuscans, to whom it belongs, had formed the project of cutting off its head, despairing of being able to carry away so colossal a mass entire. After two days of research and exploring at Mit-Rainè, we discovered an inscription of some importance ; and on the evening of the 4th, we reached Sakhara, where some of our party had preceded us, to get our tents pitched.

‘To our left, and almost immediately over our heads, rises the largest of the Pyramids of Sakhara, which are very inferior to those of Ghizeh, but appear to me to be of more ancient date. I yesterday ascended this massive pile, of four stages, composed of enormous square stones, which, according to the chronology of Manètho, which has lately been so often confirmed, must have existed at least 7000 years. From its summit, I counted, within the extent of the Lybian Chain, parallel to Memphis, as many as nineteen pyramids, from the two large ones of Ghizeh to the shapeless mounds which mark the site of those that have been destroyed. It can no longer be doubted that all these monuments were anterior to the use of writing; the long corridors and numerous apartments with which they are filled, do not bear the slightest trace of it. They are, then, the most ancient monuments in the world: the remains of the Tower of Belus, at least, can alone dispute this distinction with them.

‘Cairo, 10th October.

‘I have profited by a day devoted entirely to the labour of the artists, to revisit once more this gem of the East. You left me last at the foot of the Pyramids of Sakhara, contemplating at a distance across the yellow horizon of the desert the imposing summits of those of Ghizeh, and really sensibly affected at the distant aspect of these enormous monuments of human vanity. We left Sakhara on the 8th, at sun-rise. At this season of the year, the plain is completely covered by the overflowing of the Nile, which makes the route from Sakhara to the Pyramids long and tedious. We had to follow with unshaken perseverance, for more than four hours, the long windings and monotonous undulations of the desert. This route, which describes the circle of which the ancient Memphis was the centre, measures exactly the extent of the Mesuphian Necropolis, which was terminated on the north by a gigantic group of pyramids.

‘It is not far from the four beautiful sycamores planted in the midst of the desert, at the foot of the Pyramids, that the calcareous rock raises its naked crests, amongst which is found the famous Sphynx, which has shared the reputation if not the antiquity of the pyramids. This monument, which has given rise to so many conjectures, is nothing more than a kind of testimonial of the deep excavations made all around it, the stones of which must have resembled those hewn from the immense quarries of Mokatam. The head, which is unfortunately much injured, is a portrait of king Thoutmosis XVIII. who lived about 1700 years before Christ. This head, which preserves deep traces of a red colour, and which has therefore been thought by many travellers to be of granite, is, with a part of the neck, all that rises above the sand. It is not very long, however, since a man named Caviglia caused entrenchments to be made around it, and discovered between the legs a large monolith with four lions, and an inscription bearing the date above.

This Caviglia sold one of the lions to the English, and recovered the remainder; but the fact is not the less established, and causes all uncertainty to vanish with regard to a colossus by the side of which the Neptune of Jean de Boulogne is but a small figure.

'In placing yourself opposite the Sphynx, the grandeur of the scene which presents itself cannot possibly be conveyed to the imagination by description; in one single glance you embrace the large pyramid, entirely divested of its ornaments, and in a very ruined state; the second, which scarcely yields to it in size; and the third, which, by the side of its two superiors is really Lilliputian; and all around, a crowd of smaller pyramids, remains of the various other kinds of edifices, doors of tombs sculptured in the rock, and indeed all the still magical remains of one of the grandest spectacles that human imagination could ever have conceived.

'It is almost impossible, in traversing the sinuous windings of these long corridors, which seem constructed for a race of giants, to conceive that their only object is to lead to a tomb.'

SONG.—A WEE DRAPPIE O'T.

BY HENRY SCOTT, A YOUNG SCOTTISH POET.

AIR—'O sair was my heart when I parted wi' my Jean.'

Now the sweetness o' Simmer is faded and past,
 And grim Winter whistles wild in the war o' the blast;
 Yet sae happy here 's we'll be in our low hamely cot,
 And rejoice 'neath the storm o'er a wee drappie o't.
 Should Misfortune's grim visage ever stare at your door,
 Oh, be patient, for soon soon this world's faught is o'er;
 And we'll struggle wi' its cares, aye contented wi' our lot,
 And rejoice 'neath life's storms o'er a wee drappie o't.
 Awa! thou dark demon o' sorrow and care,
 Flee far wi' your gaunt train o' howling despair;
 For gin you daur come here we will plunge ye in the pot,
 And rejoice o'er your fa' wi' a wee drappie o't.
 Then let's pledge to the land o' the free and the brave,
 The wild land o' heather o' the rock and the wave,
 Let us pledge the cause o' freedom for which our fathers fought!—
 So here's to their mem'ry wi' a wee drappie o't.
 To the cheerers o' life next we'll empty the bowl—
 Oh, we'll pledge them wi' heart, and wi' hand, and wi' soul,
 For how dismal would the gloom be, how hard wad be our lot,
 An' it warena for the dearies and a wee drappie o't!
 Oh, few, few and short are the joys that we know
 Thro' this dark dreary pilgrimage o' sorrow and woe;
 Yet there's still some sunny gleams to illume the lonely cot—
 Oh, there's friendship, there's love, and a wee drappie o't!

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR OF MR. JOHN FOWLER HULL.*

'Quamquam sic amasti viventem, ut hæc audire potius, quam de illo sileri velis : a me præsertim, cujus prædicatione putas vitam ejus ornari, memoriam prorogari, ipsamque illam, qua est raptus, ætatem posse restitui.'—*Plinius Coloni.*

A REMARKABLE instance of the success of unremitted perseverance in the acquirement of knowledge, may be adduced in the subject of this memoir. It is not, however, meant to be insinuated that he possessed no original talent : all that is intended is, that those who had watched the first dawn and exercise of his intellectual faculties, and who had the care of his education, never discovered that he was gifted by nature with those superior powers of mind which are generally thought to constitute genius ; if, indeed, they are satisfied, on the retrospect, to allow him much more than is implied by mediocrity. His vast attainments, then, considering the comparatively short period of his life, in classical and Oriental literature and general science, must be considered an apt and striking illustration of the maxim held by several philosophers and metaphysicians, and by Horace :

'Doctrina sed vim promovet insitam,
Rectique cultus pectora roborant.'

It is to be regretted that our readers have no means of judging for themselves concerning the correctness of this assertion, from the circumstance of the individual in question having left no literary productions behind him as the voucher of its reasonableness or truth : he seems, indeed, in this respect, to have totally neglected the suggestion of one of his favourite authors, and which now appears to have been particularly applicable to himself : "quatenus nobis denegatur diu vivere, relinquamus aliquid quo nos vixisse testemur."

As it is, they will have to rely on the statements of the writer, who was long in habits of intimacy with him, so close indeed, at one time of life (to which he often looks back with a feeling of the deepest satisfaction), that he may adopt the impassioned language used by a late eminent scholar on a similar occasion : "If not the same cradle, yet we had from early life one and the same heart, one and the same soul !"

Mr John Fowler Hull was born at Uxbridge, in 1801, of respectable parents, of the Society of Friends ; his father, the late Samuel Hull, Esq. being a substantial miller and banker of that place. He was the youngest of four children ; and in 1807 was sent to Epping school, a highly respectable establishment for youth

* The Oriental interest attached to this Memoir, has induced us to transplant it from the pages of the Classical Journal in which it first appeared.

of the same religious persuasion, conducted by Mr Isaac Payne. Here he was not, *at first*, distinguished by any particular love for learning above other boys, nor on the whole for any superior quickness in the performance of his daily tasks. There was, however, something about him, a sort of determined perseverance in every thing he undertook, which frequently gained him the approbation of his tutors, and the notice of the master. His disposition was unassuming and amiable, and he consequently soon became the object of favourable attention among his school-fellows. After he had been with Mr Payne four or five years, he grew more and more studious; a propensity to which, at last, he yielded so intensely, that he has been known to rise at three and four o'clock in the morning, for months together, for the purpose of pursuing his studies; and his habit was, to continue them day after day with unremitted assiduity till the evening, allowing himself hardly any time for proper relaxation. He was sometimes obliged to be forced by his school-fellows from his desk (which he bore with much good-humour), when directed by the master to take that quantity of exercise which was thought absolutely necessary to preserve his health; and as this never seemed to suffer from such close application, it is pretty evident that he was originally blessed with a constitution not easily shaken.

By the time he was turned of thirteen years of age, beside the different branches of a plain English education, he had become well versed in the French and Latin languages; and was able, by means of a French teacher who lodged in the house, to speak the former with great fluency; and he read daily considerable portions of Horace, Cicero, Livy, and Tacitus. He now commenced the study of the Greek tongue, which he pursued *con amore*, and with such ardour, that he began in a very short time to read the Greek Testament and Homer; in the course of a twelvemonth, Herodotus and Thucydides; and very soon after, the Greek Tragedians, in which he luxuriated. His chief favourite was Æschylus. Under the able classical teachers which Mr P. then employed, he progressed very rapidly towards a profound acquaintance with the Greek and Roman classics; and one tutor in particular, under whose instructions he professed to have profited most, has been known to remark that much older pupils in some of the best grammar-schools in the kingdom fell far short of Mr Hull in the quantity read at a lesson, as well as in the ease, correctness, and spirit, with which it was construed.

But it was not the unvaried routine of Greek and Latin translation that alone employed the subject of our memoir during this stage of his continuance at Epping School. To relieve the tedium of uniformity, and to give himself a readiness in the composition of Latin, he occasionally spent a few hours beyond those usually employed in Latin prose exercises, in composing original poetry after the man-

ner of Horace, or in translating some of our most admired English odes, &c. into Latin hexameters. There was one version of his in particular, which, when it was considered that it proceeded from a lad hardly fourteen years of age, attracted at the time no ordinary notice and commendation. It was "Warton's Ode to Fancy;" some passages of which we shall here extract with the corresponding translation. It may be proper to remark, that the general spirit of this performance, though not equal in all its parts, and a few of the original images have been omitted, manifests a considerable intimacy with the manner of Virgilian poesy :

Now let us louder strike the lyre,
For my heart glows with martial fire;
I feel, I feel, with sudden heat,
My big tumultuous bosom beat;
The trumpet's clangours pierce mine ear,
A thousand widows' shrieks I hear:
Give me another horse, I cry;
Lo! the base Gallic squadrons fly, &c.

Janque mihi pectus ferventi fluctuat æstu;
Protinus, exclamo, quæramus prælia dira;
Æris cornu clangor perfertur ad aures,
Horrendi et viduæ plangores æthera tundunt.
Quadrupedum, properi juvenes, alium, laud mora, ferte!
Gallica fœda caterva fugam capit ocyus Euro!

O queen of numbers, once again
Animate some chosen swain;
Who, filled with unexhausted fire,
May boldly strike the sounding lyre,
May rise above the rhyming throng,
And with some new unequal'd song,
O'er all our list'ning passions reign,
• O'erwhelm our souls with joy and pain, &c.

Pectora, nympha, iterum tu vatis casta moveto
Delecti; sacrae qui musæ concitus æstro
Nunquam frigenti, possit componere chordis
Blandisonos numeros, illustres vincere vates
Carmine qui possit culto, qui dirigat omnes
Affectus, &c.

The conversation of Mr H. while at school, was not of that cast which characterises the generality of boys at that age. It was commonly on plans and resolutions for future advancement in learning—on the beauties of one author, and the style of another; evidently showing that his mind was fully bent on the acquisition of what his ardent imagination prompted—to rival, if possible, the excellent Sir Wm. Jones, whom he would sometimes jokingly term his prototype—without entertaining at the time, it is believed, any idea that he should ever have it in his power to pursue his darling schemes so far as to realise in part, if not altogether, such an expectation,

had it been formed and dwelt on. His manners at this period were remarkable for diffidence, frankness, and good-nature.

What contributed in some measure, probably, to keep alive that desire for knowledge, which had been so visibly kindled in him, was, that his father, kindly disposed to let his son enjoy every advantage while at school, gave general directions that he should be furnished with whatever books he might wish for. It was his intention, however, to call off the attention of his son, as soon as he left school, from books to business, which happened in the year 1816.

Though, on his quitting Epping, Mr H. was, of course, compelled to submit to the directions of his friends as to his future mode of life, yet it is well known he did not entirely bid adieu to the enchantments of literature and science. All the leisure time he could command was at first devoted to the acquirement of Hebrew and Italian—to the reading of Locke and other metaphysicians—and to an insight into several branches of natural philosophy, astronomy, &c. &c. He would doubtless have preferred attending solely to these pursuits without any regard to business whatever; but this, under existing circumstances, could not be recommended: it is remarkable, however, that his duty and his inclination had not long to contend on this point. Not much more than a year after he had been at home, he had to mourn the loss of his eldest brother and sister by death, and soon after that of his excellent and affectionate father.

By these unexpected events, Mr. Hull came into the possession of very considerable property, sufficient to induce him to give up all ideas of trade, and to devote his whole time to his favourite studies. He accordingly fitted up a convenient room in his house as a library, for the reception of the most standard works in classical literature, together with those written in most of the languages of Europe, as well as of Asia; and in prosecution of this object he spared no reasonable expense.

Some time in the year 1818, he entered on the study of the Eastern languages; and for this purpose repaired to Hertford, to take lessons of the professors at the Oriental College established there. Here he made great progress; and did not leave that place until he had obtained so thorough an insight into the different dialects of the East, as to enable him to pursue them alone.

Not long after his final return from Hertford College, the biographer visited him at Uxbridge, where he found him so very ardent in the acquisition of Arabic, Persian, Sanscrit, and Chinese, that he seemed to think every moment ill spent that could not be applied, in one way or another, to this primary object; insomuch that what is recorded of the elder Pliny may very emphatically be said of him:—*perire omne tempus arbitrabatur, quod studiis non imper-*

tiretur.' By way of change, however, he found opportunities of enlarging his acquaintance with Hebrew, as an auxiliary; and of perusing the best Greek authors, as Aristotle, Plato, Pindar, &c.; the last two being particularly regarded by him. The writer remembers Mr. H. mentioning to him, at this time, his opinion of the style of the first of them, which, though remarkably coincident with that of Gray in his Letters,* was not, it is believed, borrowed from it, but given as his own honest judgment, formed solely from having attentively read some parts of that abstruse philosopher.

Besides the languages already mentioned, he now found time to look into several European, and made considerable advancement in German, Spanish, Russian, and Portuguese; a knowledge of the first of which he thought would, with his already acquired proficiency in French and Italian, enable him to travel more pleasantly; and that a continental tour might improve him in all. Accordingly, after some preliminary arrangements, he, in company with a relative, embarked for France; through which he passed on to some of the German districts, getting all the information he could on the journey, respecting the language and manners of the inhabitants, and greatly enjoying the scenery of the different countries. From Germany he proceeded, accompanied by his friend, to the mountains of Switzerland, and then to the north of Italy. The mountainous prospects of Switzerland particularly attracted his notice; being, as he used to observe, the best representations he had ever witnessed of the abstract ideas he had formed of extreme grandeur and sublimity. From the south of France he returned with his companion to Paris, who left him there, and proceeded to England. The French metropolis Mr. Hull found so well adapted for his object—that of gaining a competent knowledge of several tongues in which he did not yet consider himself a proficient—that he made a tarry in that city of some months; during which time he had uninterrupted access to all parts of the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, and introductions to Mons. Gail, and several other classical and oriental scholars of France. At his lodgings, while here, he was in the habit of daily receiving, for a few hours respectively, the best professors that could be found of Arabic, Italian, German, and some other languages.

From the middle of the year 1820 till the latter end of 1822, his time was pretty equally divided between Paris and Uxbridge: he

* 'He has a dry conciseness that makes one imagine one is perusing a table of contents, rather than a book.' Gray's Letters, sect. 4. Let. 3. 'The account Mr. Gray there gives of Aristotle's writings,' says Twining, 'though it is written with the sportive pleasantry of a familiar letter, is extremely just; except, perhaps, in one observation:—it seems hardly fair to conclude that Aristotle 'lost himself,' wherever his readers are now at a loss to find his meaning.'

would sometimes be at home for a few months, and then return to the French capital. During this period, he contrived to get together, at great expense, a number of rare and valuable oriental books and manuscripts. About this time also, he did not neglect to extend his stock of languages, whenever an opportunity presented of obtaining instruction from a native. He had already perused the grammar, and made some advances in the Dutch, modern Greek, Swedish, Icelandic, Turkish, and the dialects of Hindostanee and Bengalee.

In the spring of the year 1821, Mr. Hull was at home ; and from a Latin correspondence with him about that time, it appears that though so young, he was not only familiar with the writings of our best classical scholars who flourished in times gone by, but that he was well acquainted with, and willing to do justice to, some of the most erudite of the present age. He thus addresses the writer in a letter, dated Kalend. Maii, 1821. ‘*Præter eos vero quos in epistola tua commemorasti tibi literarum invicem Latine scribendarum auctoras, habes et in præsentî tempore viros ἀρετῆς μὲν κορυφαῖς ἀρετῶν ἀπὸ πάντων, totiusque Angliæ eruditissimos ; inter quos enumerari libet P. Elmsleium, H. Barkerum, necnon et omnis Minervæ hominem, S. Parrium.*’

On the return of Mr. H. from Paris, in the autumn of the year 1822, he brought with him, for the purpose of contracting a readiness at conversing in Arabic and other Eastern tongues, an Egyptian of some eminence. This person was born at Grand Cairo, and, if the writer mistakes not, had once been in the office of Oriental Interpreter at the court of Napoleon. He continued with Mr. H. in England for some months ; and then returned to the continent, much gratified with his visit, never having been in this country before.

In the summer of 1823, the subject of our memoir formed a resolution of visiting India. This had been a matter of contemplation with him, more or less, for some time past ; but now, though somewhat in opposition to the wishes of some of his friends, he came to a final determination on it. His principal aim in such an undertaking was, to perfect himself in most of those Oriental tongues and dialects of which he had already gained a considerable knowledge in Europe ; and, in order to do this, as he thought, the more effectually, and as much as possible to avoid sailing, to which he had an aversion, he determined on an overland journey through Egypt. Accordingly, in the beginning of October of the same year, he departed, in company with an officer in the East India service, travelling through France towards the Mediterranean, there to embark for the African coast ; whither he arrived with some difficulty, and where he was taken ill, or met with some accident. He gradually recovered, however, and pursued his way down the Red Sea to Mocha. He thence embarked for Bombay, and arrived there in a recovered state of health.

What were his first movements immediately after landing in India the memorialist has no documents to show; and perhaps it may be unnecessary to give more than the substance of his proceedings and manner of living within a few months of his death. From a letter, dated January, 1826, received from a gentleman who had been applied to respecting some tidings of Mr. Hull, the following extracts not only give an interesting account of what he was doing at the time mentioned, but afford some probably well-founded conjectures as to his then future prospects. 'His (Mr. H.'s) last letter is dated from Darwar, in the interior of Hindostan, between Bombay and Madras, on the 3rd of July, 1825. At this place he appears to have been more than a month at the date of his letter, the greater part of which time he had passed at the residence of two of his Indian acquaintance; but had then transferred his place of abode to the interior of two tents, the one used for sleeping in, the other for study and meals. His habits are regular; he rises in the morning at six, rides till eight, then dresses, and breakfasts at nine. He then meets two gentlemen, one or both civil servants of the Company, to make experiments in chemistry, and for the construction of Galvanic batteries, &c. At twelve, he studies Sanscrit; at four his pundit arrives, and remains till six. He then walks, dines at seven, and closes the day by retiring at nine. This is his daily routine, and thus he appears to be employing his time agreeably to himself. I think that Indian literature has lost some of its charms in his view, although his correspondence evinces nothing of dissatisfaction in the prosecution of his journey, but quite the reverse. At Darwar he has four writers employed in copying manuscripts. With respect to his future plans, I know but little; as they must ever be subject to alteration, as circumstances point out one course as more desirable than another. After visiting the country to the south of Darwar, I imagine he will go to Madras; thence to Calcutta; perhaps to Canton and back; and, after an excursion into the interior towards Agra and Delhi, return to England, either by sea or through Persia.'

But the plans here mentioned, if they had ever been under the consideration of Mr. H., were soon to be unhappily frustrated. On his leaving Darwar for a southerly direction, (whether for the purpose of seeing more of that part of the country, or of proceeding to some port in the south to embark for England, it is not certain,) on his arrival at the village of Sigaum, about forty miles from Darwar, he was taken alarmingly ill with a fever incident to the climate, which increased so rapidly on him as to terminate his existence before medical aid could arrive, on the 18th of December, 1825, in the twenty-fifth year of his age.

From his journal and other documents now in the possession of his friends, it appears that his death in these distant regions was not altogether unexpected by him; and there is reason to appre-

hend that his mind had been under a religious and resigned state some time previous to this very afflictive occurrence.

His library was left by will to different individuals ; some portions of it to his friends and relations ; but the Oriental department to the trustees of the British Museum, by whom it is highly and deservedly appreciated. This consists of rather more than one hundred and twenty manuscripts, and about six hundred volumes of printed books, many of both of which are of great curiosity. The manuscript collection is very rich in Persian poetry, and some of the manuscripts illuminated in the best oriental style. Beside Persian, there are many other MSS. in the collection in the Sanscrit, Chinese, Arabic, and Hindostanee languages ; and one containing the *Sha Nameh* is particularly valued.

The various languages with which Mr. Hull was more or less acquainted, the writer is enabled, from a list in the hand-writing of his friend, to class pretty nearly according to the order and proficiency in which they were learnt :

English, French, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Persian, Arabic, Sanscrit, Chinese. Spanish, Portuguese, German, Dutch, Modern Greek, Hindostanee, Bengalee, Russian, Syriac, Chaldee, Swedish, Icelandic, Turkish, Mid. Arabic, Malayan, Ethiopic, Coptic, Samaritan, Gaelic, Anglo-Saxon.

The memory of Mr. H. must of course have become very retentive, and his mind very assimilating, to prevent any intermixture or confusion of the words and idioms of one language with those of another ; and perhaps a better instance than himself cannot be adduced to exhibit the improvement the memory is capable of from constant application and exercise. He has often, in mentioning this circumstance to the biographer, contrasted the strength of his memory at a later period with what it was when at school ; being fully of the opinion entertained by some eminent men, among whom we may reckon Sir Wm. Jones and Sir Isaac Newton, that the memory and some other faculties of the mind may be enlarged and improved to an extent far beyond what is generally thought possible.

But however great his attainments in learning were, they were equalled, if not excelled, by a uniformly kind, amiable, and unassuming disposition, perhaps never surpassed by any other individual. His company was enlivening by a ready and playful wit. His generosity was unlimited ; and, being in the enjoyment of a considerable income, he was able to dispense his bounty with a liberal hand. Few applications were ever made to him on behalf of the indigent, the unfortunate, or the deserving, without success. The poor in his neighbourhood have cause long to remember him, while many charitable institutions have not escaped his notice and liberality : finally, it may said of him in the language of a Grecian bard—

Ἐπειὸς ὅσα χάματα ἄλλοις ἔθηκεν, τίς δύ' ἀνθρώποις δύναιτο.

T. G.

THE TRADE OF RUSSIA WITH CHINA.

(Written in 1823, by M. Klaproth.)

NINETY-THREE years after Diaz had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and eighty-eight after the discovery of America by Columbus, some revolted Cossacks passed the heights of Oural, and achieved at once the discovery and conquest of Siberia. They afterwards placed themselves and their tributary under the government of the Czar; and so speedily did Russia pursue the enterprizes she had undertaken, that, in little more than sixty years, the immense extent of country confined between the banks of the Oby and the Amour, and as far as the territory of the Mandchous, was subdued to the Muscovite sway. One hundred and sixty-six years after the discovery of Siberia, Peter the Great had reduced the whole of northern Asia to his authority. Under his successors, even the ocean could not impose bounds, on the East, to the Russian power; and it now extends over a considerable portion of the coast of North America, so that the Republic of the United States has on that side become neighbour to the Slavonic conquerors. The cantons of Siberia, which first fell into the power of the Russians, attracted the attention of their new masters, by the abundance of copper and other useful metals. But the further from the Oural the fewer are the mines; for they are to be found nowhere else except in the northern branches of the Altai, and in the mountains of Daouria. On the other hand, the quantity of valuable furs was continually increasing. Old Russia was at this period exhausted of fine furs, the use of which in Europe was much more general and customary than it is now. In those days, the produce of the chase in Siberia was so abundant, that in Moscow an alarm was soon excited lest the immense quantity of skins that arrived should lower the price, and be injurious to commerce, because this branch of trade is easily spoiled, and cannot long continue to flourish unless the demand exceed the supply.

The Russians who first went into Siberia, obtained, about the beginning of the 18th century, by means of the Kaluzhiks and other tribes living near the Chinese frontier, some knowledge of the powerful and rich empire of the Kitai. The valuable merchandise which came from thence engaged their attention, and made them wish to form more intimate communications with that state, particularly in respect to commerce, because of the prospective advantage of finding an outlet for the surplus of their furs.

The governors of Siberia, who enjoyed the privilege of sending ambassadors in the name of the Czar, to the different Asiatic nations which bordered upon Russia, frequently endeavoured to obtain a passage for embassies to China, through the territory of the Kal-

mucks Dzoungars. For a long period, their attempts were fruitless: at length, in 1654, the first Russian Plenipotentiary arrived in Pekin. From this time, commerce, direct and indirect, between Siberia and China, rapidly increased.

China had just been conquered by the Mandchous, who, quite novices in Chinese policy, had no notion of driving foreigners from their frontier, and fettering commerce. Sanguinary wars with the Kalmucks Dzoungars, had so drained and impoverished the Mongols Khalkha, who lived next the Siberian frontier, that the Court of Pekin was gratified by their being relieved, and in some measure enriched, by Russian commerce. At that time the Mongols were still independent, and rather tributary than subject to the Mandchous. The consequence of all these circumstances was, that China placed no interruption to this rising commerce.

But very soon another event threatened it with entire destruction. The Russians, who had long established a firm footing in the cantons washed by the higher Amour, endeavoured to extend their conquests still further along that river, and to navigate it to its mouth. The chief incitement to this project was the abundance of the choicest furs that inhabited the wood and mountains bordering the northern branches of the Amour. But, while thus advancing eastward, they did not reflect that they were invading the very heart of the Mandchous; for those conquerors of China are aborigines of the banks of the Amour, and to drive them thence, was therefore to banish them from their native country. Consequently, in 1682, a war broke out between Russia and China, which continued six years; and, in the end, the first of those Powers was obliged to relinquish her conquests on the Amour. But she was amply compensated for this sacrifice, by the treaty of peace and of boundaries concluded at Nerchinsk, by which the subjects of the two empires, being furnished with the necessary passports, were authorised to pass from one territory into the other, and carry on commerce. Furs were sent in great numbers from Siberia into China and Mongolia, and formed the chief article of Russian export. In return, bars of silver and Chinese products, such as silk and cotton tissues, and tea, were sent to Siberia; in which country the use of tea soon became so general, that it was an article of prime necessity among all classes.

From year to year this commerce increased in importance; and the friendly relations of the two countries were promoted by mutual embassies. The Russian merchants and their caravans used to go to the Ourga, the principal encampment of the Koutouktou, in the country of the Khalkha, and thence directly to Pekin. But the disorderly conduct of certain individuals soon interposed difficulties. The complaints of the Court of Pekin became every day more numerous and urgent; and, as complete satisfaction could not be given, the result was, that in 1722 the Russian merchants were

driven from the commercial encampment on the Ourga, and it was intimated to them, that for the future no caravan would be admitted to Peking.

The Government of the Celestial Empire felt no objection to re-establish commerce on a new treaty, but insisted on a reformation of the boundary line, that all direct communication between the Mongols, its subjects, and the Russians, might be cut off. Permission was granted to a Russian caravan, comprising more than 200 men, to come every three years to Peking; but it demanded that commerce should mainly be carried on, on the frontier, in an entrepôt established for the purpose, and common to both nations. The new treaty was finally concluded on these conditions in 1727; and in the following year, the Chinese and Russian Kiakhta, was founded on the banks of the Kia, where, ever since, their respective commerce has been carried on; for the Tsourenkhaitou has never acquired much importance.

By this treaty, Russian caravans also went through Mongolia to Peking; but they had to contend against all possible obstacles from the Chinese Government. The Chinese merchants, whether influenced by avarice or by the instigations of authority, tampered with the caravans, by making offers so extremely low for the furs they brought, that they could not be accepted without a serious loss. On the other hand the Chinese Ministry used to urge the chiefs of caravans to put a speedy close to their business, and shorten their sojourn in Peking. In the mean time, the heats of summer frequently came on, and caused incalculable injury to their wares. By these and similar expedients, the Russians were constrained to sell their goods at the prices offered, and consequently at a loss. In going to Peking and returning thence, the caravans were obliged to cross the parched desert of Kobi, where they lost numbers of men and horses. At Peking the Russians were detained prisoners, in buildings expressly appropriated for them; and their communications with the buyers were so controlled, that no merchants but those who were favoured by Government, or authorised to negotiate for it, were admitted to them. The drunkenness and bad conduct of the Russian servants were also the cause of misunderstandings; so that caravans became onerous to the Russians, and profitable only to the Chinese.

It is thus to be accounted for, that the Russians, to whom the new treaty gave the privilege of sending a caravan to Peking every three years, had dispatched no more than six up to 1762. At this period, Catherine II. suppressed the imperial caravans going to Peking, and ordained that commerce with China at Kiakhta should be free. From that moment, it took a speedy rise; and to the present day, no caravans are sent to the capital of the Celestial Empire.

From its very origin, the trade between Russia and China was a very important and advantageous institution.

1. It afforded Russia the means of keeping up the price of furs procured in Europe, and become so plentiful through the conquest of Siberia; and, what is more, of exchanging them to advantage for the productions of China, and replacing them with silver and other valuable metals.

2. The hope of gain prompted the Russians to establish colonies, which were indispensable to make the newly acquired countries a really useful appendage.

3. It gave Eastern Siberia a certain value to the sovereigns of Russia, who probably, without the Chinese trade, and the ulterior produce of the rich mines then unknown and unexplored, would have been induced to relinquish that province, and with it all prospect of farther advances in the East. The political importance of Russia would have undergone a total change: its internal commerce would have been less considerable; and a total political stagnation would have ensued; or rather, the empire would have sought, to its own detriment, to extend its preponderance in the West; which, in the posture of things at that period, and considering the uncultivated state of the nobility and the people in general, who were much behind the rest of Europe in the preceding century, would have been neither prudent nor practicable.

4. Russia had the benefit of disposing in the West of part of the goods which she received from China; and it is a just ground of reproach to the then existing Government that they made no better use of this advantage.

The second period of Russian commerce with China, extends from the conclusion of the treaty of boundaries, in 1727, to the declaration of independence by the United States of North America, in 1776. In this interval, the commerce was beginning to be less profitable to Russia. During the 80 years that had elapsed since the Manchous became masters of China, their Government had been modelled on that of the Celestial Empire; and they likewise adopted the old policy of their new subjects, of absolutely excluding foreigners. Meantime, the position of the Mongols Khalkha had improved; and a change in their political institutions united them more closely to China. From being the allies of the Manchous, they became their subjects; and the latter feared, perhaps with reason, that the Khalkha might one day incline to Russia. Their policy towards that country was then more considerate and reserved. Accustomed to the literal observance of treaties, they offered no direct opposition to their execution; but a vague clause was uniformly explained against Russia; and in this way they silently underworked the treaty.

The importation of tea into Russia augmented annually with the demand; while that of silver, on the other hand, declined. Besides the use of tea, the middle class and peasantry of Russia began to

bring cotton cloths (called Daba and Kitaia) from China, which ended in becoming the summer clothing of the people. Had the loss of the barter in furs been the only consequence, Russia would have had little cause to complain; for every country will clothe itself, and how that is to be done is a matter of secondary consideration. But the importation of cotton cloths from China, is the reason why Russian manufactures are not prosperous; for, being without good material, their products are very inferior to those of the Chinese, and the Russian is so accustomed to the Daba and Kitaia, that, forgetting the love due to his country, he prefers them to native stuffs. Had the cottons of China never been imported into Russia, the manufactures of the country would have improved and increased, as they would have been certain of a market, and would have fetched a good price.

The land commerce of Russia with China has taken another route formerly, goods were transported by the streams and rivers of Siberia, with the intermission of a few inconsiderable tracts of land. Setting out from Kiakhta, they fell down the Selager; and, having crossed the lake Baikal, and followed the course of the Angira, as far as Jeniseisk, by a slight passage over-land, they reached the Ket, which carried them into the Ob. Then, by the branches of that river, and by several more passages over-land, they arrived at the basin of the Kama, whence they passed by the Volga into the heart of the empire. But, about a century ago, they began to convey goods directly by small waggons, and, in winter, on sledges drawn by a single horse. The consequence of this was, that the rearing of large numbers of horses in Siberia became necessary; and that, all along the commercial track, the peasant relies for subsistence, more on the loan of his horses than on the practice of agriculture. Certain of his gain, he feeds these animals with the hay provided by nature, and neglects the cultivation of corn, the first foundation of the wealth of an empire, which requires all possible encouragements, particularly in Siberia, which is almost destitute of inhabitants. In a well-ordered state, every province ought, as far as possible, to produce the means of its own subsistence. If agriculture were more flourishing in Siberia, the population would be more considerable, and it might be expected that the desert would disappear in many directions.

The third period of Russian commerce with China, is that which still exists. For more than forty years, the Americans and the English have transported furs from North America to Canton. This has given a violent shock to the fur-trade of Russia with China, either because the two nations just named can sell the best skins at a lower price than the Russians, or because their furs are of a better sort and more skilfully prepared. Furs are a more profitable article of commerce to the English and Americans, because they send them directly by sea from America to Canton, while the

Russian skins, which are derived, in a great measure, from the same sources, are materially enhanced in price by the very expensive carriage from Okhotsk to Jakhoutsk, and thence up the Lena, and by the Baikal, to Kiakhta. By this means, the demand for furs has greatly declined at this entrepôt, and the sale of them has fallen to half of what it used to be. On the other hand, the consumption of tea has experienced a considerable yearly increase; and the same has been the case with cottons. The Russian merchant has thus been obliged to provide other means of barter with the Chinese, consisting chiefly of woollens, linens, and mixed stuffs, procured for ready money in Silesia and Holland. Consequently Russia pays in specie, or at least in goods which she might sell for money, for the tea, the Daba, and the Kitaia of China. Part of the capital of Russia is therefore yearly absorbed by tea and Chinese cottons, which were formerly obtained in barter; or, in other words, Russia loses annually by this means, from 8,000,000 to 10,000,000 rubles; for it is to little less than that sum that the half of the Chinese imports amounts, for which there are no correspondent exports. Were the commerce such as it was during that which has been indicated at the first period, this money would be left to enrich the country, instead of which, it is not of the least use, and leaves no trace behind it.

In its present condition, the trade of Russia with China is, in point of political economy, a ruinous intercourse; first, because it impoverishes the country: secondly, because it retards agriculture in Siberia: thirdly, because it injures the manufacture of linen cloths in Russia.

I know not whether this truth was perceived at Petersburg, in 1805, when an embassy was sent to Peking, and whether the envoy was instructed to enter upon negotiations relative to the improvement of the commerce. If his object was to augment or extend it, he failed to effect his aim; if his errand was to demand the cession of the mouth of the Amour, which, on account of its direct communications with Kamtchatka, and with America, is extremely important to Russia, it was easy to foresee that he would never succeed; for how could the Manchous be induced to abandon their ancient country to a foreign Power? For the same reason, the demand of the free navigation of the Amour would have been rejected by the Court of Peking.

I have reason to think, that one special object of Count Goloskin's mission was to persuade the Chinese to allow Russian vessels to trade to Canton, or some other southern port; and I see no reasonable motives which could have existed for refusing this request. With a little circumspection and address, it might have been attained; particularly at a period when the Manchous, vexed by various insurrections in China, would not have dared, by rejecting a serious and firm demand from Russia, to offend that Power, and

thereby draw down upon themselves a new enemy, whom already they secretly feared.

But, had the Russian embassy been composed and directed otherwise than as it was, the object of it would not have been attained; since, at the very time when negotiations were going on to obtain from China the liberty of trading to Canton, and without any previous warning, two Russian vessels entered that port, in the face of all treaties. It might have been foreseen, that the first step publicly taken by Russia to trade to China, could not be viewed with indifference by England and America, and that they would neglect no means of rendering it abortive. In this Captain Krusenstern assisted by his inconsiderate entry to Canton; and it is well known that, if he had remained two days longer in the Tigris, the order dispatched from Peking to make him a prisoner, with all his men, would have arrived in time to be put in force. As the English, who, without saying any thing about it, foresaw all this, attached no moment to things being carried to such extremities, they advised the Captain to leave Canton—their only end, which was to exclude the Russians from that port, having been fully attained.

It is well known that the Chinese Government observes conscientiously, and to the letter, all its treaties. If then, without the previous knowledge of the English, a treaty, permitting the Russians to trade by sea with China, had been concluded between the agents of the two countries, it is probable that we should now have seen Russian vessels laden with furs from the North-west coast of America and Kalifornia, exchanging their cargoes at Canton for the merchandise of China, and for provisions destined for Kamtschatka and Kadiak, and returning to Europe with rich cargoes. But negotiation on this subject is far removed, as well by the voyage of M. Krusenstern to Canton, as by the foolish conduct of the last embassy, which, for the moment, rather undermined Russian credit at Peking; and its favourable issue at the present day is subject to a still greater number of obstacles, because those nations which trade with China are on their guard, and the English have on their side the Hong Company, through whose hands all European commerce at Canton must pass. The Hong merchants are the natural protectors of the English trade, the East India Company having owed them, these many years, some millions of piasters. It is therefore their object to put them in a condition to pay, as speedily as possible, both the principal and the interest. The possession of Kamtschatka and the North-West coast of America would be much more useful to Russia, if it were not so difficult to provision northern countries from Siberia, who has not yet too much for herself, which prevents the progress of cultivation and population in those countries. On the other hand, it is very inconvenient, as I have already remarked, to transport the furs which come from thence to Kiakhta,

because the passage from Okhotsk to Jakoutsch so materially enhances their cost.

All these difficulties would be removed by direct maritime commerce with China, if the furs of Kamtschatka and America were exchanged at Canton, for rice, brandy, and other commodities, to be carried in return to those countries. Those extensive tracts, where nature is so unfavourable to the production of vegetables suitable for the support of man, would thus flourish and become valuable to their possessors, while, as things now are, it is impossible to propose any practicable measure for their amelioration.

The trade by sea would, on all accounts, be extremely advantageous to Russia, while at the same time she would not renounce that now carried on by land between Siberia and China, that too sudden a stop might not be put to the circulation of money and of merchandize. It would be more politic to restrict it gradually, and bring it back to better principles. It would be especially wise to take care that the exports consisted entirely of indigenous productions, and to endeavour that the Russian merchants might, by their good quality, supersede those of Silesia, which nothing but a serious determination is required to accomplish.

The trade by sea with China would give Russia the advantage of being able to sell in the south of Europe, at a good profit, (that is, at a better profit than the Danes and the French, who are obliged to pay for them in money,) the merchandize of China, and especially tea, obtained in exchange for American furs. That would cause a considerable annual influx of capital to Russia, and no other European nation would be able to compete with her in this commerce.

But, in consequence of the failure at Canton, some other expedient must be found. It is true, the Government of the Celestial Empire avoids, as much as possible, all communication with foreigners; but it is no less certain that the Chinese merchants have a very strong disposition to carry on such a commerce with foreigners as may enrich themselves. The Chinese is born a tradesman; were he a better sailor, or rather were his heavy and ill-constructed vessels adapted for long voyages, they would be seen, as in the middle ages, traversing the Indian seas and the Gulf of Persia. In our own days, southern China directly carries on a very active commerce with the Philippines, Cochin China, Gambogia and Java; and, on the other hand, the ships of China frequent the Yellow Sea, dangerous as it is, and trade even to Japan.

Without giving any ground of dissatisfaction to the Chinese Government, that is, without touching at a single port, it would still be possible to carry on a profitable trade with the Chinese merchants, even more productive than if it were carried on in their country, inasmuch as the effects of competition and custom-house

duties would be both avoided. It only remains to find a place not too distant from China, and otherwise sufficiently commodious. To think of Manilla would be a mistake; for in every European possession in Asia, it would not only be impossible to act freely, but the rights of custom would be strictly enforced. It would therefore be much better to establish a colony in some island of the Indian Ocean, and make it an entrepôt for the trade with China. To the south of Japan, in 27° N. lat. and 138° E. long. from Paris, there is a group of fertile and inhabited islands, called by the Japanese *Bonin-sima*, or *Modin-sima*, and in the ancient charts the *Isles of the Archipelago*. The distance from China is 20° degrees longitude; and they occur in the direct route from *Kamtchatka*, and the Northwest coast of America, to that empire. These islands have safe bays and creeks, and produce many kinds of building wood. Without infringing any rights, Russia might occupy them, and found a colony upon them, that might become the principal entrepôt of the trade between *Kamtchatka* and *China*. The chief of these islands might be defended by forts and an adequate garrison against the hostile enterprise of any foreign Power; which, however, there would be little cause to apprehend. Thence she might extend herself further towards the West, and, if it were possible, establish a good understanding with the inhabitants of the great *Loo Koo*, where it would be necessary to form a second entrepôt nearer to China. Most assuredly, at the first invitation, Chinese merchants, already accustomed to trade in that archipelago, would come thither from the richest provinces of the empire, such as *Kiang-nan*, *Tchi-kiang*, and *Fou-kuan*, bringing the Russians the goods demanded in exchange, and taking their furs in return. This species of commerce would probably give no umbrage to the Chinese Government, and would be attended with the advantage of obtaining, by Chinese vessels, at the first hand, the direct articles of commerce, tea and silks, which at *Canton* can only be obtained at second-hand.

The great *Loo Koo* has two good ports, *Napa-Kiang* and *Koui*: the last is most convenient and safe, and offers the easiest access, while the entry of the first is rendered dangerous by a reef of coral. The inhabitants are mild in their character: they would doubtless soon throw aside their aversion to foreigners, (which is a quality common to all Oriental Asiatics, but which is now beginning to decay,) if the crews of the Russian vessels were composed of select and peaceable men.

If it were desirable to establish a factory still nearer China, one of the isles of the great *Pa-tchoung-chan* might be selected, which is but 6° of longitude to the east, and lies near *Formosa*. Perhaps means might be found of placing an entrepôt on the eastern coast of *Formosa*, whence an almost direct communication might be opened with China, since the western part of the island belongs to her. The eastern coast is inhabited by savage tribes; but it is said

to be rich in gold and silver, which might be had in exchange for Russian merchandize. The possession of fortresses at Formosa, before the western side was subjugated by the Chinese, was very advantageous, during the 17th century, to the Dutch, who carried on from thence a considerable trade with Emoui, a port in the province of Fou-Kian.

In our times, it has been proposed to the East India Company to occupy Formosa, and make it the point of direct commercial intercourse with China. But, as might have been foreseen, this proposal was rejected; for so little profit accrues from their commerce with Canton, that they had no idea of undertaking any other. Besides, the occupation of Formosa would have embroiled them with the Chinese, as it was in contemplation to take possession of that part of the island which belongs to them.

The Chinese Government would probably not be opposed to a Russian establishment on the eastern side of Formosa, if it did not come too near their frontier, and if the commerce with its subjects was merely passive. This, moreover, would be all that could be done, if that which the Russians had recently carried on by sea should displease the Court of Peking; for an active commerce would entail the same disagreements that trammelled the operations of the caravans in the capital. On the contrary, a passive commerce would be attended with the immense advantage of being able to let the Chinese merchants go, provided they did not make acceptable offers.

The principal Russian establishment being assured and protected at Bonin-sima by a colony, a garrison, forts, and factories, in which Russian goods might be exchanged for those of China, might be fixed at Loo Koo, at Pa-tchoung-chan, and on the eastern side of Formosa. The furs of Kamtschatka, and of the North-west coast of America, and the merchandize sent from the ports of the Russian empire in Europe, on board Russian ships, might be deposited at Bonin-sima; thence they might be more commodiously shipped, in small vessels built upon the island, to the different factories, from which they would return laden with Chinese produce, and with provisions for Kamtschatka and the North-west coast of America. This commerce might very soon become very flourishing and profitable; but it ought at first to be set on foot, or at least firmly established, by the Government itself. A company of merchants would be liable, out of an excessive thirst of gain, to stifle it in its infancy; and would not, moreover, in Russia possess those means of establishing a colony which are at the disposal of the Government.

The heads and officers of marine to be sent thither, should be distinguished by their moral qualities, their firmness, their courage, their moderation, their integrity, and their benevolence towards the people with whom they might come in contact, and should be

instructed to confine their soldiers in the forts, to prevent them from committing disorders.

The near vicinity, also, of Bonin-sima to Japan, might probably afford an opportunity for forming relations of amity and commerce with that empire, an object in which Resanov failed; unless that the blameable conduct to which that envoy was irritated by the spirit of revenge, after his recall from Japan, has rendered any reconciliation between the two countries for a long time impossible.

As for the Russian produce to be exported to China, it would mainly consist of skins and manufactures. It would likewise be possible, without exciting prejudice against the empire, to coin foreign goods with them, and exchange them for those of China, which might afterwards be disposed of to Europe for ready money, and consequently to the advantage of Russia. Articles of luxury might afford room for occasional experiment; Petersburg mirrors, for instance, and other fine articles of glass, but especially the opium of Karahissar. We know how the Chinese value this drug, which they consider as a certain aphrodisiac. To trade with it, would be so much the more lucrative, as, very lately, the Chinese Government has strictly prohibited the introduction of it at Canton, so that the Chinese merchants who bought it of the Russians, would derive a great profit by smuggling it, and would consequently pay well for it.

Another article that would be extremely saleable, is common watches, made of silver, with Chinese dials. In China, they divide our twenty-four hours into twelve *chi*, or hours, each subdivided into eight *ké*, corresponding with our quarters. The hour-hand must not, therefore, make the round of the dial in less than twenty-four hours, and only go half so fast as ours. To make such a watch would not be difficult: the minute-hand would scarcely be necessary, because the hour-hand would mark the *ké*, and, besides, the Chinese are not particular about a minute. However, one might be added showing the minutes, *à l'Européenne*, in cases where the Chinese had been accustomed to take note of them, by using English watches.

It would be very important to the commerce which is thus projected, to send to Bonin-sima an interpreter of the Chinese language, chosen from the bureaux of the empire at St. Petersburg, and to select Chinese domestics from Batavia or Manilla, who might serve as ordinary interpreters.

ON AN ILL-TIMED WISH OF 'A HAPPY NEW-YEAR.'

UNWELCOME wish ! that in my mind
 Awake thoughts of tearful woe,
 O that thy accents, like the wind,
 Had passed unfelt, nor pained me so !
 Yet thou art blameless ; for thy smile
 Portended kindlier aims than this ;
 Nor thought, when hoping to beguile •
 My wonted cares, to mar my bliss.
 Unconscious, thou hast jarred a string
 Which long hath been untuned and mute,
 As ~~when~~ the breeze with playful wing
 • Strikes moans from a neglected lute.

" Happy to thee the coming year !"
 Oh ! how thy prayer distracts my heart !
 Like revel music o'er atbier,
 It doth but deeper grief impart.

Happy !—Oh, no ! it cannot be !
 Bitter were Pleasure's brimming bowl,
 If circling round, unshared with me
 By her who fills my inmost soul.
 Happy !—What visions round me float
 Of bridal joy and sunny hours !
 But, ah ! what means yon doleful note !
 What dark'ning cloud around me lowers !

Reflection timely breaks the spell
 To lessen Disappointment's force ;
 And Hope, with weeping, sighs farewell,
 Till years untold have run their course.

Unwelcome wish !—And hast thou griev'd
 With thoughts like these another's breast ?
 And am I not alone bereav'd
 Of joys that promise early rest ?

I'll think, at least, my friend most dear,
 That thy gay spirit feels no woe ;
 Or, if Care urge the willing tear,
 I'll think Hope checks it ere it flow.
 I'll think thy love will ne'er decay,
 Though merged in disappointment's gloom ;
 And, though its colour fade away,
 'Twill soon regain its wonted bloom.

I'll think, unwelcome wish ! that thou,
 O'er me though darkens dire distress,
 Wilt leave no sorrow on HER brow
 To shade her vision'd happiness.

JOURNEY IN THE INTERIOR OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

[The following portion of a Journey recently made in the Interior of New South Wales, and published in 'The Australian' of May 24, 1828, contains much of novelty and interest.]

As the evening was closing in, we sought a convenient place to pass the night in, and fortunately found, in a small valley, by a pond of water, a deserted native camp, which we soon broke up, and with the materials formed a hut large enough to shelter us from the dews of the night. The huts the natives make, when overtaken by bad weather, are formed of a single piece of stringy bark, about six feet in length, and perhaps two feet wide. This is bent in the middle, and the two ends being brought to the ground, and fastened with little stakes, an isosceles triangle is made, into which one individual coils himself. With six or eight of these huts, we made a semi-circular one, open in front, and there made a good fire of dry limbs of trees, for which we had not to seek far the fire. We kindled by burning pining on a piece of wadding.

I was too much of a boy not to enjoy all this highly; but, after we had taken our supper, and the party were all asleep but myself and one of the men, who had the first watch, and sat quietly smoking his pipe at one end of the fire, I could hear troops of native dogs (a species of wolf) howling dismally as they prowled the neighbouring thickets; and the wild cattle in the distance, not lowing but roaring through the woods; together with the hooting of the owl, and the twittering, ghost-like shriek of the opossum:—all these things, with the novelty of the situation, excited such feelings of dreariness that I heartily wished for morning. I thought, too, of our poor little captive kangaroo, so rudely weaned, and imprisoned in a coarse sack, instead of being nestled at its parent's breast.

As I remember it now, our group made a fine painter's subject: a rude hut, in the midst of a thick forest, open in front to a fire made of the limbs of trees, and occupying the foreground, behind which, in the centre of the hut, was my companion, a handsome sun-burnt youth of sixteen, wrapped in a boat-cloak, reclining on his arm, bareheaded, and sleeping soundly. Close to him, I lay in a somewhat similar attitude, but wide awake, listening anxiously to every sound, and fancying all sorts of horrors, as I looked on the black masses of foliage before us, on the edges of which a red flickering light fell from our fire. Two of our men lay in one end of the hut with their feet to the fire, and their heads elevated by a log of wood which served them for a bolster; and the third, as I have said, sat on the ground smoking his pipe, or walked backwards and forwards before the hut. All three had been convicted of some notorious crimes, and probably they had all been under sentence of

death. By my friend lay his fowling-piece; a musket stood within reach of the man who kept watch; and the dogs were stretched at length on the ground before the fire, or sat crouched, (as greyhounds do,) looking at the fire, and pricking up their ears at the rustling of the trees, or the leaping of the fish in the neighbouring pond, though they heeded not (after the first half-hour) the howling of their canine brotherhood, nor the broken-winded bellowings of a conquered bull,—a beast that had assaulted us in the course of the afternoon, savage from recent defeat, and which only went off on receiving a charge of slugs, which the man who was carrying the musket fired at him. The next morning we saw him again, but another twenty-four hours would have made him food for the dogs.

The native dog of New South Wales is generally believed indigenous; yet its dissimilarity to any other animal found in the island would seem to argue, that it must have been left there by some of the early navigators, though I am not aware whether it does, or does not, particularly resemble any of the species in the northern hemisphere. I have seen them as large as a good mastiff: they are shaggy-haired, and of the colour of a wolf: they do not bark, but their nocturnal howlings are dismal; and, from the sound, they appear to be gregarious; but I never saw more than one at a time. I never knew an instance of their attacking a man, even in self-defence; but in a sheep-fold they make terrible havoc. I have known fifty or sixty sheep to be killed in a night by one dog; and, to guard against them, every large proprietor has his flocks folded in a cluster at night, and employs a man to keep watch. Young calves have been killed, and the poultry yard robbed, by the same thievish vermin. The natives, though fond of dogs, being now almost always accompanied by a troop of yelping curs of European breed, do not appear to have ever sought the companionship of the wolfish beasts that infest their forests; and attempts that have been made at taming, by rearing them from puppies, have only proved that they want all the noble qualities of the dog, and possess not the fierce prowess of the wolf.

Our men regularly relieved each other through the night, (than which I do not remember a longer;) and, if I happened to doze from excessive fatigue, the words they would exchange, whilst rousing each other, would startle me to inquire how time went. At length the morning dawned, and the wild beasts, (not lions, tigers, and the like, for there are none,) and the birds of night, skulked in silence, and I fell asleep. They did not arouse me till the camp-kettle was singing to breakfast, and a more beautiful morning never shone from the heavens than that on which I awoke, with air as pure as ever man breathed, on my lungs, to see the sun rising from behind a long range of hills in the distance, and lighting a primeval scene of such chaste and natural beauty as can never be met with in the Old World. The Alps and Appenines I have traversed—have seen

the vine-clad hills of France—the chesnut-forests, the trellised plains, and the irised cascades, of Italy—the volcanic majesty, and the teeming valleys of Sicily—and the park scenes of my beautiful native land; but have never seen any thing that surpasses in beauty the scene that met my eyes, when I awoke, in a glen of the forest, on the Cow-pastures of New South Wales.

According to custom, in such cases, our horse had been hobbled, and turned loose to feed. He had not wandered so far during the night, but that one of the men found and brought him back in the course of half an hour. Our baggage was soon mounted; and we started to complete our survey of the country on the other side of the river. As we ascended the hill that bounded the valley in which we had slept, we saw a small lot of the wild cattle coming at a brisk trot along its summit, to descend, by the track we were on, to the pond to drink. They were in a line, and ran so blindly, that they had approached to within a few yards of us before they saw us. In a few seconds, they were out of sight:—the second in the file noticed as before the leader, and pointed his attention to the stranger group, by a tremendous butt on the haunch. Instantaneously, they turned and went off at full gallop, in the same order in which they had advanced: they were seven fine young bulls.

The next thing that attracted our attention was a family of kangaroos grazing on a plain before us; one of them was the largest animal of the kind I ever saw. Unfortunately, there was a thicket close behind them, into which they made good their retreat, before the dogs could come up; and they, too, lay wide when we discovered them.

- The kangaroo dog is a fine, strong, and swift animal—a cross, I should think, between the stag-hound and the grey-hound. It is not so large as the former, nor so small as the latter, but seems to partake of the shape and qualities of both. At fair running it is too fleet for the game to give much sport; but, in a country so much wooded, the latter has too many chances of finding covert for a slower dog to be preferred. When the kangaroo is hard pressed, it will take to the water, if a pond be in its course; and the dogs never dare follow without a fair chance of being drowned, for it then stands at bay, and, striking up with its hind legs at the throat of the dog, hooks the sharp and strong middle-toe into the skin on the chest, and rips it off, or pulls him under water. If overtaken on land, the kangaroo will fight desperately in the same way; indeed, I do not remember ever to have seen a dog that had killed a kangaroo, but its chest was seamed all over. The wounds are generally all received in the first engagement; for, after a dog has bought his experience at so high a price as a good kangaroo makes him pay, he will fight more warily: I have seen a young dog with the skin of his chest hanging down over his fore legs like an apron. In the early times of the settlement, when it was not allowed to slaughter cattle and

sheep, the kangaroo was killed for his carcase ; and, in later times, it has been slaughtered for its hide by men who made a trade of it. This is done, I believe, to the present day, in Van Diemen's Land ; but in New South Wales they are not sufficiently plentiful to make it profitable, so that, perhaps, the greatest number killed now is for sport. So many, however, are shot that they cannot last long ; and, as soon as the country gets a little more open, it will be necessary to introduce deer and hares, or there will be no game at all. I refer more particularly to the county of Cumberland, which contains the real population of the colony. There are a few red deer now in the country, near Sydney ; but they are claimed as private property.

Among sportsmen, the fore-quarters and entrails of the kangaroo are the perquisites of the dogs : the loins, haunches, and tail only being reserved. As the kangaroo never secretes fat, its flesh is rather too lean to roast ; but for a pasty it is excellent. the tail is fully equal to ox-tail for making soup.

While I am on the subject, I may add, that, besides the kangaroo, there is no other indigenous animal fit for hunting. The number of birds, too, worth shooting, is very small. The emu may be either shot or coured ; but it is seldom found east of the Blue Mountains now. Wild pigeons may be had : they are very fond of the apple-tree, and may be more frequently found in it than in any other. These, with teal and wild ducks, which are found in large quantities on the lagoons, near the Hawkesbury, comprise almost all the edible game the country affords, except snipes, which are tolerably plentiful. Young cockatoos are as good as young rooks, but are much harder to get at, the old birds build so very high. The bays and rivers connected with the sea, are well stocked with a great variety of fish, not generally known elsewhere ; but the ponds and creeks, inland, boast of hardly any thing but perch (frequently, however, very fine) and eels.

The banks of the Cowpasture river are high, and very steep : in some parts, the whole bed is occupied by water to the depth of eight or ten feet, and the current is slow. The ponds thus formed are frequently clogged up with branches and trunks of trees, which have fallen in from time to time ; and sometimes one will be of sufficient length to reach from bank to bank, and form a perfect bridge. Through the greatest part, however, the river does not occupy more than one half the width between the banks, and is seldom deeper than to a horse's knees : the same obstructions, of course, are occasioned by the falling of trees, as in the deeper parts. The banks of the river are composed of light rich loam and sand, and are covered with a sort of wild vetch, that has a very disagreeable smell, but of which horses are very fond. Brambles, nettles, vines, and a variety of underwood, are interspersed, and form an almost impenetrable thicket for some distance on both sides. During the spring and autumnal rains, the river in that part, as well as lower

down, overflows its banks, and tends to fructify the soil within its reach. The banks themselves are so rich, that I have known water-melon seeds to be merely put into the ground on them, with the finger, without any previous preparation, and left to run riot, as nature might direct, and in the proper season to produce the most delicious fruit. The water-melon cannot be appreciated in this country; but, in the climates that produce it, nothing can be more grateful. I have eaten water-melons in Italy from the ice-tub, but not with the same *gusto* as when I have plucked them fresh and cool from the vine, in the Indian corn fields in New South Wales. Just as I now walk into a pastrycook's, in June and July, to eat ices, I there, in December and January, adjourned to the garden, or to a field of Indian corn, (among which they are frequently planted,) when it waved above my head almost to the exclusion of the sun's rays, and, sitting down on a dry stem, discussed a water-melon larger than my head. • Rock and musk melons also grow to perfection there; but their firm pulp is not so grateful to the parched palate, as the crisp and melting mass of the water-melon, that flows down the throat in an edible stream.

The cant among the people here, is to disparage the climate of this country, and cry up that of France and Italy. In New South Wales, where the climate parallels the finest in Europe, the poor exasperated souls cry out for the less fervid sun, and moister atmosphere, of England. Love of the country they may never see again, and filial affection for their *father-land*, effectually stifle all attempts at comparison in that or any thing else, except to the advantage of *home*.

I have experienced enough of almost every variety of climate, to know that every one has its proportioned advantages; and that, if a parallel were drawn, an unprejudiced man would be at a loss which to choose. Having mentioned the term *home*, as used in an emphatic sense, it may not be amiss to say that hardly any other is ever used throughout the colony for England, than that such an one has been at *home*, or is going *home*. The children born in the country use the same term: indeed, it is universal; and, in the strongest sense, *home* always means *England*.

On our return to Cabramatta, we found that the gathering had taken place, and that the deputy-surveyor-general, who was of the party, had appointed the next day for measuring. As the distances to be traversed were not great, and the weather was very fine, I was thought man enough to accompany the expedition; but woeful for me was the mistake! I vowed before the day was over, that I would not follow the surveyor again for the largest farm the Governor could give. A dispute arose between my father and the gentleman whose farm was to come next to his, about a hill, which should have it. By running the chain straight from the creek, and parallel to the high road, (or what was intended to be the high road,) it came

within my father's boundary, and, by running a circumferential line, it fell to the lot of his neighbour. The case was too clear to remain long undecided; however, the delay it occasioned was a respite for me; (we had already measured one farm three miles off;) and, as they debated the point, I lay down on the grass, on the summit of the subject of dispute, and admired the beauty of the scenery about me.

It was a noble forest. Almost every variety of the finest timber the country produces stood interspersed: a good sprinkling of the wild apple-tree marked the quality of the ground, and the shrubby cherry-tree, the fruit of which grows at one end of, instead of around, the stone, added to the picturesque effect. The level ground that came between the hill and the creek, was covered with the verdant oak, which grows there still, though the forest above has fallen under the blows of the woodman's axe, and the fire has consumed it. It was our evening amusement afterwards, when we went to the farm at holiday-time, to make fires at the roots of the stateliest trees, and with hatches to wound their trunks, that our auxiliary might the better worm its ways; and great was our joy when a creaking noise gave warning that our exertions were about to be rewarded, and loud were our huzzas when a tree fell, which it would with a thundering crash that might be heard for miles.

There is an art in felling timber, when the intent is to destroy as much as possible, greater, perhaps, than when the intention is to throw a tree down without injuring it or any other. A skilful feller singles out the largest and heaviest tree to assist him in his operations: he notices the inclination it may have to fall one way rather than another; but, if it be not more than half its diameter out of the perpendicular, he can make it fall which way he pleases, and so exactly, that he will take a number of others in a line with it, and, cutting them half through on the side from the master-tree, he, at length, cuts that one somewhat more than half-way through on the side on which he wishes it to fall; and then with a small notch on the back it falls headlong, and strikes down in its course those which have been prepared, and at which it has been directed. As the only object is to get the trees off the ground, and as cutting low would materially add to the labour of felling, without any benefit resulting, they are cut at about four feet from the surface, or breast-high, so that the stumps remain for years after the ground has been converted into corn-fields, gardens, and orchards, and are only removed in the event of the proprietor becoming rich enough, (the stumps still remain on my father's farm,) and particular enough, to have them burnt out. When the trees have been felled, they are cross-cut into convenient lengths, and the logs are rolled together in heaps and ignited. Such bonfires never were made at the burning of heretics, or for the commemoration of a victory, as I have seen in the wilds of Australia. I can hardly imagine what must be the sen-

sations of a stranger, travelling there for the first time by night, and coming suddenly upon an opening of two or three hundred acres, in the forest by which his road has been flanked, covered with hills of fire, not flame; for the wood, being green, does not blaze, but consumes with a white heat. A lurid glare falls on every thing around him; and, if it be summer, the heat of the air is increased almost to suffocation. The rustling of the long grass that he hears is not occasioned by wind, but by the lizards and guanas rushing from the ruin of their homes. It is not an endless black cord drawn across the path that he sees, but deadly serpents hurrying from the nests that are made too hot for them. The fish feel the heat in the neighbouring creek, but the plashing is not made by them; the retreating shoals of reptile take to the water, and go hissing through it like so many salamanders. These things came to me in detail, and not in the gross: I had been a party to minor exhibitions of the kind, before I had occasion to travel much by night in the new parts of the country.

There is a great variety of snakes in New South Wales, the largest of which, the black snake, seldom exceeds nine or ten feet in length, and indeed is not often so long as that. All are poisonous; but it is not often that accidents occur from them, and, when they do, it is generally to the poor men who are employed in felling and burning off, and to the carters of wood into the towns for fuel. Sometimes, indeed, a snake has quietly emerged from a log of wood, after it had been laid on a kitchen fire; and they have been found comfortably coiled up in a bed: but still accidents from them are infrequent.

SONNET, ON VISITING THE RUINS OF THE SAVOY PALACE, AT
EARLY MORNING.—BY R. HILL, ESQ.

I saw the mighty cities* in their pride
Of towers and splendid dwellings mingled rude,
Yet hush'd as Tadmor in that solitude
Where the parch'd desert looks on nought beside;
And the far-spreading of the clear-shown tide
Was calm as one by weariness subdued
Resting in a sweet sleep, while where I stood
There was a palace that had long defied
The woes of time, whose fair and sculptured halls,
Though matted now in weeds, once heard the mirth
Of men in whom the princely deeds did blaze
As watch-lights in their age; and, in the birth
Of future years, pilgrims e'en so shall gaze,
When those proud cities are but grass-grown walls.

* London and Westminster.

CHARACTER OF LORD BYRON.

(By the Countess Albrizzi.)

Tor, dont le monde encore ignore le vrai nom,
 Esprit mystérieux, mortel, ange ou démon,
 Qui que tu sois, Byron, bon ou fatal génie,
 J'aime de tes concerts la sauvage harmonie.

LAMARTINE.

THE following character of our celebrated countryman, written in Italian, by the Countess Isabella Albrizzi, has not, so far as we are aware, been previously submitted to the English public, though it has recently appeared in 'The Bengal Chronicle,' as a communication from a correspondent who appears to have arrived direct from Italy. We consider it sufficiently interesting, willingly to afford a place for it in our Journal, together with the following introductory remarks of the translator :

I subjoin the translation of a character of Lord Byron, by the Countess Albrizzi, herself a poetess and a woman of genius, and of cultivated understanding. Her intimacy with the Noble Lord during his residence at Venice, gave her ample opportunities of studying his character ; and her talents fitted her well for appreciating the varied qualities of his mind. They who are familiar with her portraits—particularly those of Cesarotti and Pindemonte, which, for truth, force of delineation, and liveliness of colouring, are not to be surpassed—will allow that the difficult task of truly estimating the character of Lord Byron, could scarcely have been confided to any one (amongst foreigners, at least) with a better chance of success. His enemies will think it too favourable, and his friends will not find it commensurate with their notions of his perfections. Such persons as occupy the neutral ground between these grand contending factions, will find in it an agreeable relief from the desponding conclusions which all who place implicit reliance on the portraiture of Mr Hunt, must inevitably draw from his book ; and a ray of hope will remain to those benevolent persons who, in the simplicity of their aspirations after truth, still cling to the belief that there were at least some redeeming traits of good, amidst all the deformities which his biographer and friend has exhibited in his account of Lord Byron.

' It would be to little purpose to dwell upon the mere beauty of a countenance in which the expression of an extraordinary mind was so conspicuous. What serenity was seated on the forehead adorned with the finest chesnut hair, light, curling, and disposed with such art that the art was hidden in the imitation of most pleasing nature ! What varied expression in his eyes ! They were of the azure colour of the heavens, from which they seemed to derive their origin. His teeth, in form, and colour, and transparency,

resembled pearls ; but his cheeks were too delicately tinged with the colour of the pale rose. His neck, which he was in the habit of keeping uncovered as much as the usages of society permitted, seemed to have been formed in a mould, and was very white. His hands were as beautiful as if they had been the works of art. His figure left nothing to be desired, particularly by those who found rather a grace than a defect in a certain light and gentle undulation of the person when he entered a room, and of which you hardly felt tempted to inquire the cause. Indeed it was scarcely perceptible, as the clothes he wore were so long as to rival the bird of Juno. He was never seen to walk through the streets of Venice, nor along the pleasant banks of the Brenta, where he spent some weeks of the summer ; and there are some who assert that he has never seen, excepting from a window, the wonders of the ' Piazza di San Marco ; ' so powerful in him was the desire of not showing himself to be deformed in any part of his person. I, however, believe that he has often gazed on those wonders ; but in the late and solitary hour, when the stupendous edifices which surrounded him, illuminated by the soft and placid light of the moon, appeared a thousand times more lovely.

His face appeared tranquil like the ocean on a fine spring morning ; but, like it, in an instant became changed into the tempestuous and terrible, if a passion, (a passion did I say ?) a thought, a word, occurred to disturb his mind. His eyes then lost all their sweetness, and sparkled so that it became difficult to look on them. So rapid a change would not have been thought possible ; but it was impossible to avoid acknowledging that the natural state of his mind was the tempestuous.

What delighted him greatly one day, annoyed him the next ; and, whenever he appeared constant in the practise of any habits, it arose merely from the indifference, not to say contempt, in which he held them all : whatever they might be, they were not worthy that he should occupy his thoughts with them.

His heart was highly sensitive, and suffered itself to be governed in an extraordinary degree by sympathy ; but his imagination carried him away, and spoiled every thing. He believed in presages, and delighted in the recollection that he held this belief in common with Napoleon. It appeared that, in proportion as his intellectual education was cultivated, his moral education was neglected, and that he had never suffered himself to know or observe other restraints than those imposed by his inclinations. Nevertheless, who could believe that he had a constant and almost infantine timidity, of which the evidences were so apparent as to render its existence indisputable, notwithstanding the difficulty experienced in associating with Lord Byron a sentiment which had the appearance of modesty. Conscious as he was that, wherever he presented himself, all eyes were fixed on him, and all lips, particularly those of

the women, were opened to say, 'There he is, that is Lord Byron,'—he necessarily found himself in the situation of an actor obliged to sustain a character, and to render an account, not to others, (for about them he gave himself no concern,) but to himself, of his every action and word. This occasioned him a feeling of uneasiness which was obvious to every one.

'He remarked on a certain subject, (which in 1814 was the topic of universal discourse,) that "the world was worth neither the trouble taken in its conquest, nor the regret felt at its loss," which saying, (if the worth of an expression could ever equal that of many and great actions,) would almost show the thoughts and feelings of Lord Byron to be more stupendous and unmeasured than those of him respecting whom he spoke. I say nothing of his poetic worth, of which I believe his countrymen to be the best judges. They assert that he has left an immense blank in British literature, that in his works he treated all subjects and touched all the chords of the divine lyre, drawing from it now the sweetest, now the most nervous strains which could be heard. In his poetry, he loved to come inspired, so to speak, from the air of the places themselves, where he encountered the events he wished to describe, or the situations he wished to delineate, although he had a most retentive memory, and an imagination ready and fertile. He has been compared to Shakspeare, and placed like Garrick between the comic and tragic Muses; although he more frequently, and with greater alacrity and success, addressed himself to the latter. The verses which often fell spontaneously from his pen, were so many draughts payable at sight by his publisher; and it is certain, that, when one of his works came out, however copious the edition might be, it was all disposed of in the same day. He was charged with frequently representing himself, perhaps without being aware of it, in his characters—a charge from which he scarcely succeeded in freeing himself. At the age of nineteen, it is said that his literary reputation was already colossal. The age invested and covered him with its tempestuous cloud. The mania of what are called liberal opinions, (a word which each interprets according to his own liking, and which constitutes its sole charm,) took firmer root in no mind than in his. Suffice it to say, that, a nobleman and a peer of most free England, he held himself to be a slave. He would have wished to live in an ideal and poetic community, forgetting that Plato, although himself the greatest poet in politics, excludes them all from his republic.

'His gymnastic exercises were sometimes violent; and at others, almost nothing. His body, like his spirit, readily accommodated itself to all his inclinations. During an entire winter, he went out every morning alone to row himself to the island of the Armenians, (a small island situated in the mid-t of a tranquil lake, and distant from Venice about half a league,) to enjoy the society of those learned and hospitable monks, and to learn their difficult language;

and, in the evening, entering again into his gondola, he went, but only for a couple of hours, into company. A second winter, whenever the water of the lake was violently agitated, he was observed to cross it, and, landing on the nearest *terra firma*, to fatigue at least two horses with riding. No one ever heard him utter a word of French, although he was perfectly conversant with that language. He hated the nation and its modern literature; in like manner, he held the modern Italian literature in contempt, and said it possessed but one living author, a restriction which I know not whether to term more ridiculous or false and injurious. His voice was sufficiently sweet and flexible. He spoke with much suavity, if not contradicted, but rather addressed himself to his neighbour than to the entire company. Very little food sufficed him; and he preferred fish to flesh, for this extraordinary reason, that the latter, he said, rendered him ferocious. He disliked seeing women eat; and the cause of this extraordinary antipathy must be sought in the dread he always had, that the notion he loved to cherish of their perfection, and almost divine nature, might be disturbed. Having always been governed by them, it would seem that his very self-love was pleased to take refuge in the idea of their excellence; a sentiment which he knew how (God knows how!) to reconcile with the contempt in which, shortly afterward, almost with the appearance of satisfaction, he seemed to hold them. But contradictions ought not to surprise us in characters like Lord Byron's; and then, who does not know that the slave holds in detestation his ruler?

' Without a Hero to expect him on the opposite shore, he swam across the Hellespont, with the sole view of putting an end to the controversy, whether or no it were possible; and, in the same manner, he also crossed the rapid, and, in that respect, more dangerous, Tagus, at the broadest part of the river,—a feat on which he prided himself more than on the former; and, as part of the same subject, I may mention, that he was seen, on leaving a palace situated on the Great Canal, instead of entering into his gondola, to throw himself with his clothes on into the water, and swim to his house. On the following night, in order to avoid the risk he had the former evening run of being hurt by the numerous oars of the gondoliers, who, in their swift barks, were conveying home their masters,—as one impatient of every obstacle, he was seen swimming across the same canal with his right arm, and holding, raised in his left hand, a small lamp with which to illumine his way. At the view of so strange a wanderer, it is not possible to describe what was the astonishment of the peaceable gondoliers, who, stretched along the decks of their barks, waited, singing the beautiful verses of Erminia and the Brondina, until the watchful rock should salute the morn,—the hour at which the night-wandering Venetian ladies are wont to betake themselves to their homes in summer. With his domestics, from whom he exacted scarcely any thing, he was generous, good, and

affable : amongst the rest, he always carried with him an old domestic, because he said he had been in the family when he was born.

‘ Lord Byron disliked his countrymen, but only because he knew that his morals were held in contempt by them. The English themselves, rigid observers of family duties, could not pardon him the neglect of his, nor his trampling on principles : therefore, neither did he like being presented to them, nor did they, especially when they had their wives with them, like to cultivate his acquaintance. Still there was a strong desire in all of them to see him ; and the women in particular, who did not dare to look at him but by stealth, said in an under-voice, “ What a pity it is ! ” If, however, any of his compatriots of exalted rank and of high reputation was the first to treat him with courtesy, he showed himself obviously flattered by it, and was greatly pleased with such association. It seemed that to the wound which remained always open in his ulcerated heart, such soothing attentions were as drops of healing balm, which comforted him.

‘ Speaking of his marriage, a delicate subject, but one still agreeable to him—if it was treated in a friendly voice, he was greatly moved, and said it had been the innocent cause of all his errors, and all his griefs. Of his wife he spoke with much respect and affection. He said she was an illustrious lady, distinguished for the qualities of her heart and understanding, and that all the fault of their cruel separation lay with himself. Now, was such language dictated by justice or by vanity ? Does it not bring to mind the saying of Julius, that the wife of Cæsar must not even be suspected ? What vanity in that Cæsarean saying ! In fact, if it had not been from vanity, Lord Byron would have admitted this to no one. Of his young daughter, his dear Ada, he spoke with great tenderness, and seemed to be pleased at the great sacrifice he had made in leaving her to comfort her mother. The intense hatred he bore his mother-in-law, and a sort of Euriclea of Lady Byron, two women to whose influence he in a great measure attributed her estrangement from him, demonstrated clearly how painful the separation was to him, notwithstanding some bitter pleasantries which occasionally occur in his writings, against her also, dictated rather by rancour than by indifference.

‘ His mind was so irritable and intolerant of censure, that he was heard to say of a lady, who had dared to criticise one of his lines, that he would have wished to drown her in the ocean, as if the Lake of Venice did not seem to him sufficiently deep. When he heard that any one was preparing to translate his poetry, he grew pale, and almost trembled for fear the translator should not prove capable of his task. His hand was ready to succour the wretched ; but his severe compatriots accused him of not extending it sufficiently in private, as if the want of a second virtue could destroy the first. But then, if all that Lord Byron did was severely scrutinised, whose fault

was it? A new Tyrtæus, he excited with his strains the regenerated Greeks to battle and to victory. He died amidst those whom he loved, and obtained from a nation which was conscious of his virtues alone, and of her own gratitude, pure, and deep, and generous commiseration. His country, highly honouring her poet, disputed with Greece the possession of his mortal remains. She had them:—To the other remained that which more properly belonged to it—“My heart! Greece!” Such were his last words.

MEMOIRS OF LIEUTENANT SHIPP.*

It has been our lot more than once to encounter in real life individuals whom unexpected vicissitudes of fortune, or a restless spirit of enterprise, have led through such a tissue of strange adventures, of sudden reverses and hair-breadth 'scapes, that their authentic history, if written down with simplicity and good taste, would exceed in interest the highest-wrought works of fiction. When such persons, however, have become their own biographers, or engaged some assistance to *make up* a volume or two of memoirs for them, there are ten chances to one that the work produced has been a very crude performance. The spirit of enterprise that leads men to ramble over the world, and involves them in strange and perilous adventures, is by no means always accompanied by that felicitous tact or talent which enables a judicious writer to tell his own story in the words most becoming for himself and most interesting to his readers.

The career of John Shipp has certainly been an extraordinary one; and many of the adventures and scenes described by him possess very considerable interest. But the value of his book is lessened by defects which detract not a little from the interest of the better parts of it. Notwithstanding these defects, (for which great excuse, doubtless, may be found in the peculiar circumstances of the author,) it is impossible not to admire the buoyant, chivalrous, and adventurous spirit of the individual who has furnished this curious specimen of auto-biography.

Born of indigent parents, and left an orphan in his tender years, his first asylum was the parish poor-house. From this he was soon transferred to be the drudge of a harsh and brutal master, from whom, before he was ten years of age, he attempted, but in vain, to escape, by following a regiment and offering to enlist. He at length obtained his wish, by being admitted into one of the ‘experimental regiments,’ raised by Government in 1795, for the reception of poor parish boys; and, while yet a youth, was shipped off

* Memoirs of the Extraordinary Military Career of John Shipp, late a Lieutenant in his Majesty's 87th Regiment. Written by Himself. 3 vols. 8vo. Hurst, Chance, & Co. London, 1829.

with his company to the Cape of Good Hope, then recently taken from the enemy. Here he was sent up the country to serve against the Caffres, and remained till the colony was again delivered over to the Dutch in 1802; when he was embarked for India, with his comrades, after an abortive attempt to desert, for the sake of a boor's daughter with whom he had fallen in love, and whose parents had encouraged him to return with them to the interior of the colony.

It was in India that his daring career of military adventure truly commenced. After leading three successful forlorn hopes against the redoubted fortress of Bhurtpore, and displaying the most extraordinary bravery, he was promoted by Lord Lake, first to an ensigncy, and speedily afterwards to the rank of lieutenant in the 76th regiment.

But we cannot follow him minutely through the strange vicissitudes of his life: suffice it to say, that he returns to England; involves himself in debt by imprudent expenses; sells his commission to clear them off; re-enters the service as a private; is sent back to India; is again promoted to the rank of ensign, and serves with great *eclat* in the Nepaulese war, where he kills one of the enemy's most distinguished officers in single combat; and, after attaining once more the rank of lieutenant, and achieving many perilous adventures, is at length sentenced, by a court-martial, to be put upon the half-pay list, for an instance of slight disrespect to a superior officer. In this unfortunate predicament, 'at the age of forty-three, and in active and vigorous health,' his principal object in publishing his book is, he says, the hope of attracting attention to his situation, and of being perhaps restored, by the indulgence of Government, to the profession in which his life has been spent, and to which he has ever been enthusiastically attached. In this object, we very cordially wish him entire success; and, recommending such of our readers as feel peculiar interest in the details of Indian warfare to consult the work for themselves, we conclude our brief notice with the following specimen of the author's style and manner. The British army, under Sir David Ochterlony, were ascending the ghauts to attack the Nepaulese forces in their mountain fortresses:

• 'There was a small ravine branching off from the bed of a dry river in which our encampment lay, and its entrance looked like the dreary access to some deep cavern. From thence the spies last came. The moon rose in all her splendour, gilding the tops of the golden-leaved trees, and all was silent, save the falling of the distant cataract, when a faint whisper, borne on the refreshing breeze of night, said, "Prepare to move;" and, in one hour after, we entered this little gaping cavern, leaving the principal part of our force for the protection of our standing tents and baggage. We were equipped as lightly as possible. Two six-pounders were conveyed on elephants, and our march seemed to lie through the bed

of this ravine, which was rocky, and watered by a crystal current, that rippled along its flinty bed. We did not proceed at the rate of more than one or two hundred yards an hour, ascending and descending every twenty paces; at one time deep sunk in some dark excavation, and shortly afterwards perched upon the summit of a rock, the falling of the numerous cataracts drowning the noise made by our approach.

‘Had the enemy been aware of our nocturnal excursion, they might have annihilated us, by rolling down rocks and stones upon our heads; but, fortunately for us, they slumbered on the couch of fancied security, and heard us not. What with falling and slipping, we became wet through; but, as I had that night the honour of bearing my country’s banner, this was a charge, the care of which afforded me neither time nor inclination to attend either to personal annoyance or personal comfort.

‘Our march now became more and more tardy, and the ascents and descents more difficult and intricate. In some places, rocks of gigantic size hung some hundred feet over head. These sudden and tremendous hills and dales indicated that we could not have far to go; for the last hill was scarcely accessible.

‘The morn now began to break through the cerulean chambers of the east, the faithful moon still lingering on the tops of the western hills, loth to bid us farewell. I was of course in the centre of my regiment. We halted a considerable time,—till broad daylight, when we could see, from where I stood, the soldiers in advance of us, ascending by means of procting rocks and boughs. We were halted in a kind of basin, surrounded by high hills. In the course of a couple of hours, the whole of the 87th regiment, with our gallant general and suite, ascended this difficult ghaut. From this eminence we could see a great distance; and on every hill we could discern signals, which were communicated from post to post. From this we concluded that the enemy had gained information of our approach; but I do not think they knew whereabouts we were, as will appear afterwards, but merely that some of our troops had marched from their old ground.

‘What will not good examples effect on the minds of soldiers! Our gallant general walked every yard of this critical march, encouraging his men. These well-timed examples will accomplish wonders. The question now was, how to get the guns up, and the powder and shot; but those who are accustomed to wars in India are not often at a loss for expedients. Having got all the men up, except the rear-guard, the pioneers went to work with their pick-axes, some making a road, and others felling trees. As we were but two regiments, the general’s primary object was to place our little force to the best advantage. This accomplished, the guns were our next object. Having cut a good deal of the most prominent part of the hill away, and laid trees on the ascent, as a footing

for the elephants, these animals were made to approach it, which the first did with some reluctance and fear. He looked up, shook his head; and, when forced by his driver, he roared piteously. There can be no question, in my opinion, that this sagacious animal was competent instinctively to judge of the practicability of the artificial flight of steps thus constructed; for, the moment some little alteration had been made, he seemed willing to approach. He then commenced his examination and scrutiny, by pressing with his trunk the trees that had been thrown across; and, after this, he put his fore-leg on, with great caution, raising the fore part of his body so as to throw its weight on the tree. This done, he seemed satisfied as to its stability. The next step for him to ascend by was a projecting rock, which we could not remove. Here the same sagacious examination took place, the elephant keeping his flat side close to the side of the bank, and leaning against it. The next step was against a tree; but this, on the first pressure of his trunk, he did not like. Here his driver made use of the most endearing epithets, such as, "Wonderful, my life,"—"Well done, my dear,"—"My dove,"—"My son,"—"My wife:"—but all these endearing appellations, of which elephants are so fond, would not induce him to try again. Force was at length resorted to, and the elephant roared terrifically, but would not move. Something was then removed; he seemed satisfied, as before; and he in time ascended that stupendous ghaut. On his reaching the top, his delight was visible in a most eminent degree; he caressed his keeper, and threw the dirt about in a most playful manner. Another elephant, a much younger animal, was now to follow. He had watched the ascent of the other with the most intense interest, making motions all the while, as though he was assisting him, by shouldering him up the acclivity;—such gestures as I have seen some men make when spectators of gymnastic exercises. When he saw his comrade up, he evinced his pleasure, by giving a salute something like the sound of a trumpet. When called upon to take his turn, however, he seemed much alarmed, and would not act at all without force. When he was two steps up, he slipped, but recovered himself, by digging his toes in the earth. With the exception of this little accident, he ascended exceedingly well. When this elephant was near the top, the other, who had already performed his task, extended his trunk to the assistance of his brother in distress, round which the younger animal entwined his, and thus reached the summit of the ghaut in safety. Having both accomplished their task, their greeting was as cordial as if they had been long separated from each other, and had just escaped from some perilous achievement. They mutually embraced each other, and stood face to face for a considerable time, as if whispering congratulations. Their driver then made them salam to the general, who ordered them five rupees each for sweetmeats. On this reward of their merit being ordered, they immediately returned thanks by another salam.—

Vol. ii. pp. 64—72.

PHILOSOPHICAL OPINIONS AND MAXIMS OF THE HINDOOS.

(Extracted from their Sacred Books.)

THE whole world is but an emanation from the Great Brahma.

The soul is an inseparable portion of the great universal mind ; in other words, of Brahma. Like the Being from whom it emanates, it is therefore indestructible. It knows no di-tinction of time ; it is free, immutable, eternal. The wind cannot pierce it, fire cannot burn it, water cannot drown it, the earth cannot absorb it. It is beyond the reach of the elements, invulnerable, invisible, universal, subsisting in all places and at all times, and victorious over death.

Sully not this pure emanation of Brahma by sordid vices. As the tortoise returns within its shell, so does the wise man retire within himself from the influence of the senses. Let but *one* passion throw off the yoke of reason, and wisdom will be to the soul like water poured into a vessel without bottom.

The first and best adoration is to fulfil one's destiny. Man was not formed for duration only, but to run the risk prescribed by fate.

An ordinary duty well performed, is of more value than the highest, if fulfilled inadequately.

Let no duty be carried to excess ; even honey can kill, if mixed with poison.

Good works, so far from being renounced, as some vainly teach, are the medium through which we must arrive at happiness with the gods. We must do good to complete the plan of Brahma.

Good and evil are necessary, nor can one exist without the other. They are as inseparable as fire and smoke.

Eternal nature has three great qualities, from the opposition and combination of which result all the appearances, moral and physical, of the universe : these are, *Tativa*, truth ; *Rajas*, passion ; and *Tamas*, darkness. Matter and mind are the same, and equally affected by the incessant operations of these great principles. These operations and their results constitute the *Maya*, or incomprehensible magic of Brahma : they proceed from him, and subsist in him. He is the air which fills all things, yet remains uninfluenced by them. He is the bond of the universe, the thread which connects the beads of a neck-lace.

If good works are necessary, so also is faith. We must believe in Brahma, and make his nature the subject of our frequent meditation.

Wisdom is better than sacrifice. Like a skilful pilot, it will guide our bark through the ocean of sin.

Wisdom destroys the power of sin, as fire consumes the dried branch.

Passion encircles this world just as smoke surrounds the fire. It watches for opportunities of admission even into the bosoms of holy Moonys.

Repress the first incentives to evil, which may easily be subdued. Believe not those who say, that to conquer our passions, and change our inclinations, is to wash the elephant.

Brahma writes the destiny of every child on its forehead ; but, though our *lot* be unalterably fixed, our *virtue* or *vice* is the work of our own hands.

Naraka, or hell, has three gates—lust, anger, and avarice. *The Bridge of Indra* has also three—prayer, almsgiving, and penance.

He who has faith, obtains wisdom ; and by wisdom, sin is overcome. As the serpent casts its skin, so may man cast off his vices.

To enjoy the blessings of life, without grateful acknowledgments to Heaven, is downright robbery.

As a melodious voice is the boast of the nightingale, so is chastity that of a woman.

Though the soul is imprisoned within a city which has nine gates, (the body,) it is ever present to Brahma, and ever united with him.

Perfection may be attained by all. The Moony is like the solitary lamp, the blaze of which is never disturbed by the wind. Desires pass through his soul, just as rivers flow into the sea : as the mass of waters is not increased in the one case, no more is his tranquillity disturbed in the other.

All knowledge is but vanity to him who neglects to lead a good life and honour Brahma.

Happy is he who controls the five natural senses.

The body is strengthened by nerves, and the soul by friendship.

We should love our neighbours as we do our own offspring.

He who is humble, and who employs no other language than that which is mild and sweet, has no need of ornaments ; his conduct is his nobility.

A woman who uses economy, is the glory of her husband.

Though women spring from sin, they may arrive at the gods by purity and chastity.

There can be no greater sinner than he who hunts for his neighbour's wife.

Music may be sweet to those who have not heard the prattling of their children.

As the earth supports those who trample it underfoot, and tear open its bosom in cultivating it, so ought we to return good for evil.

To be angry with a superior, is a great crime ; but it is a greater to be angry with an inferior.

The injuries which we inflict on others, will always pursue us, as the shadow follows the moving body.

A man, who in his need receives a benefit from another, should that benefit be small as a mustard-seed, ought to consider it as large as a palm-tree.

• To a poor man rice is a most acceptable gift ; yet is it less acceptable than sweetness of speech.

The happiness of man hereafter is proportioned to his virtue. He who is eminently good, who knows the sublime doctrines of Brahma, and has mastered his passions, is by death united immediately to Brahma. His soul is like the pure breeze, which is absorbed in the *Pooroo chattama*, or soul of the universe. He who dies before he has had time to attain perfection, inhabits the celestial regions for a certain number of ages, and returns to earth with the sum of merit he has acquired, to finish his holy career. But the man who has not known Brahma, and has confined his adoration to inferior deities, shall inhabit the regions in which those deities reside, until the time appointed for his return to earth.

SLAVE TRADE AT THE ISLAND OF NIAS, SINGAPORE.

IN 1820, in compliance with the repeated solicitations of many of the principal chiefs of the Island of Nias for the protection of the Company, Sir T. S. Raffles, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen, deputed Mr. Prince, accompanied by the late Doctor Jack, to visit the island, and to form there, if deemed advisable, one or more settlements in situations that might appear best adapted for the purpose. Their first object was to ascertain to whom the actual sovereignty of the island belonged, and whether there were any supreme authority competent to enter into terms with them for the whole ; but they found that none such existed. To the King of Acheen, the people of Nias acknowledged no subjection, and it did not appear that his authority ever prevailed in the island. The whole country, it was found, had been immemorially divided among a number of independent chiefs, with whom it became necessary to form separate agreements. The northern districts as far south as a Port called Gunong Lembo, had long considered themselves under the protection of the Company, and had even been in the habit of hoisting the English flag, and making appeals and references to Natal, an acknowledgment which was paid in consequence of assistance which had been afforded them against Acheenese pirates who infested their coasts, and at one time threatened a serious invasion.

Proceeding to visit the principal port, Mr. Prince and Dr. Jack invited the chiefs connected with each to a conference, the result of all which was an agreement under which British settlements were made at the ports of Tello Dalam and Lavago, and parties of sepoys landed to secure the respectability of the flag.

The interest which the island of Nias then possessed, has in a great measure passed away with the cession of Bencoolen and our other settlements on the west coast of Sumatra; but the report of the mission, addressed to Sir T. S. Raffles, a copy of which is now before us, is an ably written document, and contains a minute account of the slave-trade as carried on at Nias, which we deem of sufficiently permanent interest to be laid before our readers. The evils of such a traffic are depicted in a manner well calculated to inspire distrust of the eulogiuns which have been lavished on this commerce, as conducing highly to the happiness of all who are fortunate enough to become its victims.

'All the evils,' says the report, 'arising from the imperfection of their civil institutions, have been aggravated and increased by the odious traffic in slaves; and, as this subject is one of peculiar interest, we have been particular in obtaining the most minute information concerning its extent, causes, and origin. The greatest number of slaves has hitherto been exported from Lemembawa and Tello Dalam; those from the northern ports have been much fewer. It is by no means easy to get an exact account of their numbers,—some endeavouring to extenuate and diminish it, and others equally desirous of magnifying it, according as they wished to give us a favourable impression of their conduct or a high idea of their wealth; and the very nature of the trade, in some measure, precludes exactness. From a comparison, however, of these different accounts, checked by an estimate of the number of vessels resorting thither, and the value of their imports, we are satisfied that the annual number exported has not fallen short of 1,500. According to some accounts, more than this has been carried from Lemembawa alone; but we think the above estimate will be found nearer the truth. They are purchased chiefly by Acheenese and Chinese vessels; the latter of which carry them to Pedang and Batavia.

'The circumstances that attend this traffic are no less revolting to humanity than those which marked it on the coast of Africa. The unhappy victims, torn by violence from their friends and country, and delivered, pinioned hand and foot, to the dealers in human flesh, are kept bound during the whole course of the voyage—a precaution which is considered necessary to the safety of the crew. Instances have occurred where the captives have seized a moment of liberty to snatch up the first weapon within their reach, stab all whom they encountered, and complete the scene by leaping overboard and voluntarily seeking a watery death.

In their own country, the Nias people rarely make use of rice as food, and are almost unacquainted with the use of suet. The sudden change of diet to which they are subjected on board ship, added to the confinement and dejection of mind, prove fatal to many. Of a cargo of thirty slaves, twenty have been known to perish before the conclusion of the voyage; and on a moderate calculation it may be estimated, that, of the total number purchased, one fourth never reach their destination, but fall victims to the various circumstances above mentioned.

‘ On the scenes of violence that take place in the country itself, in the search for victims, it will be needless to dwell; they can be better imagined than described. We shall merely relate one well authenticated instance, as given by an eye-witness.

‘ A plan had been laid to attack a single insulated house inhabited by a man, his wife, and children, and to seize the whole family. At the appointed hour, the house was surrounded; but the man no sooner discovered his situation, understood the purpose, and saw that there was no escape, than he locked himself into the inner apartment, drew his kris, killed first his wife and children, and then plunged it into his own breast, preferring death to a life of slavery.

‘ Such are the circumstances which our inquiries have brought to light. It is impossible to view a people possessed of such high qualities as we have described, subject to such evils, without feeling the strongest interest in their favour. They have appealed to Britain for protection: they have placed themselves under her flag, and now look to her for the restoration of peace and tranquillity to their distracted country. We cannot forbear recording the remarkable expression of one of the chiefs of Tello Dalam, on our threatening to leave the place in displeasure, if he failed to comply with a request we had made: he earnestly entreated us not to harbour such a thought for a moment: “Have patience with us,” he said, “we are ignorant, uninstructed people; but we are desirous of obtaining the means of improvement. Formerly, we looked to the Malays and Acheenese; but they deceived us: if you should now desert us, from whom can we entertain any hope?”

‘ With a view to ascertain the best means of effecting the suppression of this nefarious commerce, we have been minute in our inquiries into the causes and origin of slavery in Pulo Nias, and the mode in which slaves are procured. Slavery is recognised by their laws and customs; it is the punishment ordained for certain crimes; and it is permitted as the ultimate resource in cases of debt. These customs have no doubt been much increased in severity by the temptations of an external demand, and are often employed on very slight pretences; but they are quite inadequate to account for the great numbers actually exported. We have abundant proof that the greater number are made slaves *by open and actual violence.*

The Rajahs had little hesitation in admitting the fact, but said, the system originated with *foreigners*, and that the source of the evil was *without*. In fact, the temptation of exorbitant gain, and the persuasion of the dealers who resort to the ports, prove too much for their self-denial, and induce the more unprincipled among them to have recourse to every means of fraud, stratagem, or violence, to procure victims to their avarice.

‘ It must not be forgotten to record the few instances we have met with of chiefs whose virtue has been proof against temptation. Those of Roheeli and Gunong Lembo deserve, in this respect, the highest praise : not only have they prohibited the traffic in their own districts, but even refuse to allow the transit of slaves from the interior, or the disposal of them, in any manner, at their respective ports. * We have had still greater reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the Rajah of Lemembawa : on first opening the subject to him, and explaining our views and intentions, he expressed his own approbation, but wished to communicate with the chief of the interior, with whom he was connected, before entering into such important engagements. The answer proved unfavourable, and the Rajah was threatened with vengeance if he received us. After some consultation, however, he came on board and acquainted us, that he was determined to disregard the threats of the interior chief, and to enter into agreements with us. He professed himself ready to place himself under our authority, and to shut his port against all exportation of slaves, on condition of our affording protection and encouragement to its legitimate commerce. This was peculiarly gratifying, as Lemembawa has hitherto been the greatest slave-port on the island, and therefore the one where we expected to meet with the greatest difficulties. Indeed, it is but justice to the different chiefs to say, that, on full discussion, they entered into our views with regard to the slave-trade with more cordiality than could have been expected.

‘ The measures, therefore, to be adopted for its suppression, appear to divide themselves into three branches : 1st, To check, as much as possible, the external demand ; 2d, To endeavour to soften and modify the severity of the native customs ; and 3d, To provide the means of relief to debtors, and such as, by existing usages, are liable to the condition of slavery. The first depends upon our vigilance ; and we have accordingly established such port regulations, *(they had formed settlements, and hoisted the British colours,)* and adopted such local arrangements, as may facilitate this object, by obliging all vessels to take a pass or port clearance from the Company’s representative at Tella Dalam or Lavago, and directing the confiscation of any vessel or boat in which slaves may be discovered.

‘ The second object will be of slower attainment : the change in their customs will be effected gradually and by persuasion ; and several practices will fall into disuse of themselves, when the tempta-

tion which maintains them is withdrawn: and the chiefs have, on the whole, shown so much willingness to attend to our suggestions, that we entertain hopes of great improvement as our influence extends. We have declared, that no Malay or other foreign settler shall in future be permitted to avail himself of the native custom in regard to debts, either to recover such exorbitant interest, or to possess himself of the person of his debtor; and, as they are the principal agents of the slave-trade, and have most of the disposable capitals in their hands, this prohibition will be attended with good effects. The domestic slaves of the Nias people themselves are considered as part of the family and are never parted with to foreigners, so that their condition is less a subject of commiseration.

‘ In reference to the third point, the means of affording relief to debtors, and enabling such persons to redeem themselves from slavery, we determined, on full consideration of the subject, to adopt the principles of the regulations framed by you, (Sir T. S. Raffles) for the reform of the *Mengiring* system at Bencoolen, which appeared to us admirably adapted to the circumstances of this Island, and to afford the utmost relief to the debtor, consistent with the just claims of the creditor. Agreeably to these, any person who had fallen into the condition of a slave, or was liable to it from inability to pay the amount of his debt, might redeem himself by entering into a voluntary contract with any person who should agree to pay the amount, to serve for a specified period of time, proportionate to the sum paid, such sum being considered as an advance to be liquidated by a certain definite service to be rendered by the debtor. Thus, in lieu of absolute and unlimited slavery, will be substituted a system of free and voluntary contract, by which the debtor or slave enters at once on all the privileges of freedom, subject only to the fulfilment of an equitable contract, at the same time that the interest of the creditor is fully secured.

‘ A plan so obviously beneficial and equitable, could not fail to meet with the concurrence of the Nias chiefs, as it, in fact, gives as much security to the creditor as the present system of slavery, and is in an eminent degree favourable to the debtor. We required of the different Rajahs the number of persons at present in a state of slavery on account of debt, in order to take measures for effecting their redemption on the above principle as soon as practicable; and the result of these inquiries strongly proves what we have above asserted, that the majority of the slaves are made so by violence, or on very unjust pretences; for we scarcely met with an instance in which they had a single slave on hand whose redemption or sale they wished to effect. The answer was uniformly, ‘ We have none; but, if you wish to purchase slaves, wait a few days, and you may have a hundred.’ On inquiring further how this was to be effected, we found that they had only to send notice to their agents, among the interior Rajahs, and any number were

forthwith brought down bound. They probably sent word to catch so many slaves with as much indifference as they would have given an order to catch so many hogs for the same purpose. The fact is, the arrival of the trading boats, which takes place at a certain season, is the signal for universal rapine and violence throughout the interior: hostile tribes endeavour to entrap stragglers belonging to their opponents; and the most frivolous pretences are resorted to, where violence is not deemed expedient.

‘It is painful to dwell on this part of the picture; but we hope the time is not far distant, when, with the temptation from without, these scenes of violence will cease and be forgotten, tranquillity be restored, and industry, no longer repressed by insecurity and danger, awake to new life and to new energies. We think the measures now commenced, if followed up and extended, are adequate to effect these desirable objects, and we trust that the people of these interesting islands will hereafter look to the period of their placing themselves under the fostering care of Britain, as the commencement of a better era and of happier times.’

‘The benefits arising from the abolition of the slave-trade, will not be confined to the relief of the unhappy victims alone, but will be much more extensively felt as the first step to the civilisation of the country, and the removal of the greatest check to industry. Independently of the habits of cruelty and rapine which it tends to infuse, the exorbitant profits it holds out, like those of gambling, create an aversion to the slower advantages of legitimate commerce and agricultural labour. In order to convey their produce to the sea-ports, the inhabitants of the interior are at present obliged to unite into parties of several hundreds, all completely armed, and with their loads of rice on their backs, descend in order of battle to the shores to dispose of it. Such is the general insecurity and distrust, that the husbandman goes armed to his labour in the fields, that they select the most difficult situations for their villages, and construct their houses with every precaution against surprise. Their laws have, from the temptation of the slave-trade, acquired a savage and cruel character, that was probably originally unknown to them; and feuds have been perpetuated that would probably otherwise have long since passed into oblivion. It is unnecessary to point out the innumerable advantages that must arise from stopping the source from whence all these evils have flowed. It will require no special interposition of foreign influence; the course of improvement will be spontaneous and natural; confidence will gradually be restored; the operations of agriculture and commerce will no longer be interrupted; and British influence may be exerted with success, reconciling feuds and re-uniting the now divided and hostile tribes into a community of interests; while those laws which derive their worst features from the facility of selling slaves, will, by degrees, fall into disuse, and give way to a milder code.’—*Bengal Chronicle*, April, 24, 1828.

SUTTEES.—(FROM 'THE INDIA GAZETTE.')

IN our correspondence department will be found an account of a woman rescued from a Suttee, principally through European instrumentality. Fire had absolutely been set to the pile, and the poor woman had sustained considerable injury before she could make her escape good. In this instance the woman does not appear to have been fastened down: the consequence was, that, when the agony of her situation became too great, the impulse of nature became more powerful than the dogmas of superstition; and she obeyed it.

We have also much pleasure in referring our readers to an ingenious proposal respecting Suttees, which, if adopted, we doubt not, would ere long put an entire stop to that horrible custom.

To the Editor of 'The India Gazette.'

Mirzapore, 15th June, 1828.

SIR,—May I beg the favour of your inserting in your paper the following account of a Suttee that occurred in this neighbourhood a short time since, when the presence of a few European gentlemen was happily the means of rescuing an unfortunate and deluded young widow from self-immolation.

Hearing that a Suttee was about to take place about four miles from this cantonment, I repaired to the spot, accompanied by several officers, in the hope of dissuading the unhappy woman from burning herself with the body of her deceased husband, but at all events to see that no measures of coercion were used to compel her to this rash act.

On reaching the ground, we found a vast concourse of people assembled to witness the horrid scene, waiting with great anxiety for the magistrate's purwannah permitting the sacrifice. Some considerable time, however, elapsed before the police officers arrived with the magistrate's permission to allow the Suttee to take place, under such restrictions as the regulations of the service enjoin. During this interval, every endeavour was made to induce the misguided and infatuated woman to abandon her resolution of destroying herself. Protection and support were promised to her and her family, provided she would relinquish her horrid purpose. She rejected every proposal, however, with disdain, but with mildness, obstinately bent on self-destruction. When the Darogah arrived from the city with the magistrate's purwannah, she expressed the greatest delight, and, with a firm step and a mind undaunted, repaired to the banks of the Ganges where the pile was raised, followed by a mob of deluded zealots, who evinced as much anxiety to witness the horrid spectacle as an English crowd would a pugilistic fight. On reaching the river, she went through the ceremony of

bathing with the body of her deceased husband, changed her dress, distributed her ornaments amongst her female relatives and friends, receiving in return from the Brahmins who surrounded her, garlands of flowers and scented oil, with which she anointed herself. This purification being over, she seated herself on the ground close to the pile, surrounded by a crowd of old women and Brahmins, whose countenances displayed, in strong and marked lineaments, the delight they felt at the determined and unshaken fortitude of their victim. An unlooked for delay now occurred, there not being a sufficiency of wood ; and, during this interval, attempts were again made to divert her from her cruel purpose : but she continued firm, smiling and singing, the old women and Brahmins clapping their hands and shouting in chorus. The pile was quickly replenished with fuel, and surrounded with large bundles of jowah or brushwood, that her sufferings might be as short as possible. The awful moment of destruction had now arrived ; and with a tranquil countenance and a mind not at all shaken from its purpose, she rose from the ground, walked several times round the pile, distributed flowers to the mob, who eagerly pressed to receive some tokens from her, and then mounted the pile singing all the time, accompanied with the shouts of the multitude, and the discordant sounds of the Indian drum and pipe. On reaching the summit, she seated herself in the centre ; and the body of her deceased husband (a bloated mass of putrefaction) was laid carefully across her lap. The crisis was now at hand ; and a piece of lighted cow-dung, surrounded with a wisp of straw, was banded to her father-in-law, who walked round the pile shouting and brandishing the lighted straw, the victim clapping her hands, apparently exulting in the doom that awaited her. The brushwood was set fire to in several places, and soon rose into an awful and majestic blaze, aided by a strong westerly wind. I shall never forget this appalling moment. As the flames reached her, I observed her move, as if about to lie down, that the conflict might the sooner be over ; but what was my astonishment and delight to see her make a jump from the pile, throwing the body of her husband from her lap with a strong convulsive start ! She had scarcely reached the ground, when an attending Brahmin rushed upon her ; and she sunk on the ground in a state of exhaustion, and, but for our instant interference, would have been hurled again on the fire. A scene of confusion, as you may suppose, ensued ; but no attempt at violence was made. An avenue through the crowd was soon formed ; and we had the proud satisfaction of conducting this infatuated devotee to Brahminical influence from the ground to her village, where she now is, and, I believe, thankful for her rescue. Her back and arms were dreadfully burnt ; and, what with the exhaustion of hunger, and the fatigue and anxiety she underwent for three days previous to the day of the Suttee, it is a miracle that nature did not sink under the severe penance.

No intoxicating drugs were administered to stupefy her, so far as I could ascertain; and the determined heroic fortitude she displayed throughout the whole of the ceremony, till the moment of pain and trial, was worthy a better cause, and would have done honour to a Christian martyr.

Such, Sir, are the particulars of this Suttee, which require no comment, nor should I have troubled you with this long detail, but for my anxiety and desire that the Government should be made acquainted with the happy result that ensues from the presence of a few Europeans; as I feel assured, that, in nine cases out of ten, force is made use of to compel the victim to adhere to her horrid purpose. The days of martyrdom happily do not now exist, and it requires no common mind to bear the pains and tortures of fire; and I have little doubt, that, if the European authority or magistrate were always present (when circumstances of locality admit of it) on the occasion of a Suttee, the practice so abhorrent to the feelings of humanity, might soon be abolished altogether.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

AN EYE-WITNESS.

To the Editor of 'The India Gazette.'

June, 1828.

SIR,—During a late residence at home, I observed that nothing interested the people of England in connection with our Empire here so much as the Suttees: I might say that little else appeared to attract their serious attention towards the East. Indisputably, they hate horrible and disgusting sacrifices, which, as a Christian people and as human beings, we should oppose by all lawful and prudent means: to oppose them otherwise *might* increase the evil we desire to prevent. I have frequently thought on the subject,—as who in India, deserving the name of a reflecting being, has not?—and it appears to me that, without any unjustifiable interference even with a prejudice, (for Suttee is admitted, on all hands, to be no religious obligation,) we might give a great, immediate, and, ultimately, a complete check to the practice. My plan has for its basis no elaborate theory, neither does it include for its means any severe penal enactments: it is founded on the acknowledged feelings of human nature, and requires few agents beyond their unrestrained influence. Briefly, I would propose—1st. That one or more spaces be appropriated in each Zillah to the performance of Suttee, and, that any attempt to evade the law, by practising the rite in any other place, be made punishable. 2d. The space so appropriated should be walled in to the height of twenty feet, and have only one entrance, protected by a strong gate; the wall might be spiked, or better if exteriorly guarded by sepoys. 3d. No one should, under any pretence, enter the inclosure; that is to say, after the pile had been prepared, and the body of the deceased person deposited on it but the Suttee, the principally officiating Brahmin, and two or three

trusty officers of the Police. 4th. Immediately the woman had entered, the crowd which naturally attends on such occasions, should be called upon and compelled to disperse. 5th. Three hours should be allowed to elapse between the entrance of the Suttee and the lighting of the pile. During this period, it should, on all practicable occasions, be the duty of the magistrate to visit the proposed victim. If she continue determined, the sacrifice must go on; for so resolute a person would probably only be prevented from burning, to practise some other mode of self-destruction; but I feel extremely doubtful, whether, in nine cases out of ten, the sacrifice would go on. Remove the mighty stimulus of being 'the observed of all observers;' the intoxication of vanity; the persuasions of friends, anxious for the honour of the family, or influenced by baser motives; the noise of music and shoutings; the encouraging presence of an admiring multitude; above all, lessen the difficulty of a retreat, by not demanding that it should be made in the face of an immense concourse, whose adoration would, by such a proceeding, be changed to instant scorn;—and then see whether the list of suicidal burnings would continue so horribly replete as at present. I am of course aware of the little attention usually paid to a newspaper speculation, and I cannot hope for mine that it should be spared from the general fate; but I offer it with a chance that the hints conveyed may meet the eye of some more able person, who may think them worthy of deeper consideration, and throw into complete form the plan which I have but imperfectly sketched.

The experiment might be tried in the stronghold of Suttees, in the immediate vicinity of Calcutta; unless, indeed, it were deemed advisable to essay the nobler and more worthy, but more hazardous one, of prohibiting the frightful practice openly and boldly, at once and for ever.—I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

H.

STATISTICAL DETAILS RESPECTING THE PROVINCE OF BASSEIN.

WE have been favoured with the following statistical details regarding the Province of Bassein, collected whilst it was under the control of the British authorities.

The district of Bassein is bounded on the north by the Pasheem nullah or creek, which falls into the Irawadi a little above Meyaon, and on the south by the sea. On the east, the Irawadi divides it from the province of Dalla; and on the west, a range of mountains, running parallel to the coast, separates it from Gna-Gioung, which, however, for some years past, has been added to the Bassein district, which makes the sea the boundary. The area comprised within these limits, is estimated at nine thousand miles.

The country is low, and, except where cleared for cultivation, overrun with jungle and forest. It is watered by the two great branches of the Irrawadi, into which that river divides a little above Henzada, the most westerly of which falls into the sea at Negrais, and is known as the Bassein river. The maia or Patano branch passes Donabew and Pantano, and sends off the Rangoon branch, and proceeds to the sea between Dalla and Bassein, forming many ramifications in its course. The Bassein river offers many facilities to navigation; and ships of burthen may ascend fifty miles above the town. In the dry season, however, there is no flow of water into it from the Irrawadi, the communication at the head of the river being interrupted by south banks. Small boats are sometimes dragged across. The opening of the river is generally awaited for trading with the upper provinces; but there is always a circuitous route open by the Pantano branch. Towards the end of the rains, the country is generally under water for some days. There are about one hundred lakes in the Bassein township, and twenty-seven in that of Pantano, at which fisheries are established. There is little intercourse in this part of the Burman territory, except by water.

The climate of Bassein is considered temperate. The heat is seldom oppressive, being moderated by the sea-breeze in the hot weather, and by the moist atmosphere of the rains; whilst, from November to February, the weather is mild and pleasant. The detachment stationed at Bassein from November 1825 to June 1826, offered no cases of general disease, and the Natives are very healthy.

The quality of the soil is various; some places yielding seven hundred baskets of paddy per yoke, whilst others return less than one-third of that quantity. The rice cultivation is much the same as that of India. Maize is also grown in considerable quantities, but chiefly about the towns or gardens. Yams, both red and white, of a superior description, are reared, as are sweet potatoes and other farinaceous roots. Sesame and the palma Christi are grown in gardens. Wood oil is obtained in the province; and a tree called tungo-peng, from the fruit and seed of which an oil, used for lamps, is expressed, grows wild in abundance. Tobacco is but little cultivated, and is of inferior quality; and the same may be said of the sugar-cane. Indigo and cotton, which grow in the upper parts of the province, might be easily extended; but the chief object of cultivation in the district is grain. Palms are not numerous, and areca nuts are imported from Bengal: cocoa-nuts are also bought from the Andamans, although the tree is plentiful about Bassein. Cocoa-nut oil is not procurable. Mango and jack trees are numerous, and the Mariam and other fruit trees grow wild.

Silk and cotton goods, of a coarse kind, are manufactured in the province for domestic consumption; but those of a better description are imported from Ava or Bengal. Common earthenware is

fabricated in abundance, as well as the few iron implements that are in use; as daos, knives, spears, the tees of the smaller pagodas, and the fastenings for house and ship building; which latter arts may be considered upon a respectable footing.

The internal trade of the country was formerly considerable. The articles sent from Bassein, were rice, salt, balachong, and salted and dried fish; the returns for which were silk clothes, lackered-ware, tobacco, onions, tamarinds, cotton, lac, lacker, petroleum, petroleum oil, dammer, iron, saltpetre and sulphur. The conveyance of these articles was by boats of large size, which assembled about the end of April, ready to take advantage of the rising of the river, and the prevailing winds from the south. In the want of wind, the progress of the large boats was stopped, or made only by warping, so that it was often necessary to transfer their cargoes to smaller boats, or sell them at the first mart. The productions of the district, or those of internal import, were exported for areca nuts and piece goods, chiefly to Rangoon; but boats of a large dimension were annually sent to Chittagong, and even to Dacca, before the late war.

The province of Bassein is said to have contained, formerly, thirty-two townships; but of these only eight remain: Bassein, Pantano, Kaybong, Donabew, Zayloom, Henzada, Kanao, and Miaou; each of these is subdivided into districts, each district containing a number of villages: thus the township of Bassein itself comprises twelve divisions, and 114 villages, besides thirty-seven villages unattached. A Sugi is at the head of each village division, and each township is under a Myosugi. These offices are, in general, hereditary; and they seem to involve a proprietary claim to the land, at least, during the pleasure of the King, who is the only landholder in his dominions, and bestows or retracts the lands at will.

The population of the province is exceedingly scanty, particularly in the lower districts. The three townships of Bassein, Pantano, and Kaybong, were found to contain about fifty thousand persons, Burmans and Taliens, and thirty thousand Karians and Kyens, making about twelve to the square mile. Taking the whole province, however, the proportion may be calculated at double that rate, or twenty-four to the square mile. The Burman and Talien population is most usually on the banks of the rivers and creeks, and the Karians are to be found mostly upon the smaller nullahs. The Kyens and Zabaings chiefly inhabit the hill forests, in situations considered by the other tribes as unhealthy. According to general report, the province has been some time on the decline, and the existence of extensive vestiges of population confirms the assertion. The town of Bassein, which now contains three thousand souls, formerly had thirty thousand. The decline has been progressive, attributable chiefly to bad government; but the late war contributed to desolate the country, not so much by the casualties of military operation as

by the compulsory abandonment of their dwellings by the people, and the prevalence of general anarchy and confusion.

The Burmese, Taliens, Karians, and Kyens, have all different languages; but the Burmese is generally understood. The dialects of the two last appear to be merely colloquial. Education is common. Almost all the male children of the Burmans and Taliens are taught gratuitously to read, write, and cipher, by the Poonghees, or priests; some of the female children are also taught to read and write. It does not appear, however, that these acquirements are subservient to more than the ordinary business of life; and literature and science are at the lowest possible ebb.

The revenue of the province was derived from a land-tax on the Karians; an assessment on houses in towns and villages; the rents of fisheries, and imposts on the manufacture of balachong and salt; on the sale of timber; on law proceedings, and duties, and customs.

The tax on the Karians was rated at about eighteen ticals annually per plough, or yoke, of buffalo. Of this, twelve were for the Government, four and a half for the Mywoon or Viceroy, and one and a half for the Myosugi. For the King's use, one viss of wax, and ten baskets of paddy, were levied in addition. The total produce of this was about 45,000 ticals.

The assessments on the towns were of a very arbitrary nature, and, on particular occasions, of unlimited amount. A town being ordered to provide a certain sum for public purposes, the heads of the divisions were called together by the Myosugi, and informed of the quota expected from each, which they again exacted from the householders, according to their supposed means. Those who pleaded poverty were not unfrequently put to the torture, whilst others evaded a full payment by the detestable administration of bribes; but the system was a source of great oppression. Persons in the public employ were exempt, as were artificers, as their services were put in requisition, whenever thought necessary, for the public convenience, or that of the local authorities. The Musulmans and Chinese of Bassein were also free from any tax, in consequence of being employed to manufacture gunpowder for the state.

The fisheries in ponds and lakes were let to certain persons in the different villages for an annual payment of about seventeen ticals each. Permission to procure turtles' eggs was also paid for. The fish was mostly made into balachong; and a charge was levied on this article when put on board of boats for transmission to any other place. Twenty-two ticals were thus levied, without regard to the size of the boat or its contents. These sources of revenue, however, were but little productive, being usually mismanaged and easily evaded.

In like manner, every establishment for boiling salt paid a com-

mon rate of tax, without any reference to the quality of the manufacture. It was made in the township of Bassein only, in the months of February and March, chiefly by people from the town, who annually visited the sea-coast for the purpose. The quantity usually made in the divisions of Negrals, Thingan, Narpoolah, and Pantano, was about 45,000 maunds a year, and the average price one tical a maund. The amount of the annual revenue raised from it was not more than 4,500 ticals. The mode of manufacture is as follows:—a hole is dug in the ground, to which wooden troughs lead from the spot where the soil is washed, and the washings, or brine, thus collected. This is allowed to remain some days, for the earthen particles to precipitate, and a portion of the water to evaporate, when some rice is thrown into the water. If it floats, the concentration is judged sufficient, and the fluid is transferred to large vessels, in which it is boiled to dryness.

The teak forests in the province of Bassein are not extensive; but good timber is procurable in the district of Lamina. The forests are on the west side of the Bassein river, along the foot, and upon the side, of the hills. Those in the Lamina district seem to have been regarded as the property of the state; but the Karians exercised the privilege of cutting those on the hills at pleasure. The timber was liable to a deduction of one tenth; but this was generally remitted upon the payment of five per cent. of the value to the local officers. At the forest, two hundred shinbeams were procurable at from three to five hundred ticals, according to the quantity on hand.

There were no duties on the transit of articles for ordinary consumption; but the people stationed at the chowks took a portion for their own use. Upon articles of greater value, as cotton, &c., from the upper provinces, $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. was levied; but the custom dues were, in general, arbitrary and undefined. Ten per cent. was levied for the state, on the value of cargoes imported from sea, besides two per cent. for the Ministers. A variety of port duties were also charged; and there was no transacting business without fees and presents to all the authorities. Before the vessel departed, an account of sales was called for; and, as the exportation of bullion was prohibited, it was necessary to show how the money received had been disposed of. The trade of Bassein was always subject to great fluctuation, and the amount of the customs, consequently, irregular and uncertain.

The revenue on law-proceedings was divided between the Government and the local authorities; and the latter not unfrequently were obliged to contract for their proportion. They, however, sometimes had to pay instead of receiving; and in cases of robbery, where the offenders were not secured, the headmen of the villages were punished by heavy fines, payable half to the state and half to the Viceroy. The chief punishment of all crimes was by fine: as 15 ticals for abuse without blows, 30 for assault without bloodshed, 30 ticals for adultery, 20 per cent. for debt denied, from 100 to 500

ticals for murder and gang robbery, although they were sometimes punished capitally. All complaints were made in the form of petition; on presenting which, fees were paid to the Maywoon and his officers, and various fees were paid on oaths, ordeals, appeals, &c. The Burmese code is derived from the Hindoo, or the Institutes of Menu, respecting whom they have a ridiculous legend, that he promulgated his code at the age of seven years, and was, in consequence, made prime minister to Mutha Mada, Emperor of Ava. The provincial Court consists of the Moywoon or Viceroy; Akween Woon, Collector of Revenue; Akon kwoon, Collector of Sea Customs; two Chekeys, or Military Officers; two Nakhans, or King's reporters; and two Tserays, or writers. Each member of the Court tried causes separately, and at his own house; but, in cases of importance, they assembled in a common hall, the Yondow; and appeals also lay to the Maywoon.

Of the hill and forest tribes settled in the province, the Karians are a fine athletic race, sober and industrious, of peaceable disposition, but not devoid of courage. They have no religion nor law peculiar to themselves, and encourage the Burman priests to settle amongst them, and educate their children. They hold public assemblages on various occasions, at which they carouse freely; and the young men and women meet, and contract marriages. The Khyens and Zabaings are also fine robust races: their women are reckoned handsome; but those of the former, whilst young, have their faces disfigured by tattooing, to render them, it is said, less the object of desire to the Burmans. Generally speaking, the employment of the Karians may be considered agriculture; that of the Khyens, wood-cutting; and that of the Zabaings, rearing silk-worms. They all use animal food; but they are not very particular as to its quality. The flesh of monkeys is very generally eaten; and the Khyens and Zabaings hold that of dogs in estimation. They all drink spirituous liquors.—*Government Gazette.*

SONNET—EVENING.

THE roses of the west, thrown loose and wide,
Give their own glow to the transparent sky,
Mingling its pale green with their ruddy dye.
Meanwhile, the moon doth in her chariot ride
Up the mid heaven, throwing the robe aside
Of watery mist, or, where its fleeces lie,
Tinging them with soft gold, still to the eye
Brightening; while, from the darkening clouds that hide
The sun's last throne, the roseate tint-are more
And more fading into one bronze, that far
And feather y shoots aloft: a rapid change
Of light and beauty, from that brilliant store
Of rich hues, passing to the pearly car
That spreads new radiance o'er its widening range. R. M.

THE INDEPENDENT PRESS AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

OUR readers will recollect the second suppression of Mr. Greig's able and independent paper, 'The South African Advertiser,' early in the year 1827, in consequence of its having copied an article from 'The Times' newspaper, affecting the public conduct of Lord Charles Somerset, then in England. It is also, we believe, pretty generally known, that, in consequence of this oppressive act, Mr. Fairbairn, the high-spirited and talented editor, came home to claim redress from his Majesty's Government. The result of this appeal, however, has not yet been accurately or fully laid before the English public. On the contrary, it has been generally understood, as, indeed, was stated, we believe, in some of the leading London journals, that Mr. Fairbairn, after a long and tedious negotiation with the Colonial Department in Downing-street, had at length returned to the Cape, in May last, to resume his meritorious labours, upon the assurance that the Colonial press should henceforth be placed on such a footing of liberality and independence, as would relieve it from all further apprehension of arbitrary interference, and leave it subject only to the right and reasonable restraints of legal responsibility.

How astonished, then, were we to discover, by the very first paper that Mr. Fairbairn published after his return to South Africa, that he and the public have been equally deceived in their expectations; and that, after all the wasting anxieties, the wearisome delays, and the ruinous losses which he and Mr. Greig have endured, for the interests of this ill-fated Colony, their press is still left in the same perilous situation as formerly—permitted to exist only *by license*, and liable at any moment to be again suppressed, at the caprice of a military Governor and his obedient council, to whom the free discussion of public measures is naturally, and, as a matter of course, highly unpleasant and obnoxious.

In the following retrospective and historical observations, and in the official correspondence which accompanies and illustrates them, Mr. Fairbairn has given (with the courageous frankness which has ever distinguished his character and writings) so full and clear a statement of the recent transactions and negotiations connected with the suppression of 'The Advertiser,' that we cannot bring the subject before our readers in any form more satisfactory than that in which he has presented it. We give the details, therefore, for the present, without farther comment. In our next Number, we propose to revert to this subject, and to the present circumstances of the Colony generally, which are full of instructive interest, though of a character sufficiently melancholy and deplorable :

Cape Town, October 3, 1828.

Our readers are no doubt acquainted with the cause which moved Lord Bathurst to deprive them of the services of the Press, at the most interesting, perhaps the most important, period in the history of this colony. Lord Charles Somerset, who had been compelled by a "leave of absence," to meet the many serious charges and unceasing complaints urged against his administration, both in the Colonial Office and in Parliament, took upon him to represent to Lord Bathurst, that a paragraph had appeared in "The Advertiser," of a false and calumnious nature; and the noble Secretary, without further inquiry, directed the Lieutenant-Governor to cancel the licence granted to the publisher of that paper. It has since appeared that Earl Bathurst, when he yielded to Lord C. Somerset's representation, was ignorant of two very important points, and contrived to forget a third, not less essential, if his intention had been to act with impartiality and strict justice in the case. In the first place, he was not aware that the allegations complained of in the paragraph were true, and that there was sufficient evidence at hand to establish every one of them. In the second place, he did not know that the paragraph in question was not an original composition, but copied, without alteration or comment, from an English newspaper. The thing he forgot was—and we beg the reader's attention to it—that, in 1824, he had pledged his own honour, and that of his Majesty's Government of course, in a written engagement three times repeated, that it should be left to the Governor in Council at the Cape to decide whether we should have adhered to the terms of the prospectus on which our licence was granted,—and that, should we in their opinion violate those terms, they were to warn us against a repetition of such infraction; but, should we neglect such warning, for our next error they would be empowered to cancel our licence. For these terms, however illiberal they may appear to those acquainted with the free institutions of England, we thought it expedient at that time to yield up a valuable consideration, without which we were given to understand that they would not have been granted. For this step towards our final object, which was the full Liberty of the Press in this Colony, we agreed to relinquish all attempts to indemnify ourselves by other means for the private loss and inconvenience we had sustained by the arbitrary suppression of "The Advertiser" in 1824, the seizure of Mr. Greig's property, and his own banishment. The compact, therefore, was complete. Terms were offered on a certain consideration. That consideration was yielded up by us, and accepted by his Majesty's own Ministers. Now mark the sequel.

From August 31, 1825, when we resumed the publication of "The Advertiser," to May 24, 1826, when the paragraph entitled "Mr. Buissonne's Case," was copied from "The Times," the Governor in Council had not warned us of any infraction of our compact. Ac-

cording to the terms of our agreement, therefore, which we had purchased, and for which we had paid a price every way satisfactory to the Secretary of State,—for it was fixed by himself,—we say, without violating those terms, “The Advertiser” could not be suppressed for what appeared in its columns on the 24th of May, 1826. If the contents of it on that day were false and calumnious, the Courts were open, nor was the law so imperfect as to contain no provision for the protection of calumniated innocence. The writers, printers, and publishers, who should have ventured to question the purity of Lord Charles Somerset’s public conduct, or the dignity of his motives, were, like the rest of the King’s subjects, amenable to the law. But the power of suppressing “The Advertiser” itself, before a “warning” should have been given, and subsequently to such warning, we had again violated our compact, had been expressly ceded and given up by his Majesty’s Government. We had purchased and paid for it.

‘ In answer to this plain view of the case, it was urged by Lord Bathurst’s successor in the Colonial Office, and by those who sought to defend, or at least to apologise for, his precipitation elsewhere, that it could never have been his intention to give up his own power over the Press, although he saw fit to restrain that of the Governor in Council. That at all times, with or without cause assigned, his power to cancel the licence of the Advertiser was as complete as if he had never said in writing, that it should be left to the Governor in Council at the Cape to decide on the case in the first instance, and that *they* should be responsible for an erroneous decision.

‘ To this we replied, that we could only know Lord Bathurst’s intentions by his words, which were so explicit, that no doubt could arise in the mind of any one respecting their import. We had stated that our object was to obtain for the Press legal protection. To that we looked forward as the end of our difficulties and embarrassments. But, as the institutions of the Colony were then undergoing an investigation, and were likely to be entirely new-modelled, we yielded, however reluctantly, to accept of something short of this, as a temporary provision. We would not accept of a licence which could be revoked at the pleasure of one man only. Lord Bathurst could not misunderstand this : it was put to him in every shape, and he at last consented that it should be left to the Governor in Council, whether in any instance cause for their interference should have arisen ; and even *their* interference was put under limitation. They could not act until a warning had been given. For this privilege, which appeared more valuable at the time than it since proved to be, we sacrificed our private claims,—a condition which Lord Bathurst stated to be indispensable. It was, in our opinion, a public and lasting advantage, with which nothing of a purely personal nature ought to stand in competition. How did

Lord Bathurst respect his own agreement? He admits that on the representation of Lord C. Somerset alone, without any reference to the Governor in Council at the Cape, he instructed the Lieutenant-Governor to cancel our license.

'The apologists of Lord Bathurst again assert, on his Lordship's authority, that at the time he issued his order, he "really did think that the paragraph in 'The Advertiser,' entitled 'Buissinne's Case,' was an original composition." The inference from this explanation is, that, had he known it was copied from "The Times," he would not have interfered. This we believe to be perfectly correct; but can any thing show more clearly the wisdom of that agreement entered into by his Lordship in 1825? He knew at that time—we appeal to himself for the truth of this—he knew that he was liable to be imposed upon by the Governors of colonies. We name no instance; but we appeal to himself whether he had not, a short time before, met with representations from a certain Governor, which turned out to be "false and calumnious." Was it not wise, therefore,—was it not prudent and praiseworthy,—to agree, in the case of the Press which he knew to be obnoxious to Lord Charles Somerset, to leave the decision, in the first instance, to the Governor in Council at the Cape, who, being on the spot, could inform themselves of the merits of the case, instead of acting blindly on the representation of an interested individual, without investigation, or affording an opportunity of explanation to the parties so deeply concerned? The apology is itself a reproach. Not only had he changed his opinion, that the Governor in Council at the Cape were the safest judges in the first instance, after he had bound himself to adhere to it; but he changed it for the worse. Even the Governor alone at the Cape—influenced by the responsibility of his high station, and surrounded with documents and facts, and evidence of every description, ready to overwhelm him if he dared to convey a mis-statement through the official channels,—was a less exceptionable guide, if he had resolved to be guided by authority and bold assertion rather than by evidence and certain knowledge, than Lord C. Somerset in London, writing, as he says, at a distance from the source of information which he can only refer to, but cannot quote. In every view of the case, his Lordship's conduct is wholly indefensible; and we are justified in considering ourselves the victims of an arbitrary and irregular proceeding, of which we know that both his Lordship himself and all his friends are now heartily ashamed.

'The reader will perhaps ask what became of the second point on which Lord Bathurst was misinformed, namely, the correctness of the statement called "Mr. Buissinne's Case," as that was certainly the most important of all. The Press was put down, not because we had walked out of our prospectus and discussed public measures, nor because we had infringed some agreement, or adjustment, or compact, made with Lord Bathurst or any one else, but because we

had published a "statement which was represented to be of a false and calumnious nature." This appears to be the burthen of the case. To Lord Bathurst himself the thing appeared in the same light; for, in his instructions to General Bourke, he made the assumed falsehood of the statement the sole ground of his decision. We were so well satisfied ourselves, that this would be the pivot on which the opposition to our claims of redress would move, that we had, previous to leaving the colony, collected at great expense, and infinite trouble, documentary proof of the truth of every assertion contained in the "Statement." We had not left a single expression, however unimportant, unsatisfied with ample evidence in its support. How were we surprised when we were told that the Colonial Office had entirely shifted its ground, and that the truth or falsehood of the "Statement" was thought of no moment whatever! Neither Lord Goderich, nor Mr. Huskisson, nor Mr. Hay, in the Colonial Office, nor Mr. Horton, nor Lord Edward Somerset, nor any one else in Parliament, would enter for an instant into that part of the subject. The truth is, we had, immediately on reaching London, printed the whole of Buissinne's case, of which the "Statement" was manifestly an abstract, and had, without a moment's delay, distributed the copies among the Members of both Houses of Parliament, whether connected with Government or Opposition, indiscriminately. Every one being thus in possession of the whole facts of the case, there was no further room for evasion or quibbling. We do not suppose that many of the Honourable Members read the pamphlet; but the representatives of the Colonial Office knew, that, should the subject be started, it could instantly be produced, and that they were utterly unprepared to meet it. But, though the Minister sunk this topic, it was the fulness and sufficiency of the defence contained in that pamphlet which secured our triumph. The defences set up by Lord Bathurst, Lord Goderich, and Mr. Huskisson, for the arbitrary suppression of "The Advertiser," after yielding the point we have just spoken of, were trifling, ridiculous, and contradictory, and intended merely to screen Lord Bathurst and the Colonial Office from the odium incurred by the harshness and inconsistency of that measure. At a personal interview with which we were honoured by Lord Goderich, his Lordship declaimed very well against

- party-spirit and the bad effects arising from the indulgence of personal animosity, which he feared had been uppermost in our mind when that "Statement" was written. On being informed that the "Statement" was not written by us, "Oh!" said he, "was it so? Well; but that makes it a great deal worse. In the heat and hurry of composition, a man may say things he would soften down, had he leisure to cool and reflect: but, in copying, you have not that excuse: you have time to weigh and consider." We immediately asked, "Does your Lordship then lay it down seriously as a doctrine, that when one paper copies an erroneous statement from another, the second party is more culpable, and should be more

severely punished, than the first—that the party misled is more culpable than the party who wilfully deceives him?" At this his Lordship only laughed, as very well he might, and changed the subject. "I do not mean," he said, "to object to your resuming your paper at the Cape; but I have only very lately come into this office, and have not yet, I candidly confess, read the Reports of the Commissioners. I shall be able to do so soon; and you will be satisfied with an answer then." The reply was, that we hoped the answer would be satisfactory, nor did we doubt it, provided he would peruse the pamphlet ("Documents connected with Lord Bathurst's last interference with the Press") which we had the honour to present to him. This he promised to do; and we retired. We may add here, that at this interview, which lasted several hours, the case of "The Advertiser" and of the Press, occupied only a few minutes. The rest of the time was taken up with a recapitulation of all the grievances which had been complained of, or exposed in our paper; insisting chiefly, as his Lordship is a great financier, on the depreciation of the currency, the heavy and increasing taxes, and profuse expenditure of the public money. His Lordship listened with great patience, though evidently startled at some facts, which we are greatly deceived if he did not then hear for the first time. After a short pause, he said, "These are important subjects; but I cannot see what connection they have with the suppression of your newspaper." "It is our opinion," we replied, "and not ours only, but we may venture to say, it is the fixed opinion of every intelligent man in the Colony, that, had a Free Press existed there since 1814, through which the public in England—not to say Parliament and his Majesty's Ministers themselves—could have been informed and constantly reminded of the real condition of the Settlement, and of the proceedings of the local Government, the errors of that Government would have been checked, and the enormous abuses of which we complain prevented altogether, or exposed and rectified before they had reached their present ruinous excess. Had you known, for example, that depreciation was going on from that period with increasing rapidity, while the measures sanctioned by the Cabinet here, by which it might have been arrested, were entirely neglected, would you have waited in silence till the currency had lost no less than seventy-five per cent. of its original value?" To this appeal his Lordship made no direct reply; but, unless we mistook his natural politeness and urbanity for conviction and acquiescence, he admitted this view of the subject to be in accordance with his own. We feel we are wandering a little from the subject more immediately in hand, and anticipating some details which we shall shortly have to lay before the public; we shall therefore only remark, that, although personal interviews with men in office possess some advantages, they are, on the whole, infinitely less satisfactory than written communications. We left Lord Goderich on this occasion, fully convinced that we had every thing to hope for, not

with respect to the Press alone, but that his own liberal mind would be stamped on all the new regulations of the Colonial Government. Yet he left the Colonial Office several months afterwards without giving a single additional hint respecting his decision, even in our private case. We are quite aware that the Ministry was at that time in the midst of great and pressing difficulties; but we will not conceal how grievously disappointed we felt at what appears to have been his Lordship's neglect.

After the death of the never-enough-to-be-lamented Mr. Caning, Lord Goderich, as our readers know, succeeded to the first place in the Cabinet, and the Colonial Department was committed to Mr. Huskisson. To him we applied, in writing, for a speedy decision on our case, which had been suffered to lie over so long. We were again encountered with the excuse that time was wanting to peruse the documents; and, after a long delay, a favourable answer was given;—but the general question of the Press was reserved by the Colonial Office as a matter in which we, as private persons, had no more concern than any other individuals in the Colony. To elicit something decisive on this subject, therefore, the merchants and others connected with the Colony, residing in London, sent in a memorial to the Secretary for the Colonies, which expressed, in strong terms, their deep regret that a line of policy inconsistent with the welfare of the Colony had been pursued by the late Government, particularly with respect to the Press, and that it was the anxious wish and expectation of every friend to the colony, that a Free Press should be established at the Cape. Shortly after this memorial was sent in, Mr. Hay, the Under Secretary of State sent for Mr. Abraham Borradaile, whose name was at the head of the list of memorialists, and entered into conversation with him on the subject. He asked what it was the memorialists wished for, and what would satisfy them? Mr. Borradaile, with his usual ability and frankness, replied, that he could only speak positively for himself; but he supposed the other memorialists as well as he desired and expected that the Press should be placed on the same footing at the Cape as it was in England, nor would any thing short of that satisfy them. By the sudden suppression of the only newspaper in the country, the medium of communication from the one end of the Colony to the other was cut off—and the greatest inconveniences ensued. And he concluded by asking, “Even supposing the conductors of ‘The Advertiser’ had done wrong, why the whole community should be made to suffer for the errors of one man?” Mr. Hay said, that he would communicate to the Secretary of State what had just been urged; and accordingly in a few days, he again sent for Mr. Borradaile, and informed him, that Mr. Huskisson admitted that “he had not before seen the case in the light Mr. Borradaile had put it, namely, that of a whole community suffering for the errors of one man; and that he would concede the point. *The Press should be placed under the*

control and protection of the law, and no arbitrary suppressions should take place in future." This decision of Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Borradaile was authorised and requested to make known to the other memorialists. In this manner was this important dispute set at rest; and, relying on Mr. Huskisson's honour for carrying his resolution in favour of the Press into effect, we left England for the purpose of resuming the publication of "The South African Commercial Advertiser."

' Below will be found copies of our correspondence with the Colonial Office, on which it is useless to offer any comment. Our own letters, in themselves of no value, having been hastily written, and designed merely to keep the Right Honourable Secretary from forgetting that such a place as the Cape was in existence, and that certain claims from that quarter called for his consideration, will, we trust, satisfy our readers, that, while defending ourselves, we did not for a moment forget the paramount importance of the great questions affecting the general interests of our fellow-colonists. These always took precedence in our own mind, and were chiefly insisted on in all our conferences, whether with Ministers or such Members of Parliament as exhibited any zeal in defence of our liberties and rights. But, before concluding this article, we must state our own conviction, that all our own efforts would have been vain, except with regard to the re-establishment of this paper, of which there never existed any doubt, but for the excellent petitions forwarded to Parliament by the inhabitants of the Cape on the subject of their own grievances. We have never seen petitions more ably or effectively enforced than some of these by Mr. Baring. Even Mr. Horton admitted that they expressed the opinions of the most respectable residents in the Colony, and never ventured to meet directly any allegation contained in them. But of these and many interesting transactions connected with them, we shall have occasion to speak at length on a future occasion.

' Permit us now to congratulate our readers, and all the inhabitants of the Cape, on the triumph, of justice, and the adoption of more enlightened principles of government and legislation, which we have lived to witness. And let us never forget, that whatever we have gained has been wrung from the hands of a reluctant Ministry by the force of PUBLIC OPINION alone. But for the open expression of that opinion through the Press, and in our petitions and memorials, in the face of ridicule, intimidation, and violence, we should have still had in the midst of us, or hanging over our heads, the old court of justice, the old military despotism, the old fiscal, and the old governor. These have been battered to pieces and removed. They were the cause of all our misfortunes. The new institutions are no doubt imperfect; but the obstacles to improvement no longer exist. Let us persevere as we have begun. and perfect liberty, security, and all the blessings which they con-

tain, or which flow from them, will, without doubt, speedily reward our endeavours.

' To the Right Honourable William Huskisson, &c. &c.

' London, October 20, 1827.

*' SIR,—*In the beginning of June last, I had the honour of laying before Lord Goderich certain papers, entitled “Papers explaining the cause of Lord Bathurst’s last interference with the Press at the Cape of Good Hope,” which his Lordship was pleased to say he would take under consideration. As the Commission of Inquiry at the Cape had not then terminated its labours, I did not press Lord Goderich for a speedy answer to the application I had to make on behalf of the proprietors and others connected with “The South African Advertiser;” being aware that the Commissioners were prepared to recommend an entire change in the system of government under which the Colony had suffered unparalleled distress, and that, without such a change, any partial remedy would prove of little value.

' The various reports of his Majesty’s Commissioners being now in the Colonial Office, from which may be clearly learned the true character of the inhabitants of the Cape, their wants and their capabilities, as well as the errors and oppressions of the late Government, I can no longer hesitate to beg your attention to the facts connected with the suppression of “The Advertiser,” of which I was the Editor and one of the proprietors, and to appeal to your justice for permission to re-establish it.

' “The Advertiser” was first printed in January 1824; and, after enjoying as much of the public attention as so novel a thing as an independent paper at the Cape could be expected to attract, it was suppressed on the 8th of May, of the same year, for no offence which had been committed, but solely lest a full report of a trial then proceeding in the Court of Justice should be inserted in it. That it was not our intention to have printed such a report, we proved to the Commissioners, by showing them an attested copy or proof-sheet of the report which had actually gone to press when the Governor interfered, from which it appeared that we had carefully excluded every thing offensive which had occurred in the pleadings. Besides the suppression of the paper, by virtue of the same warrant, the property of the printer was sealed up, and he commanded to quit the Colony within one month, on pain of being arrested and sent out of it by the first suitable opportunity. In consequence of these proceedings on the part of the Governor, Mr. Greig, the printer and proprietor of the paper, returned to England, where he had the opportunity of vindicating himself to Lord Bathurst, so much to his Lordship’s satisfaction, that not only was he permitted to resume the publication of his Journal, but the expenses of his voyage were defrayed by his Lordship’s order. If this relation appear incredible to you, Sir, I beg to refer to the official papers in your department, and to suggest, as an explanation of the Governor’s conduct, what every one at the Cape knew to be the fact, that his Excellency had resolved to oppose, as far as he could, every attempt to establish a Free Press in South Africa. The papers of the South African Literary Society will farther show how far he was prepared to go in opposing the diffusion of knowledge in the Colony. In one of those papers he declares, that he prohibits the formation of a Subscription Library by the inhabitants of Cape Town, because, however blameless the thing might be, “it might have a tendency

to produce political discussion.' In his view, therefore, it was not necessary that a newspaper should commit an offence in order to ensure his displeasure. Its existence was a sufficient offence. In addressing you, Sir, in whose hands the affairs of this Colony are now happily placed, I must add, that the sentiments of the Governor on these heads were directly opposed to those of the people, who at that time addressed a memorial to his Majesty in Council, complaining of these acts, and praying for the blessing of a free press, and who have since, at different times, forwarded petitions to Parliament to the same effect.

'Under the painful circumstances of being viewed with a hostile eye by the Governor, "The Advertiser" was, by the authority of Earl Bathurst, re-established at the Cape in August, 1825. Its columns were filled chiefly with extracts from English authors of the highest authority, reports of the debates in Parliament, and of trials in the English Courts of law; while the original articles were devoted almost exclusively to summary views of the British Constitution, and to explanations of the various institutions from which England has derived so many advantages. My intention throughout the whole was, to soothe the minds of the people, at that time highly exasperated by the local Government,—to convince them that institutions similar, as far as circumstances would permit, to those of England would protect them against the recurrence of the many evils they had endured; and that, so soon as their case was fully made known to the Ministry, of which you, Sir, were a distinguished member, they might assure themselves of speedy redress and protection. In pursuance of this plan, I laid before them the avowed sentiments of Lord Liverpool, Mr. Canning, Mr. Robinson, and yourself, as they appeared in the Parliamentary debates, or could be inferred from the acts of Government, and these names are now as well known at the Cape, and, unless some malign influence has intervened, they will soon be as much valued and revered, as in England. That I did not praise Lord Bathurst as Colonial Minister, or Lord Charles Somerset as Governor of the Cape, was no fault of mine. Had I been so base, my labour would have been vain. The single fact, that the currency had lost 75 per cent. of its original value by their management, would have been a sufficient answer to any eulogy. Sir, were I to describe the present state of the Cape, and to compare it with what it was, and might have been,—were I to detail the miseries which have been inflicted on those unfortunate British subjects during the last thirteen years by the late Government, you could not, you ought not, to believe me. Nothing but official documents—and these well authenticated—would justify any human being in believing that such things could be coolly perpetrated by men. In an address to the Lieutenant-Governor and Council, of which I have just received a copy, the inhabitants state, that they are now reduced almost to despair, that their property has vanished, and that they know not where to turn for relief. This, Sir, is not the language of a populace,—it is that of the old proprietors of the soil. Their deplorable condition is not the effect of war, or of any natural calamity, but the result of misgovernment; it is against the system, therefore, the arbitrary, selfish, and degrading system, that we now make our final appeal. Were all the wealth of which the inhabitants of the Cape have been plundered since 1814, restored to them in one day, it would be a smaller boon to them as a community, than such institutions as they now pray for. Yet these will cost England nothing; the former would cost her many millions.

'But it is to the Press that I have the honour chiefly to request your attention at present. After being permitted to exist for about eighteen months, "The Advertiser" was again suppressed in March, 1827: and the reason assigned for this arbitrary act was, the insertion of a paragraph which had appeared in "The Times," fourteen months before, and of which no notice had been taken in England. This paragraph was copied without alteration, and without any comment. The statement it contained was known to be strictly true, and the circumstances were fresh in the memory of every one. It was entitled 'Mr. Buissonne's Case,' and bore hard on the Court which condemned him, as well as the Governor who confirmed his sentence. That sentence involved in it imprisonment for life. What was his offence? The Court pronounced it to be embezzlement, aggravated by perjury. But he had, in obedience to the law, repaid to the Government the full amount of his default; and of perjury he could not have been guilty, for he had never taken the oath of office. Without this aggravation, the sentence would have been illegal; yet Lord C. Somerset, though aware that no such aggravation existed, affirmed the sentence, and Mr. Buissonne is, up to this moment, suffering under its operation. That the whole statement was strictly true, I had no difficulty in proving before leaving the Cape; and I have now the honour of laying before you a printed copy of the papers, which support every assertion contained in it. Yet, without a trial, or the slightest inquiry, upon the mere assertion of Lord C. Somerset, that the statement was of a false and calumnious nature, "The Advertiser" was suppressed.

'For the value set upon "The Advertiser" by the inhabitants of the Cape, I beg to refer to the documents marked Nos. 2—4, in the printed papers. Had its existence been inconsistent with the peace and welfare of the Colony, its suppression could scarcely have been regarded by all classes as "a public calamity," "as prejudicial to the best interests of the Colony," and "as an incalculable loss to the Colonists in general." But these are their own words. Neither would they have been so blinded as to express so ardent a desire for its speedy re-establishment. In such a case the sentiments and wishes of a whole people should have weight, independently of the simple merits of the question.

'[The remainder of this letter was occupied by a statement of the losses sustained by the proprietors of "The Advertiser."]

'I have the honour to be, &c.

'JOHN FAIRBAIRN.'

To John Fairbairn, Esq.

'Downing-street, Jan. 9, 1828.

"SIR,—I am directed by Mr. Secretary Huskisson to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 20th of October last, complaining of the suppression of the newspaper called "The South African Commercial Advertiser."

'Upon an attentive consideration of the various documents and correspondence connected with this case, Mr. Huskisson finds no reason to think, that the revocation of Mr. Greig's license was either illegal or unjust. In December 1823, Mr. Greig expressly and voluntarily bound himself in terms of his own selection, to exclude from his publication "all personal controversy, however disguised, or the remotest discussion of subjects relating to the policy or the administration of the Colonial

Government." In March, 1825, he resumed the undertaking upon a distinct and repeated explanation, that he would be holden to the terms of this engagement. In May, 1826, Mr. Greig published, in his newspaper, a statement directly relating to a subject of "personal controversy," and impugning, in the strongest terms, "the policy and administration of the Colonial Government." This statement did not purport to be a quotation from any other publication; and there is reason to believe, that Lord Bathurst considered it to be an original composition.

• For the present purpose, Mr. Huskisson does not consider it necessary to express any opinion upon the propriety or impropriety of the restrictions to which Mr. Greig subjected himself by the terms of his own prospectus. It is sufficient to say, that those conditions were violated in the most unequivocal manner, by paragraphs published in "The South African Commercial Advertiser" on the 24th of May, 1826.

• With respect to the revival of this newspaper, Mr. Huskisson entirely disclaims any wish or intention of permanently interdicting, either to Mr. Greig or yourself, the prosecution of your business as Editors and Proprietors of a public Journal. But, if either you or Mr. Greig propose to resume that business, you will, in common with all the inhabitants of the Colony, be subject to such laws as already exist, or as may hereafter be established there, for the regulation of newspapers.

• I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

• R. W. HAY.

• To the Right Hon. W. Huskisson, &c. &c. &c.

• London, Jan. 14, 1828.

• SIR,—In a letter from Mr. Hay, dated the 9th of this month, which I have the honour to acknowledge, in reply to mine dated 30th October last, on the subject of the press at the Cape of Good Hope, I am informed that "Mr. Huskisson entirely disclaims any wish or intention of permanently interdicting, either to Mr. Greig or myself, the prosecution of our business as editors and proprietors of a public journal; but that, if we resume that business, we will, in common with all the inhabitants of the Colony, be subject to such laws as already exist, or as may hereafter be established there for the regulation of newspapers."

• In reply, I beg to say, that I never wished for exemption as an individual from the operation of existing laws, however much I might desire to see them improved, and that I have no fear that any regulations will be imposed on the Press at the Cape by Mr. Huskisson unworthy of the high character he sustains in this country and among foreign nations. But it cannot be dissembled that severity has characterised the acts both of the local Government and of the Colonial Office towards that unfortunate Colony; and that, in the instance of the Press, ruin has been too unsparingly laid on the heads of those who attempted to introduce, by its means, into the public mind, British thoughts and British feelings. The facts to which Mr. Hay alludes—that the newspaper press was prohibited from indulging in the "remotest discussion of subjects relating to the policy or the administration of the Colonial Government," and that Mr. Greig's earnest entreaty, that these dangerous words might be omitted or softened, was peremptorily rejected by Lord Bathurst, clearly evince the spirit of that policy, and of that administration. Under that policy and that administration, the currency had been depreciated seventy-five

per cent.—town and country darkened by bankruptcies—the English settlement all but irrecoverably ruined—the treasury exhausted by an unaccountable waste and misapplication of money,—the rights of individuals daily and openly violated,—and transportation, imprisonment, and political removal, promptly inflicted when a complaint or remonstrance was breathed in public or in private. Sir, these things are no reproach to you as a man: the world knows and acquits you. But it must not be forgotten that you were then in the Cabinet, and that you are now in an office to which we look for redress.

‘With respect to the revival of our newspaper, I am satisfied with the declaration of your wish and intention, and I purpose to sail by the first vessel that leaves this country for the Cape,—provided you will say, that, on my arrival at the Cape, I shall, without question, be permitted to resume “our business.” This, Sir, you will be pleased to observe, is not distinctly stated in Mr. Hay’s letter, although I have no doubt such was your meaning.

‘Eleven months have nearly elapsed since the gentlemen of the Cape have been deprived of the Press,—of which they approved, and which they thought might have done them and their families much good.

‘I cannot see how a Colonial Minister can hold this subject longer in suspense. At least, Sir, I hope that the length of time I have been detained in England, the great losses I have sustained in this most distressing case, together with the anxiety expressed by the inhabitants of the Cape for my speedy return, will excuse my pressing for a decisive answer. A vessel leaves the river for the Cape on Sunday next, in which I purpose to take my passage, if I receive your favourable answer before Wednesday.

‘I have the honour to be, &c.

‘J. FAIRBAIRN.’

‘To John Fairbairn, Esq.

‘Downing-street, 26th January, 1828.

‘SIR,—I do not feel myself called upon to make any observation upon the several topics connected with the local administration of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, adverted to (as it appears to me, unnecessarily) in your letter of the 14th instant.

‘The only part of that letter which requires an official answer, is that in which you state “that you propose to sail in the first vessel which leaves this country for the Cape, provided I will say, that, on your arrival at the Cape, you shall, without question, be permitted to resume your business.”

‘I do not exactly understand what you mean “by being permitted to resume your business without question;” nor do I conceive it necessary to ask for an explanation of your meaning. My intention is simply this—that, before you resume the publication of a newspaper, you should comply with whatever order may be in force at the Cape for the regulation of that branch of the Press, and that you should engage to conduct that newspaper in conformity with the rules prescribed. Nothing more will be exacted from you in this respect than, under the same regulation, would be required from any other editor of a similar publication in that Colony; and, I am sure, you cannot expect that the local Government should be instructed to relax that regulation specially in your favour.

‘I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

‘W. HUSKISSON.

' To the Right Hon^{ble} W. Huskisson, &c. &c. &c.

' London, February 18, 1828.

' SIR—Having been informed, by your letter of the 26th January, that I shall be permitted to "resume the publication of a newspaper at the Cape of Good Hope, on complying with whatever order may be in force at the Cape for the regulation of that branch of the Press," I now beg to draw your attention to the terms on which "The Advertiser" was resumed, after its first suppression in 1824, and the amount of the loss sustained by the Proprietors, up to June, 1828, the earliest period at which the publication of that paper can be resumed.

' The terms on which the publication of "The Advertiser" was resumed, after its first suppression, in 1824, are not contained in the prospectus alone. In the correspondence which passed between Mr. Wilmot Horton and Mr. Greig, in March, 1825, it was distinctly stated by Mr. Horton, first in an official letter, dated the 7th of March, that "*it must rest with the Governor in Council to decide whether you (Mr. Greig) violate your compact; and, if, after being warned of your having exceeded the prescribed limits, you should, in the opinion of the Governor in Council, disregard such an admonition, your licence will be withdrawn:*" and secondly, on the 11th of March, that "*you (Mr. Greig) have been already informed that the Governor in Council of the Cape of Good Hope will be responsible for any act of suspension of your licence:*" and again, on the 18th of March, that "*you have been informed that it will be left to the Governor in Council to decide on your adherence to your prospectus,*" and that they will incur the responsibility of an erroneous decision." These repeated declarations were obtained by Mr. Greig as part of the conditions of the "compact" mentioned by Mr. W. Horton, before he consented, in the language of Mr. Horton's letter of the 7th of March, "*to relinquish all attempts to indemnify himself by other means for the disappointment which he had experienced in undertaking the publication of a Journal in the Colony without due authority.*" Nothing could have induced him to embark again in such an undertaking, short of a clear official declaration that the Governor in Council, and not the Governor alone, were to decide on the question whether or not he had "violated his compact." For myself, it would have been the grossest imprudence to have joined in that or in any other undertaking in the Colony unprotected by such a "compact," as Lord Charles Somerset had openly avowed his determination, "*so long as he held the reins of government, to oppose and thwart every thing in which Mr. Pringle or Mr. Fairbairn was engaged, no matter what it was.*" In consequence of this declaration, which we had an opportunity of verifying, by evidence, before his Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry, I had relinquished all my pursuits, and retired into the country, to wait the issue of the investigation of the Commissioners, which has since terminated in his Lordship's resignation. For I could have no doubt that his Lordship would, in this instance, have kept his word, as he had declared that his personal hostility to Mr. Pringle and myself was his reason for prohibiting the formation of a Literary Society and Museum of Natural History, which we had projected: of which society the Chief Justice of the Colony and sixty others, the most respectable inhabitants of Cape Town, had requested the honour to be enrolled as members. From this I clearly saw that any undertaking of mine, however laudable, without some such guarantee as the "compact" alluded to, would end in disappointment and loss. It was entirely on the faith of the "compact," therefore, that I joined Mr. Greig in resuming "The Advertiser," on his return in 1825.

'That the official correspondence which I have quoted was considered by Lord Bathurst himself as supplementary to, and explanatory of, Mr. Greig's pro spectus, I am enabled to produce a direct proof. In January, 1826, I announced the publication of a new periodical work, of which I was the sole proprietor, as well as editor. On the appearance of the first number, I was ordered by Government either to discontinue the work, or to bind myself to adhere to the terms of Mr. Greig's prospectus. Being aware that Mr. Horton's correspondence referred only to the newspaper in which Mr. Greig was concerned, I saw that the guarantee did not extend to my separate work. I therefore dropped the work, and appealed to Lord Bathurst, who stated in his reply, addressed to the Governor in Council, that "it never was in his intention that any other person than Mr. Greig should be required to adhere to the terms of that prospectus."

'On the second point, namely, the alleged grounds on which the license of "The Advertiser" was cancelled, a short statement of facts will suffice. Lord C. Somerset, then in London, writes to Lord Bathurst, that a statement of a false and calumnious nature had appeared in "The South African Advertiser," of May 24, 1826, and his Lordship immediately directs the Lieutenant-Governor to cancel the license, which is done accordingly, and the whole property embarked in the paper is in a moment annihilated. The paper was thus ordered to be suppressed on the representation of the Governor alone, without a reference to the Governor in Council—and for a paragraph which had been published before any warning had been given; being, in both particulars, in direct opposition to the guarantee three times repeated in the course of eleven days, by Mr. W. Horton, in the name of Lord Bathurst. We complain of this, because we can prove that, had the line of proceeding drawn by Lord Bathurst been observed, our license would not have been cancelled; for his Honour in Council would have been aware that the license could not be cancelled unless a "warning" had been given, and, subsequently to this admonition, some fresh violations of the "compact" had been committed by us. They would also have known that the statement was not false and calumnious; that neither the peace nor the safety of the Colony was endangered by it; and that it was a quotation, without alteration or comment, from "The Times" newspaper. This appears evident from the fact, that the publication of "The Advertiser" received no interruption from them for ten months after the appearance of the "Statement," when it was stopped, not by them, but by Lord Bathurst, on the representation of Lord C. Somerset.

'With respect to the "Statement" being a quotation, I cannot but express my surprise that this fact should have escaped the observation both of Lord Bathurst and yourself. The three columns and a half of extracts, printed in small type, of which it forms a part, are introduced as usual thus—"Extracts from the English Papers;" and these words are in black capital letters, of a peculiar form, for the purpose of catching the eye. Yet, in Mr. Hay's letter to me, dated January 9, 1828, he says, "This statement did not purport to be a quotation from any other publication, and there is every reason to believe that Lord Bathurst considered it to be an original composition." Had our case been left to the Governor in Council, at the Cape, who saw and read the paper, this mistake would not have operated against us.

'[The rest of this letter was taken up with enumerating statements of our private losses.]

'I have the honour to be, &c.

'JOHN FAIRBAIRN.'

STANZAS ON THE 'EXECUTION MILITAIRE,'

A Print from a Picture by Vigneron.

It exhibits the moment when the condemned soldier kneels to receive the fire of the party appointed to be his executioners. His dog, which he is endeavouring to shake off, still fawns upon him, and seems desirous to share his fate.

AWAY, away ! thou faithful one,
 Nor court thy master's fate,
 For friends and kindred all are gone,
 The flatterer and ingrate ;
 And none in this cold world save thou,
 Not one is near to aid me now.
 Away, fond lingerer, away !
 Unconscious of my doom,
 Thou little dream'st that parting day
 Will glimmer on my tomb ;
 That I, this hour, my life must yield,
 Ignobly, on a bloodless field.
 Away, away ! and seek the home
 I never more shall see ;
 For there, though all around be gloom,
 Are those will shelter thee :
 Warm hearts, that, ready now to break,
 Will cherish thee, for Henry's sake.
 My mother ! oh, to her wrung heart,
 How dread this fatal hour !
 Cold drops upon her forehead start,
 Aid her, Almighty Power ;
 My father ! to the grave I see
 My father borne—Oh God ! by me.
 Level your guns, companions, friends !
 And merciful the ball
 The spirit's agony that ends,
 And speeds the wanderer's fall ;
 But thou, too generous one, away,
 Thou wert not wont to disobey.
 Away ! and here no longer stay,
 This is no place for thee ;
 And, comrade, when has past away
 This dread solemnity,
 Say, wilt thou, then, when I am gone,
 Give shelter to my friendless one ?
 And wilt thou to my far-off home
 My loving follower bear ;
 The only relic of the tomb,
 That clung to me e'en there ?
 I know thou wilt ;—and, now away,
 No longer here, fond lingerer, stay. (*Kaleidoscope.*

POSTSCRIPT.

LATEST NEWS FROM INDIA.—DEATH OF SIR CHARLES CHAMBERS AND SIR EDWARD WEST.

THE prevalence of easterly winds, during the past month, has prevented the arrival of any late news, by ships, from India; but an overland despatch has reached the India House, bringing intelligence from Bombay to the 22d of October; the most material part of which is, indeed, of a painful and afflicting nature. It appears that that most excellent man and upright judge, Sir Edward West, died sometime early in October; and that his colleague, Sir Charles Chambers, followed him about the middle of the same month; leaving only one judge, Sir John Grant, on the Bombay Bench.

The immediate cause, it is said, of the Government sending home this overland despatch, was to apprise the Court of Directors of an open rupture between themselves and the Supreme Court of that Presidency, on a point of authority to which they attached the utmost importance. We have taken occasion, in many previous numbers of 'The Oriental Herald,' to show, that, just in proportion to the subserviency of the English judges in India, are they popular with the Company's Governments; and, on the other hand, that, just in proportion to their integrity, impartiality, and independence, are they unpopular in the same quarter. The history of the Bench at Bengal and at Madras is as full of illustrations of this position as the history of the Bench at Bombay; though, these being more recent, strike with greater force.

The reader will probably remember a case, stated in one of our former volumes, in which great indignation was excited in England, as well as among the liberal and just in India, by the conduct of the Governor of Ceylon; who,—when the Court there issued a writ of *habeas corpus* to bring on shore, from a ship, a person sent on board by the Governor for removal to Europe,—called together his Council, and there decreed, that it *should* be deemed a *sufficient* return to any writ of *habeas* issued by the Court, to say that the person named in it was in the *military* custody of the Government.

The same sort of tyranny seems lately to have been attempted at Bombay. The excellence of Sir Edward West's character, as an upright judge, and the general tone of firmness and independence given by him to the Bombay Bench, having become sufficiently known to the Natives of India, under that Presidency, a great number of those who were aggrieved, but who before had never dared to entertain any hope of *justice*, in contesting their claims or disputes with the Government in an English Court, were encouraged, by this hope of strict impartiality, to seek the protection of the English laws. As far as we can learn, (for, the intelligence coming only to the India House, we are certainly not among the number of those favoured with the earliest communications from that quarter,) some Rajah, or other distinguished person, in the interior, was required, for some purpose connected with a pending suit, to appear personally before the Supreme Court at Bombay, and a writ of *habeas corpus* was issued to bring him to the Presidency. This, it is said, the Bombay Government, of which Sir John Malcolm is the head, resisted, and contended, that it was a *sufficient* return to such writ, to say that

the individual named in it was in the military custody of the East India Company!

No doubt such a return is *sufficient* in their view, because it obstructs the due course of justice; but what a censure upon their whole system of rule is this single fact! and how plainly does it prove that, till this system of rule is altered, even British Courts of Justice are almost powerless, whenever the Government chooses to oppose their just decrees! For ourselves, however, we are heartily glad of the occurrence of events like these, because we believe they tend to force the matter upon the unwilling consideration of the Legislature at home; and thus contribute to bring about the reform so much desired.

Before our next Number is issued, we shall most probably have received further particulars respecting this case, which we can only mention in outline, for the reasons already stated. In the mean time, we return to the more painful portion of the intelligence of the death of the two judges, Sir Charles Chambers and Sir Edward West.

Of the character of the former, we do not remember that we have had reason ever to speak but with respect; and we feel the loss of even such a man, as one of great importance to India. But of Sir Edward West, we have had occasion in almost every Number of our Publication to express ourselves in terms of the highest praise and admiration. No Indian judge, of whose public character and conduct we know any thing, appears to us to have united in himself so completely, the clear perception of what *was* his duty, as it regarded the extension of legal protection to the Natives of India, and the firmness necessary to enable him to *perform* that duty, in spite of all the bland allurements of patronage, the intrigues of secret enemies, or the open threats of power. He had all the tenderness of feeling necessary to sympathise with the oppressed and suffering classes of our fellow-subjects in India; and all the strength of nerve to qualify him to stand up openly before the whole world as their protector. In every transaction in which we have ever watched his proceedings, (and we have done so with the jealousy with which we habitually regard the acts of all men holding elevated stations in trust for the public good,) we have seen him the friend of the oppressed—the supporter of the weak—the inflexible administrator of justice, without regard to colour, caste, or condition—in short, the *RIGHTEOUS JUDGE*,—than which a more dignified office cannot appertain to humanity; and no man deserves more honour and veneration than he who discharges its duties with integrity.

Sir Edward West was that man; and, if ever monuments were appropriate tributes from the living to the dead, one of splendid simplicity, conformable to his own pure and unsullied character, ought to be raised on the spot where he breathed his last,—where, indeed, his life was sacrificed to the arduous duties of his elevated profession; as such monument is already, we are persuaded, raised in almost every Native bosom in India.

In confirmation of our anticipations, we rejoice to hear that a Bombay Paper of the 8th of October, the only one, as far as we can learn, that has come by this overland despatch, and which, being in the hands of the Directors, is not accessible to us, contains an Address of the principal Native inhabitants of Bombay to the Bench of that Presidency (Sir Charles Chambers and Sir John Grant) on the loss they had sustained by the death of Sir Edward West. It must have been in about a week

after this that Sir Charles Chambers followed his lamented friend and colleague: such is the instability of human hopes! But the fact, that the Natives of India had, under the able administration of the Chief Justice, Sir Edward West, acquired sufficient confidence thus to express their sentiments by an Address of the description named, is of itself a sufficient eulogy on his memory, were not, indeed, every page of his history, and every day of his life, full of such eulogies,—the more powerful, because existing in acts and deeds, rather than in mere professions and words.

For themselves, we congratulate them on having thus sunk sweetly to repose, with all the odour of good deeds breathing incense around their tombs: for when can men die happier,—since die they must,—than when borne to the chamber of death by the aspirations of those who honour their departure with their tears and their regrets? For their weeping families—the only balm is time and hope. But for India!—alas!—a century may roll away before two such men,—the one an intrepid leader in the cause of justice, the other a willing follower in the same bright path—may be sent to hold the balance in the East. And for England—whose honour and renown is so intimately blended with the due administration of justice in every corner of her extended realms—our prayer is, May the places thus left vacant by death, be filled as adequately as talent, merit, and independence, untainted by any meaner considerations of patronage or profit, can effect!

Since writing the above, we have received a Bombay paper, 'The Courier,' of August 23, which contains the following notices:

Bombay Government Order.

'Bombay Castle, August 19, 1828.

'No. 226 of 1828.—In consequence of the lamented death of the Honourable Sir Edward West, Knight, Chief Justice of his Majesty's Supreme Court of Judicature at this Presidency, which took place at Poonah yesterday in the forenoon, the Honourable the Governor in Council is pleased to direct that forty-five minute guns, corresponding with the age of the deceased, be fired from the ramparts of the garrison; and that the flag at the Castle be hoisted half-mast high, and continue so until sun-set.

'Bombay, August 23.

'In an extra Courier of Tuesday last, we announced the melancholy demise of the Honourable Sir Edward West, Knight, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature at this Presidency, aged forty-five. Sir Edward West died at Poonah, after an illness of only a few days.

'It is often the practice, in this country, to employ the language of hyperbole in speaking of the public acts and public virtues of exalted individuals; and it is so rare that the opportunity of offering adulation is permitted to pass neglected, that the task of the journalist who is called on to pay a tribute to their worth, when they are removed to another and a better world, becomes comparatively trifling and unimportant: he has but to repeat his former eulogiums, and the record is complete.

'In referring to the public life of the Honourable Sir Edward West, however, since he has been in this country, these materials are not at

hand; and we must therefore appeal to the recollection of those who have watched his career from its commencement, and to the results of his public measures, for adequate testimony to their merit.

‘Sir Edward West was appointed Recorder of Bombay in 1822; and arrived here, in order to assume the functions of that office, on the 6th February, 1823. Immediately on his arrival, he applied himself to the reforming of certain abuses in the Recorder’s Court, which had existed for a long series of years; and it is no mean praise to say of those reforms, that they were evidently founded on a sincere desire to give the Natives of this country what they much wanted—a cheap and easy access to justice. In 1824, a Supreme Court was established at Bombay, on which occasion the Honourable Sir Edward West was raised to the high office of Chief Justice. Pursuing his plans of reform, Sir Edward West, at the last Quarter Sessions in 1825, delivered his celebrated charge to the Grand Jury, on the subject of the powers of the Magistrates in this country, denouncing many of their proceedings as illegal and unnecessarily harsh, and requesting the attention of the community to their modification. The principle of the learned Judge’s charge, viz. that the acts he condemned were repugnant to the spirit of British law, were, we believe, generally admitted; but it has been found, by experience, that the state of society in India requires that the spirit of English law should not be too rigidly adhered to; and steps are perhaps at this moment being taken to enlarge the Magisterial powers which Sir Edward West deemed it necessary to restrain.

‘With the advocates of the Freedom of the Press in India, Sir Edward West rendered himself particularly popular by his refusal to register the Regulation of Government requiring persons to take out licences (revocable at will) for the papers they might wish to establish. His last public act was, to introduce the Natives to the privilege of sitting on juries. It is true, this proceeding originated with the Parliament of Great Britain, but this is very little detraction from the late Chief Justice’s merit; for, assuredly, the step which a Judge makes is great, when he embodies the ideas of ingenious and speculative men in a substantive measure, and carries it into execution.

‘Of the general character of the late Sir Edward West’s judicial decisions, we have never had opportunities (nor, had opportunities presented themselves, should we have felt ourselves competent) to form an opinion. To the Bar, we believe, he was uniformly courteous; and the dignity of the Court, under the eye, was scrupulously preserved.

‘Of the politics of Sir Edward West, we know nothing. As a Political Economist, however, we can affirm that his reputation stood very high, and some of his pamphlets in support of his particular principles attracted considerable attention not long since.

‘In the relations of private life, Sir Edward West was amiable and domestic; and there are few, we believe, who knew him intimately, who will not lament his untimely demise.

‘The remains of the late Sir Edward West were interred at Poonah, and the customary honours were duly paid to them. On the receipt of the intelligence of his death at the Presidency, minute guns were fired corresponding with the age of the deceased, and the flag at the Castle was hoisted half-mast high.’

CIVIL AND MILITARY APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, AND CHANGES IN INDIA.

[B. signifies Bombay—M. Madras—and C. Calcutta.]

- ARNOLD, R., The Rev., to be District Chaplain at Bareilly.—C. July 17.
 Auriol, J., Lieut.-Col., 9th N. I., transferred to Invalid Estab.—C. July 11.
 Barns, W. R., Cadet of Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. July 9.
 Beran, F., Cadet of Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. July 9.
 Blane, T. L., Esq., to be Assistant to Collector and Magistrate of Chingloput.
 —M. July 25.
 Buere, J. G. S., Esq., to be Assist. to Principal Collect. and Magist. of Northern
 Division of Arcot.—M. July 29.
 Babington, G. S., Senior Ensign 15th N. I., to be Lieut. v. Smith, promoted.
 —M. July 11.
 Baldero, C., Lieut., 24th N. I., to be Capt. by brevet.—M. July 11.
 Berthon, H., Cadet of Engin., prom. to 2d Lieut.—B. July 25.
 Bromwich, H. J. A., Cadet of Inf., prom. to Ensign.—B. July 25.
 Burrowes, R. E., Capt., 26th Foot, to be Aide-de-Camp to the Hon. Governor.
 —B. July 25.
 Colquhoun, A., Mr., admitted Assist.-Surgeon.—C. July 11.
 Cales, J., Senior Ensign 10th N. I., to be Lieut.—M. July 11.
 Coombs, J. M., Lieut.-Col. 2d N. I., returned to duty.—M. July 11.
 Cunningham, H., Cadet of Inf., prom. to Ensign.—B. July 25.
 Cahill, J. S., Cadet of Inf., prom. to Ensign.—B. July 25.
 Cleather, T., Lieut. Artillery, on furlough for health.—B. July 25.
 Dougan, J. C., Cadet of Inf., prom. to Ensign.—C. July 9.
 Dyer, W., Assist.-Surgeon, to be Surgeon.—C. July 11.
 Downes, E. T., Assist.-Surgeon, on furlough.
 Douglas, W., Esq., to be Registrar to Prov. Court of Appeal and Circuit for
 Southern Division.—M. July 29.
 Dunlop, Senior Ens. 50th N. I., to be Lieut. v. Walter, prom.—M. July 11.
 Dittmas, F., Cadet of Engin., prom. to 2d Lieut.—M. July 11.
 Ewart, D., Lieut., to act as Adjut. to 1st Brigade Horse Artill., v. Mackay, in
 charge of Pay-office.—C. July 14.
 Ensor, F., Lieut. 47th N. I., on furlough for health.—M. July 11.
 Forbes, R., the Hon., to be Assist.-Secretary to Board of Revenue in Western
 Provinces.—C. June 17.
 Franklin, J., Capt., Surveyor of Iron Mines in Saugor and Nerbudda Districts,
 placed at disposal of the Commander-in-Chief.—C. July 11.
 Francis, R., Lieut. 45th N. I., returned to duty.—M. July 11.
 Foulis, D., Lieut.-Col. 5th Light Cavalry, on furlough to Europe for health.
 —M. July 11.
 Gillander, A., Cadet of Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. July 9.
 Gumm, G. M., Cadet, prom. to 2d Lieut.—M. July 11.
 Hill, A., Cadet of Cavalry, prom. to Cornet.—C. July 9.
 Hodgson, W., Capt. 26th N. I., transferred to Invalid Estab.—C. July 11.
 Hooper, G. S., Esq., to be Assist. Judge and Joint Criminal Judge of Salem.
 —M. July 25.
 Hall, J., Cadet of Infantry, prom. to Ens.—B. July 25.
 Innes, A., Lieut., to act as Adjut. to 3d Light Cavalry, v. Christie.—C. July 14.
 James, W., Lieut., to act as Adjut. to 68th N. I. v. Maling.—C. July 11.
 Johnstone, D., Cadet of Inf., prom. to Ens.—M. July 11.
 Jackson, F., Cadet of Inf., prom. to Ens.—B. July 25.
 Jeffery, R., Cadet of Inf., prom. to Ens.—B. July 25.

- Kelly, H. M., Lieut.-Col., to be Lieut.-Col. Commandant, v. Ogg, deceased—M. July 11.
- King, E., Cadet of Inf., prom. to Ens.—M. July 11.
- Lavie, W., Esq., to be Head Assist. to Principal Collec. and Magis. of Canwra.—M. July 25.
- Mansell, C. G., Mr., to be Regis. of Zillah Court of Agrah.—C. July 10.
- Macdonald, C. E., Esq., to be Assistant to Collector and Magistrate of Salem.—M. July 29.
- Manners, T. R., Lieut. 24th N. I., to be Capt. by brevet.—M. July 11.
- Mantell, T. R. C. Capt. 48th N. I., returned to duty.—M. July 11.
- M'Haffie, W. G., Cadet of Inf., prom. to Ens.—B. July 25.
- M'Hutchin, G. T., Cadet of Inf., prom. to Ens.—B. July 25.
- Maude, C. W., Cadet of Inf., prom. to Ens.—B. July 25.
- Mackenzie, T., Mr., admitted Assist.-Surgeon.—B. July 25.
- Malcolm, G. A., Lieut. 3d Foot, to be Aide-de-Camp to the Hon. Governor.—B. July 25.
- Nation, H. M., Cadet of Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. July 9.
- Oldfield, C. E. T., Lieut., to officiate as Interp. and Quar.-Master to 5th Light Cavalry, v. Bott.—C. July 12.
- Ormsby, W., Senior Major, from 58th N. I., to be Lieut.-Col. 38th N. I., v. Smith, deceased.—M. July 11.
- Pengree, G., Cadet of Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. July 9.
- Pickering, W., Senior Capt. 50th N. I., to be Major, v. Ormsby, promoted.—M. July 11.
- Richardson, W., Cadet of Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. July 9.
- Rogers, W., Cadet of Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. July 9.
- Raymond, E. H., Senior Lieut. 8th Light Cavalry, to be Capt., v. Gordon, deceased.—M. July 11.
- Ruddiman, T., Capt., 31st N. I., returned to duty.—M. July 11.
- Smith, S. G., Mr., to be Assistant to Magistrate of Bareilly.—C. July 10.
- Stokes, G. W., Ens. 59th N. I., to be Lieut.—C. July 9.
- Stoddart, G. D., Capt. 8th Light Cav., to be Major of Brigade.
- Sheridan, R. B., Esq., to be Assist. to Princ. Collector and Magis. of Coimbatou.—M. July 29.
- Smith, W. H., Senior Lieut. 15th N. I., to be Capt., v. Conway, retired.
- Thorburn, J. D., Mr., admitted Assist.-Surgeon.—C. July 9.
- Tait, J., Cadet of Inf., prom. to Ens.—B. July 25.
- Vanderzee, H., Lieut. 27th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—M. July 11.
- Woodstock, T. P., Mr., to be Assist. to Magistrate and to Collec. of Midnapore.—C. July 10.
- Whitlock, J., Senior Cornet 8th Light Cavalry, to be Lieut., v. Watts, deceased.—M. July 11.
- Walter, H., Senior Lieut. 50th N. I., to be Capt., v. Pickering, promoted.—M. July 11.
- White, J., Supern. Lieut. 29th N. I., to be Lieut.—M. July 11.
- Woods, W. G., Cadet of Cav., prom. to be Cornet.—M. July 11.
- Wyllie, M., Cadet of Inf., prom. to Ens.—B. July 25.
- Walters, R., Mr., admitted Veterinary Surgeon.—B. July 25.

BIRTHS.

- At Cleasby, near Darlington, on the 18th December, the lady of Octavius Wray, Esq., of the Honourable East India Company's Bengal Medical Service, of a son and heir.
- Barton, the lady of Captain James, Artillery, of a son, at Bombay, July 24.
- Best, the lady of J. R., Esq., Civil Service, of a daughter, at Calcutta, July 11.
- D'Aquilar, the lady of Lieut.-Col., of a daughter, at Calcutta, July 10.

Field, the lady of J., Esq., of a son, at Calcutta, July 16.

Harris, the lady of Lieut. Thomas, of a son, at Darwar, July 3.

Hancock, the lady of H., Esq., 19th N. I., of a daughter, at Rajeote, July 15.

Jervis, the lady of Capt. J., 5th Regt., of a daughter, at Calcutta, July 3.

Smith, the lady of G. H., Esq., Civil Service, of a son, at Coconada, July 24.

MARRIAGES.

Agnew, A. K., Esq., 8th Bengal N. I., to Miss H. Watson, at Calcutta, July 19.

Houghland, Mr. John, Assistant in the Accountant-General's Office, to Miss Isabella M'Donald, at Bombay, July 21.

DEATHS.

Burt, George, Esq., aged 27, at Calcutta, July 23.

Dunbar, C. G., Lieut. 59th N. I., at Barrackpore, July 2.

Drummond, Peter, Esq., at Calcutta, July 8.

Engelbergt, Charles Von J. A., Esq., of Ceylon, at Calcutta, July 13.

Lawrence, Thomas, Esq., Surgeon, on board the sloop *Cootc*, July 27.

Philip, J. B., Lieutenant and Quarter-Master 2d European Regt., near Deesa, July 21.

Pluto, C. E., youngest son of the late C. E., Esq., aged seven years, at Calcutta, July 7.

Ryan, Frederick York, son of Sir E., at Calcutta, August 2.

Stirling, Catherine, lady of L. H., Esq., at Madras, July 28.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Place of Depart.	Date.
1829.					1828.
Jan. 19	Liverpool ..	Madras ..	Christian ..	Bengal ..	Aug. 15
Jan. 19	Holyhead ..	Arabian ..	Willis ..	Bengal ..	Aug. —
Jan. 21	Plymouth ..	Harriet ..	Read ..	South Seas	—
Jan. 21	Weymouth ..	Duke of Bedford	Morris ..	Bombay..	March 3
Jan. 24	Falmouth ..	Asia ..	Cook ..	Batavia ..	Sept. 2
Jan. 27	Plymouth ..	Ganges ..	Barker ..	Batavia ..	Aug. 20

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
1828.				
July 10	Madras ..	Angerona ..	Bedknap ..	London
July 11	Bengal ..	Providence ..	Ford ..	London
July 17	Madras ..	Ganges ..	Lloyd ..	London
July 19	Madras ..	Boyne ..	Pope ..	London
—	Bombay ..	Palambam ..	Nash ..	Clyde
July 20	Madras ..	Minstrell ..	Arkcoll ..	London
July 31	Singapore	London ..	Smith ..	London
Aug. 12	Bengal ..	Thames ..	Bugg ..	London
Aug. 13	Bengal ..	Craigear ..	Ray ..	London
Aug. 17	Bengal ..	Greenock ..	Miller ..	Leith
Aug. 18	Bengal ..	Rapid ..	Huntley ..	Liverpool

DEPARTURES FROM EUROPE.

Date.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
1828.				
Jan. 1	Downs	.. Resource	.. Smith	.. N. S. Wales
Jan. 1	Greenock	.. Triton	.. Crear	.. Van Die. Land
Jan. 2	Downs	.. Cornet	.. Kootman	.. Batavia
Jan. 3	Downs	.. Maria	.. Cobb	.. Batavia
Jan. 3	Downs	.. Elizabeth	.. Phillips	.. Madras
Jan. 4	Downs	.. Runnymede	.. Wildridge	.. Bombay
Jan. 4	Greenock	.. Fortune	.. Gilkison	.. Bombay
Jan. 5	Portsmouth	.. General Palmer	.. Thomas	.. Madras
Jan. 5	Liverpool	.. Ontario	.. Arnold	.. Bengal
Jan. 6	Gravesend	.. Burrell	.. Metcalf	.. Bengal
Jan. 6	Liverpool	.. Royal George	.. Grant	.. Bengal
Jan. 9	Downs	.. Buckinghamshire	.. Glasspoole	.. Bombay
Jan. 9	Downs	.. John	.. Freeman	.. Madras
Jan. 11	Downs	.. Lady Melville	.. Clifford	.. Bengal
Jan. 11	Downs	.. Bridgewater	.. Manderson	.. Bengal
Jan. 11	Downs	.. Herefordshire	.. Hope	.. Bombay
Jan. 13	Portsmouth	.. Mary Anne	.. O'Brien	.. Madras
Jan. 15	Gravesend	.. Clyde	.. Munro	.. Madras
Jan. 16	Downs	.. Hopeful	.. Mallers	.. Cape
Jan. 16	Downs	.. St. George	.. Finlay	.. N. S. Wales.
Jan. 16	Portsmouth	.. Sulphur	.. Dance	.. Australia
Jan. 18	Downs	.. Kerswell	.. Armstrong	.. Cape
Jan. 18	Liverpool	.. Rifleman	.. Bleasdale	.. Liverpool
Jan. 18	Portsmouth	.. Cruiser	.. Colpoyes	.. Madra
Jan. 19	Downs	.. Lord W. Bentinck	..	.. Ceylon
Jan. 20	Gravesend	.. Inglis	.. Dudman	.. Bengal
Jan. 20	Gravesend	.. Farquharson	.. Cruickshanks	.. Bengal
Jan. 24	Gravesend	.. General Kyd	.. Serle	.. Bombay
Jan. 25	Downs	.. Royal Admiral	.. Wilson	.. Madras
Jan. 26	Gravesend	.. Christiana	.. Hall	.. Madras

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

PASSENGERS HOMEWARDS.

By the *Madras*, from India :—Colonels D. Foulis, Madras Cavalry, and W. C. Fraser; Majors Hodgson and Henderson; Captain Richard, Madras Infantry; Lieutenants F. Major, 13th Dragoons, W. M'Cleverty, 18th Regt., A. P. Thomson, Madras Cavalry, H. Venderzec, Madras Infantry, and H. Moore; D. H. Hill, Madras Civil Service; T. V. Stonehouse, ditto; W. H. Parry, ditto; and W. Scott, Esqs. Mesdames Hill, Scott, and Stonehouse. Masters J. Palmer, two Scotts, J. Oliphant, Francis Pulham, and Henry Stonehouse. Misses Neufville, Jessy Scott, Mary Scott, two Gardens, Oliphant, Matilda Hodgson, two Pulhams, and two Stonehouses. Eight female and five male servants, and twenty-four invalids.

By his Majesty's ship *Undaunted* :—Commodore Briggs, from the Mauritius; Mr. Runnerworth, Assistant-Surgeon; and Mr. Lowe.

By the *Ellen*, from Bombay, (expected) :—Captain Meldrum, Lieut. Fitzroy, and Dr. Stewart.

By the *Osiris*, from Batavia :—Mr. P. Trentz.

By the *Arabian*, from Bengal :—Captain Hawkins, 38th Regt.; Dr. Angelo-34th Regt.; Rev. Principal Mill; Edward Masters, and Andrew MacDonald, Esqs. Mrs. Mills and Miss Mills.

VOYAGE ON THE NILE, FROM CAIRO TO THE CATARACTS

THE great interest excited by Mr. Buckingham's description of his *Voyage in Egypt*—which has never yet been published, except in the oral delivery of his late Lectures at Liverpool,—will induce him to resume, in 'The Oriental Herald,' the Series of Papers originally commenced in Vol. 6. p. 15, of this Work, and continued through sixteen successive Numbers, under the title of 'Unpublished Manuscripts of a Traveller in the East,' containing an account of his *Voyage in the Mediterranean, the Greek Islands, and the Levant*; and which were subsequently resumed in Vol. 12. p. 393, and continued through four successive Numbers, under the title of 'Excursions on the Banks of the Nile,' descriptive of the Delta and Lower Egypt, including Alexandria, Cairo, the Sphynx, and the Pyramids. The sequel to these will be given under the title placed at the head of this Notice; but, owing to the pressure of other matter, its commencement is reserved till the next Number, when it will certainly appear.

THE TEA MONOPOLY.

We have something in store also on the Tea Monopoly, and the disgraceful imposition practised on the country by a certain Mr. Hume of the Custom House, (a very different person, we presume, from the Honourable Member for Aberdeen,) and the Lords of his Majesty's Treasury; as illustrated in an official correspondence, between Messrs. Cropper, Benson, and Co., Merchants of Liverpool, and the last-named authorities, and by a subsequent correspondence of Mr. Fortune, of London, with the same parties, and on the same subject; of which we shall give some account in our next.

LIVERPOOL MEETING.

The necessity under which we are placed of sending our latest sheets to press on the 27th, will preclude us from giving any Report of the Liverpool Meeting on the 28th. We hope to obtain, however, a very accurate Report of this for the ensuing Number of 'The Oriental Herald.'

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We shall be glad to hear from the writer of the article entitled 'Maxims of the Hindoos,' &c., more directly, on the subject of future Contributions.

THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. 63.—MARCH, 1829.—VOL. 20.

ON THE TRADE WITH CHINA.

IN the report of proceedings at a public meeting of the merchants and other inhabitants of the town of Liverpool, inserted in the present number of 'The Oriental Herald,' will be found some indications that the spirit of the mercantile community is at length awakened to the injury inflicted on the commerce of this country, by the monopoly of the East India Company.* The inhabitants of Liverpool, always foremost in the promotion of every object by which the true interests of trade may be promoted, have evinced, by the welcome extended to Mr. Buckingham, and the readiness with which they have entered into his views respecting our intercourse with the Eastern World, their sense of the impolicy and injustice of permitting so rich a mine of wealth to remain useless and unproductive in the hands of the chartered company of London Merchants. The alacrity with which they have come forward on this occasion, sufficiently proves that the efforts of this Journal to arouse the attention of those interested in this boundless field of mercantile speculation have not been in vain, and that from one end of the country to the other, the remonstrances of our merchants and manufacturers will soon attract, by their unceasing importunity, the eyes of the people and of Parliament to the growing importance of this momentous question. Momentous indeed, and important, it is in every point of light in which it can be viewed, in its relations with the well-being of the countless population which acknowledges our dominion in the East, in its influence on the industry, the comfort, and the happiness of our own people,—on the power and prosperity of our immense empire in all its dependencies.

The nearer that we approach to the great deliberation of policy and justice in which the Legislature must soon be engaged, the more we are ashamed of narrowing our contemplation of the extensive consequences, good or evil, to which its determination must lead. Those who attempt to handle the complicated machine of government, commerce, religion, and law, which the misrule of fifty years has established in the richest regions of the earth, must expand their minds to the capacity of so vast an object, and prepare themselves, by much study and meditation, to wind into its intricate details. It gives us infinite pleasure to observe that the people of

* We hope to have the pleasure of reporting, in succeeding Numbers, the proceedings of public meetings at Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Glasgow, and other places, on the same subject.

Liverpool, distinguished as they are by the energy and enterprise which have raised their town, with unprecedented rapidity, to its present state of opulent magnificence, are not seduced, by the habit of their occupations, or the suggestions of their interest, to degrade this rare opportunity of doing incalculable good to so many millions of their fellow-creatures in India and in England, into a mere calculation of commercial gain. Fortunately, however, the interests of trade, of human happiness, and social improvement, are inseparably intertwined; and the inhabitants of Liverpool have no method so sure of improving the condition of their fellow-subjects in Asia and in Europe, as by a diligent and persevering attention to their own private interests in the Eastern trade.

We have, of course, been for a long time very well aware that the evils of the Monopoly against which we have so long contended, had been productive of more soreness and impatience at Liverpool than in any other city of the empire. Devoted almost exclusively to the pursuits of commerce, in immediate contiguity with the great marts of our staple manufactures, and connected, by an infinite variety of relations, with every quarter of the globe, it was to be expected that its opulent and enterprising inhabitants should avail themselves of every opportunity to claim for their trade, in firm and energetic language, a full, free, and unrestricted participation of the advantages of British connection, power, and influence, wherever they might extend. They could not fail to have observed that their prosperity was fast linked to the prosperity of Leeds, and Sheffield, and Birmingham, and Manchester; that every new market open to the manufactures of these towns gave a fresh impulse to their own active and adventurous spirit; that, whenever the industry of the interior drooped, the vessels with 'Liverpool' at their stern 'reposed upon their shadows;' and that the same breeze which wafted the cheerful noise of the shuttle and the loom relieved the silence at their arsenals, gave life and activity to their port, and innumerable sails to the western ocean.

Thus obviously interested in any measure from which an extension of the facilities of trade might be expected to result, we knew very well that our endeavours to abridge the duration of the evils consequent upon the Eastern Monopoly would be supported and encouraged by a large proportion of the wealth, intelligence, and respectability of that great community; but we confess that we had imagined there were more difficulties to be overcome, and that to produce a general impression, it would be necessary to allure and pamper the curiosity of indolence by details more interesting than instructive, savouring, perhaps, rather of pleasure than of business. But in Lancashire, as the reporter of the proceedings at the public meeting most truly says, this subject goes home to men's businesses and bosoms; and, accordingly, we find in the resolutions adopted on that occasion, not a vague, general, undefined protest against the Monopoly of the Company, but, resting on the evidence of indisputable facts and figures, a well considered, well arranged, and eloquent exposure of the folly of depriving this country of the advan-

tages to be derived from commercial intercourse with the richest portion of the known world, by confining it to a single port, and to a body of men in no wise interested in its prosperity or extension. It is not our intention to be diverted by the proceedings at this meeting into a comprehensive review of our relations with the East. The resolutions adopted, and the able commentaries on them by the successive speakers, would, indeed, afford ample matter for such review. They embrace the whole question between the people of this country and the Company; and in them it perhaps appears in a more clear, distinct, and authoritative shape than it has ever yet assumed. On reading, however, the resolutions, we find that the subjects of the first, second, third, and fourth have all been recently, at length, and in succession, treated in 'The Oriental Herald'; and the fifth and sixth were, before we received the resolutions, destined to occupy a place in the present Number.

Before, however, we proceed to a brief notice of our trade with China,—in its promise the most important, the most insignificant in its actual extent, of all our relations with the East,—we have a few remarks to make on the suggestions of the tenth resolution. To persons not aware of the immense variety of interests and considerations involved in the question of Free Trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope, its present agitation may reasonably appear somewhat premature. The Charter, say they, cannot possibly expire before the year 1834, nor the discussion take place before 1831; and, therefore, they argue that to move in the matter at present would be only to distress the Legislature by useless and unseasonable importunity. If no opposition were to be encountered, and no misrepresentations exposed,—if the principle were generally admitted, and reliance could be placed on the good faith of all the parties concerned; this question, like others, might be settled by one debate, and one division, amicably, and for ever. The truth is, however, that on no other subject of public interest does ignorance so dense, so general prevail: on no other question is opposition so determined and so organised, arrayed against a just and liberal system. Unless that ignorance be dispelled by early and repeated discussion, and that opposition neutralized by placing within the reach of all men an accumulation of irresistible facts, depend upon it, we shall be borne down by the united efforts of patronage and corruption when the time for exertion arrives. Parliament should be forthwith petitioned to re-appoint the Committees of 1820-21, the reports of which threw so much light upon the question of Eastern Trade. If this be not done and speedily, when the discussion comes on, the only evidence, of authority, will be ten years old; and we make no doubt that the conclusions to which the Committees of both Houses then arrived, will be ingeniously demonstrated by the Honourable Company, to be obsolete and inapplicable to the present condition of things. Therefore, we say, we must not sleep, while the enemy is active and awake: we must gird ourselves early, and at once, for a struggle on which so much depends, relying more upon the intrinsic merits of our case than on any supposed leaning of Government,—more on the persevering activity of our own measures than on the moderation of our foes.

In estimating the probable value of the Chinese Trade, when relieved from the trammels of the Company's Monopoly, we have not, as in the case of India, the opportunity of comparison between two periods, one of complete, the other of limited restraint. To the free merchants, all intercourse with China is strictly and absolutely prohibited; and, as a consequence of this prohibition, the trade with Cochin China, Borneo, Sumatra, Java, the Philippines, and the Moluccas, is lost to the inhabitants of Great Britain.

The Celestial Empire, lying between the 20th and 41st degrees of north latitude, and the 100th and 125th of east longitude, extends 2,000 miles from north to south, and 1,300 from east to west. It is divided into fifteen provinces, containing, besides innumerable villages and towns, 4,402 walled cities; and, according to Lord Macartney and Sir George Staunton, is inhabited by a population of 333,000,000 souls. The Chinese are not a race of untutored, undisciplined barbarians, as some of their northern neighbours, nor poor naked dependent slaves, like the unfortunate Hindoos, but cultivated, according to their mode, in all the arts of civilized life, and distinguished for their superior industry, civilization, and wealth, over all the rest of Asia. Of the skill of their workmen, some estimate may be formed by the fact that the labour of a Chinese is worth four times as much in our Indian territories as that of a Native artisan. Of their riches there can be no better criterion than the royal revenue, which, paid by a people living in the midst of comfort and abundance, amounts, according to Sir George Staunton, to the prodigious sum of sixty-six millions sterling. The facilities of internal commerce in this country exceed those of every other empire in the world. Stretching from the capital of Peking to Canton, a distance of 1,400 miles, a magnificent canal and a few rivers afford a cheap and easy communication between the northern and southern provinces. Innumerable channels and aqueducts, natural and artificial, as well as prodigious lakes, branching from this canal, extend the opportunities of water-carriage through every department of the empire. There is, of course, in so vast an extent of country, an endless variety of soil and climate; and the wants of the people, and their commerce, and productions, are proportionably diversified. The Chinese are represented by all who have had opportunities of observation, to entertain no antipathies of habit or religion to the use of foreign commodities; but they are, in this respect, as free as any other people in the world. Their dress, in the southern provinces at least, is chiefly of cotton and silk of their own manufacture. In the north, a warmer clothing is required, and furs and woollens are in great request.

It is well known, that by the jealous policy of this empire, all intercourse with strangers is confined to the port of Canton. An association of merchants, called the Hong, consisting of eleven or twelve individuals, is licensed by the Government, to barter the productions of China for the commodities of other countries, and is made responsible for the conduct of foreigners during their stay.

The East India Company, to the utter exclusion of the rest of the King's subjects, have long maintained an expensive factory at this port; and appear, from their own accounts, by a systematic adherence to a conciliatory, fair, and honourable dealing with the Hong, to have obtained the confidence and respect of the Chinese authorities. To the superior officers of this establishment, all the servants of the Company residing at Canton, are subject; and we are told, that the exercise of the power entrusted to them, has been such as to secure a course of friendly communication almost uninterrupted for many years. Misunderstandings have, however, once or twice arisen; and the difficulties which have occurred in their adjustment, and the total cessation of intercourse by the arbitrary prohibition of the Government, have convinced the Company that the tenure of their factory is very precarious, and that, in fact, they only retain their footing '*quandiu se bene gesserint.*' They assert that the lawless habits of English sailors, subject to no control but such as the master of a merchantman could exert, would speedily disturb the harmony subsisting between the Company and the Chinese; and that, as no efficient check could be contrived for their license and irregularity, the resort of free shipping to Canton would immediately sever the connection between England and China, to the serious detriment of the people of this country and the inevitable ruin of the Company's trade. This is the substance of their case, as explained by Mr. Grant, Messrs. Reed and Robinson, Sir George Staunton, and Mr. Robarts, in their evidence before the Committees of 1820, 1821. Beyond all question, great attention is due to the opinion and experience of individuals of so much personal respectability; and, if we had no counteracting testimony to oppose to such authorities, it might be reasonable to defer to their urgent representations. We shall find, however, when we come to consider the relations of the Americans at Canton, that, if these alarms be not groundless, they are at least exaggerated, and that they furnish no colour for upholding the unreasonable pretensions of the East India Company.

Our readers will remember that in the struggle to maintain their exclusive privileges of trade to the Continent of India, Mr. Grant, the spokesman of the Hon. Company, employed two sorts of objection to the projected enlargement of the India Trade; the one peremptory, the other dissuasive. First he insisted on the danger, then on the inutility, of free intercourse between the English and Hindoos; and his tactics are precisely similar with reference to the Chinese Trade.

Inverting this order for the convenience of this and future articles on the same subject, we shall apply ourselves first to the second objection, and examine what ground there is for contending, that, if Free Trade with China could exist with safety, it could not be pursued with advantage.

We wish to state the case of the East India Company in its most favourable light, and to give to it every advantage which the evidence of the most able and most intelligent of its advocates can suggest. With this view we submit the following account:

An Account of the Profit or Loss on British Woollens and Metals shipped to China from England, commencing with the China Season 1793-4 to the China Season 1818-19; distinguishing Invoice Value in China in Tales, in each Year, of each Article, and the Profit or Loss on such Invoice Value, also in Tales; exhibiting also the Total Annual Value of British Produce and Manufactures exported, as well as the Total Annual Profit or Loss thereon.

YEARS.	BROAD CLOTH.			LONG ELLS.			CAMELETS.			WORLEYS.			SUNDRY WOOLEENS.			TOTAL WOOLEENS.		
	Invoice. Value. Tales.	Profit. Tales.	Loss. Tales.	Invoice. Value. Tales.	Profit. Tales.	Loss. Tales.	Invoice. Value. Tales.	Profit. Tales.	Loss. Tales.	Invoice. Value. Tales.	Profit. Tales.	Loss. Tales.	Invoice. Value. Tales.	Profit. Tales.	Loss. Tales.	Invoice. Value. Tales.	Profit. Tales.	Loss. Tales.
1793-4	506,432	.	44,035	1,393,982	975	.	106,573	49,001	.	.	.	.	1,119	.	701	1,947,706	4,240	311,711
1794-5	510,694	.	76,003	1,432,856	.	240,326	131,830	5,218	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,081,379	.	204,089
1795-6	417,359	.	48,618	1,302,964	.	165,543	119,650	10,072	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,870,183	.	199,879
1796-7	354,231	.	33,863	1,401,973	.	166,341	90,369	19,325	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,646,573	.	142,066
1797-8	225,837	.	24,361	967,898	.	130,089	141,015	20,957	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,335,600	.	130,378
1798-9	221,158	.	24,307	1,063,474	.	112,215	49,768	6,007	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,351,400	.	278,011
1799-1800	339,592	.	79,954	1,090,768	.	217,094	127,304	24,037	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,353,491	.	282,454
1800-1	541,769	.	84,440	1,705,913	.	235,193	226,956	27,479	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,665,610	.	332,260
1801-2	334,679	.	103,709	1,870,042	.	288,389	269,789	9,838	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3,089,982	.	357,692
1802-3	505,202	.	95,290	2,040,586	.	270,612	485,134	8,200	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3,083,042	.	283,693
1803-4	658,690	.	102,596	1,920,693	.	159,575	500,907	.	21,501	.	.	.	2,752	.	39	3,904,468	.	421,554
1804-5	813,151	.	126,909	2,435,930	.	205,539	579,603	.	74,359	.	.	.	31,283	.	8,227	3,125,603	.	312,813
1805-6	697,814	.	83,438	1,886,238	.	175,921	511,531	.	63,494	.	.	.	5,192	.	456	3,458,600	.	175,643
1806-7	110,032	.	52,445	2,149,532	.	32,971	450,957	11,324	12,415	.	.	.	12,132	.	906	3,030,428	.	77,521
1807-8	623,031	.	31,933	1,093,004	.	79,407	454,015	42,636	.	.	.	.	10,450	.	530	3,635,342	.	43,115
1808-9	798,864	.	61,311	2,314,367	.	32,923	40,384	13,963	.	.	.	.	4,602	.	530	2,753,503	94,333	4,390
1809-10	413,709	.	37,073	1,652,819	29,903	.	40,293	23,779	.	.	.	.	5,232	.	986	2,440,858	.	.
1810-11	401,722	.	28,083	1,678,497	.	.	429,538	74,384	185	.	.	.	34,559	.	34,559	2,685,000	.	.
1811-12	401,722	.	4,515	1,711,390	.	74,807	510,322	16,826	.	.	.	.	37,593	014	6,119	2,765,414	.	56,854
1812-13	471,914	7,588	.	1,711,390	.	160,038	527,019	.	9,106	.	.	.	17,498	.	6,119	2,765,414	.	111,761
1813-14	578,248	.	6,014	1,739,490	.	64,288	558,338	.	25,231	.	.	.	97,019	.	43,290	2,923,414	.	142,403
1814-15	708,877	.	50,796	1,576,561	.	110,983	493,933	.	61,107	.	.	.	50,439	.	3	2,831,870	.	925,438
1815-16	702,173	.	91,098	1,183,715	.	154,058	397,169	.	57,353	.	.	.	4	.	2,569	2,335,010	.	306,246
1816-17	911,834	.	48,072	1,359,748	.	204,330	400,338	.	79,403	.	.	.	7,051	.	3,539	2,846,341	.	279,201
1817-18	665,110	10,836	.	932,122	.	110,257	450,929	4,526	19,621	.	.	.	1,139	.	.	2,079,421	.	94,108
1818-19	499,204	78,926	.	945,905	.	17,997	296,280	49,314	8,800	.	.	.	45,006	.	.	1,792,570	118,948	.

An Account of the Profit or Loss on British Metals shipped to China from England, &c.—continued.

YEARS.	LEAD.			IRON.			TIN.			SUNDRY METALS.			MISCEL. ARTICLES.			TOTAL Annual Value of British Produce and Manufactures exported to China. Tales.	Net Annual Profit or Loss Tales.
	Invoiced Value. Tales.	Profit. Tales.	Loss. Tales.	Invoiced Value. Tales.	Profit. Tales.	Loss. Tales.	Invoiced Value. Tales.	Profit. Tales.	Loss. Tales.	Invoiced Value. Tales.	Profit. Tales.	Loss. Tales.	Invoiced Value. Tales.	Profit. Tales.	Loss. Tales.		
1793-4	42,171	10,427	.	.	.	.	204,802	.	421	.	.	.	6,103	.	218	2,194,679	Profit 14,246
1794-5	104,980	6,881	.	.	.	.	301,823	.	6,902	.	.	.	3,171	.	.	2,491,385	Loss 312,010
1795-6	16,063	6,209	.	.	1,866	.	225,895	1,866	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,113,312	Loss 196,014
1796-7	62,158	4,118	.	287,733	8,602	.	287,733	8,602	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,196,404	Loss 186,159
1797-8	39,780	11,137	.	278,902	7,770	.	278,902	7,770	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,654,283	Loss 123,779
1798-9	12,966	3,696	.	299,072	2,808	.	299,072	2,808	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,646,438	Loss 123,911
1799-1800	18,170	12,113	.	191,673	5,838	.	191,673	5,838	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,563,334	Loss 255,060
1800-1	66,527	18,754	.	150,509	.	8,861	150,509	.	8,861	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,691,974	Loss 272,564
1801-2	306,526	41,745	24,284	11,641	.	.	174,962	.	14,373	.	.	.	190	.	.	3,038,820	Loss 394,683
1802-3	257,092	.	.	.	.	.	75,400	.	4,555	.	.	.	2,704	.	.	3,424,787	Loss 386,531
1803-4	91,643	9,393	.	.	.	.	85,213	.	4,871	.	.	.	.	.	.	3,359,808	Loss 279,274
1804-5	199,647	5,564	.	.	.	.	153,062	.	13,602	.	.	.	2,514	.	11	4,249,691	Loss 448,958
1805-6	70,503	.	.	.	.	.	184,176	.	3,526	.	.	.	.	.	.	3,380,284	Loss 310,779
1806-7	117,100	.	23,578	93,277	994	.	93,277	994	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3,695,097	Loss 200,227
1807-8	132,172	.	15,142	132,172	11,353	.	132,172	11,353	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3,290,460	Loss 81,280
1808-9	199,652	.	2,980	200,806	1,880	.	200,806	1,880	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4,042,000	Loss 44,213
1809-10	146,862	.	10,097	199,076	13,197	.	199,076	13,197	.	10,813	.	.	.	.	.	3,099,471	Profit 97,438
1810-11	228,578	65,464	.	183	94,129	1,017	7,452	326	.	4,772	.	.	2,977	.	684	2,779,859	Loss 65,694
1811-12	135,515	35,392	10,472	90,121	.	2,560	90,121	.	2,560	.	.	.	1,851	.	296	2,845,088	Loss 93,289
1812-13	121,630	34,173	21,633	207,350	30,916	.	207,350	30,916	.	1,938	.	.	14,923	.	4,766	3,013,721	Loss 153,035
1813-14	13,306	2,850	50,503	4,028	.	.	161,645	.	42,649	.	.	.	21,896	.	9,808	3,323,469	Loss 182,019
1814-15	38,016	9,408	75,431	12,266	161,645	.	12,266	161,645	.	.	.	.	5,250	.	5,200	3,102,111	Loss 294,063
1815-16	70,731	2,462	41,281	15,866	121,055	.	15,866	121,055	.	.	.	.	825	.	247	2,568,802	Loss 351,229
1816-17	86,278	8,587	40,217	3,327	73,212	.	3,327	73,212	.	.	.	.	203	.	203	3,048,281	Loss 279,098
1817-18	45,938	15,624	.	.	.	.	96,613	.	4,108	.	.	.	555	.	.	2,293,065	Loss 77,337
1818-19	38,047	.	2,756	20,526	5,949	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	226	.	.	1,951,369	Profit 124,034

Memorandum.—The Total Profit and Loss in the above Period of 26 Years is Tales 5,233,026; and deducting the Profits in the Three Years of Tales 233,718 therefrom, and the Net Loss in the whole Period appears to be Tales 5,001,308; or, at 6s. 8d. per Tale, the Rate used for more than 100 Years past, such Net Loss is equal to £1,686,103.

It will be seen from the preceding statement, that from the year 1793 to 1821, on a very large annual exportation of British woollens and manufactured metals, a regular and almost unvaried loss has been sustained. How great must be the admiration of our friends in Liverpool and Manchester of the principles by which the Company are actuated when they are told that this immense deficit has been submitted to with resignation, not to say alacrity, in a spirit of pure disinterested patriotic encouragement of the trade and manufactures of Great Britain ! Why such partial kindness is shown to our woollen manufactures, to the exclusion of cotton goods, does not appear ; but, on the evidence of Messrs. Goddard, Crawford, Mitchell, and others conversant with the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, in all of which there is a large though fluctuating Chinese population, we have every reason to believe that our cotton manufactures would, under circumstances of fair competition, speedily supersede those of the Chinese. From the account of the trade between Russia and China, by M. Klaproth, published in the last Number of 'The Oriental Herald,' it is apparent that the whole ground of the preference once enjoyed by the Russians at the Court of Peking, was the utility of their imports into China as compared with those of the English at Canton ; and we have abundant evidence to demonstrate that, so far from consulting the interests of British manufacturers in their intercourse with the Hong, the East India Company have, by the extravagance of the charges by which their scanty imports were burthened, and their utter carelessness in adapting them to the wants and usages of the Chinese, compelled that people to reject them altogether, and to resort to channels of provision infinitely more circuitous and expensive. As to the advantage taken by our transatlantic friends of this churlish policy of the Company, we reserve it for the distinct consideration which we purpose to take of the American Trade ; but we cannot defer the curious details of the overland expeditions through Siberia and Tartary, which exhibit in glaring colours the deceitfulness and fraud of the Company's statements, and justify the most encouraging anticipations from unfettered intercourse with the Chinese Empire.

The following is from the evidence of Mr. Tate before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1821 :

' WILLIAM TATE, Esq., called in, and examined.

' When you were last before the Committee, you stated, that you had some information, which you wished for time to collect and arrange, that you were desirous of laying before the Committee, on the subject of the Trade carried on with China through Russia ?—Yes ; I did.

' Are you prepared to give that information at present ?—I am.

' Be so good as state to the Committee the information you have collected and arranged.

' I had been recommended to put the result of my information

into writing, which, with the leave of the Committee, I will now read as follows :

‘ A trade of barter, upon a very limited scale, had, during many years, been carried on between some merchants of Moscow, and a few individuals of Chinese Tartary. This rude traffic increased with such rapidity, that about the year 1800, the Chinese and Russian Governments were induced to turn their attention to it. In consequence, a kind of commercial treaty was then formed, a table of duties was agreed upon, and Kiachta (a small town in Tartary, on the frontiers of the two empires) was fixed on as the exclusive market of that trade. In consequence, the town of Kiachta, which was originally a poor village in Tartary, and situated 6,538 versts, or 4,337 English miles, distant from St. Petersburg, has become a large place, and is daily increasing in wealth and importance.

‘ All the native merchants of Russia, who pay the patent of the first class, are permitted to trade thither ; but the Chinese are limited to a fixed number of individuals, whose powers and character seem to be similar to those of the Hong merchants of Canton.

‘ The Russians barter the following articles at Kiachta :—jufts, (a kind of half-tanned leather, of Russian manufacture,) furs, (viz. sable, fox, beaver, otter, and seal skins,) Saxon cloth, some coarse Russian manufactured cottons and chintzes, and, since about the year 1811, a variety of British manufactures, which have latterly had a preference over most other wares, and now absorb a large share of the Trade, of which I shall hereafter give some details.

‘ The Chinese barter the following articles at Kiachta :—Tea, rhubarb, and other drugs, nankeens and silks, both raw and in a manufactured state ; and the parties mutually pay their balances in silver, which is always received with extreme reluctance by the Chinese, who give a decided preference to goods ; and it has been solely from a scarcity of the description of goods suitable for the markets of the north of China, that the trade to Kiachta has not, ere now, been much more extended. The supply of furs from Siberia (particularly sable skins) had decreased very much in latter years ; this forced the Russian traders to substitute other articles, and has led to the introduction of British manufactures to these distant markets.

‘ The British manufactures which were sold at Kiachta, during last year, consisted of the following articles :

‘ Woollen cloth, in imitation of Saxon cloth, 400,000 yards.

‘ Camblets, bombasets.

‘ Chintzes, (which were smuggled through Russia,) imitation bandana handkerchiefs, also smuggled through Russia : of these two latter articles the quantities are uncertain.

' Sundry muslins and white cottons, 200,000 yards.

' Manchester velveteens, 120,000 yal'ds.

' Manchester veveretts, 40,000 yards.

' And the whole amount of manufactures of different European countries, bartered at Kiachta last year, appear to have been in value one million sterling.

' In exchange for these goods, teas, silks, &c., &c., were received from the Chinese. Of the former, 40,000 chests, in the year 1819, were forwarded from Kiachta into the interior of Russia. The teas are chiefly black, and of a quality in flavour much superior to what are sent from Canton and sold in London.

' The goods received from China are sent from Kiachta to Irkutsk, one of the capitals of Siberia, which is situated 5,777 versts, or $3,832\frac{3}{4}$ English miles, from St. Petersburg; from Irkutsk to Tobolsk, also in Siberia, situated 3,118 versts, or $2,110\frac{1}{2}$ English miles, from St. Petersburg: from Tobolsk they are forwarded direct to Nishney Novogorod off the Volga, which is 1,118 versts, or $741\frac{3}{4}$ English miles, from St. Petersburg, where a very large annual fair is held in the month of August. It was formerly held at Alakarief, on the same river; but, owing to the inundations which take place, it has been removed to Nishney Novogorod.

' The extent and value of the commercial operations which take place at Nishney Novogorod, during the annual fair, are but little known in this country. If the Russian official statements are entitled to credit, they amount to many millions of pounds sterling per annum.

' The duties and other charges on most articles of British manufacture are enormous; yet the prices procured for them cover all these expenses, and leave a large profit for the Tartar merchants. Last year, the article of Manchester velveteen, (a particular description of cotton velvet,) which in London sold for about 2s. or 2s. 2d. per yard, was resold to the Chinese at Kiachta in barter, at a value equal to 8s. 6d. or 9s. sterling, per yard.

' The trade in British manufactures to China, through Russia, has not increased during the last year. This is in a great measure owing to the promised transit of foreign manufactures not having been carried into effect by the Russian Government. In consequence, many of the British articles which would find a ready market at Kiachta, are not permitted at all to enter the Russian Empire. Indeed, it now appears to be the policy of that Government to check the importation of foreign merchandise, particularly such articles as are of the manufacture or produce of Great Britain. The tariff of 1821 gives a strong evidence of this fact, as the new duties thus imposed are almost exclusively levied on goods either from British colonies, or of British manufacture.

' The woollen cloths of Prussia and Saxony have an advantage

over those of Great Britain, in consequence of being received in Russia at a less duty.

‘British woollen cloths of all widths pay a duty of 2*s.* 2*d.* per pound, or about 4*s.* per yard, and are not permitted to be entered for transit. Prussian and Saxon woollen cloths are permitted to be entered for transit; and in that case they pay a duty of 2½*d.* per pound, or about 4½*d.* per yard. If of a narrow width, and entered for Russian consumption, they pay a duty of 1*s.* 4*d.* per pound, or about 2*s.* 6*d.* per yard; and, if of a width exceeding fifty-six inches, and entered for Russian consumption, the duty is about 4*s.* per yard, being the same as on British cloths of all widths. The reduced duty in favour of these countries, was established during Buonaparte’s continental system; and has continued ever since.

‘In the month of June last, 785 carts laden with Chinese merchandize arrived at Maïmachin, from the interior of China; these performed the journey from Pekin to that place in fifty-one days, and brought 943 chests of tea, 589 bales of nankeens, exclusive of manufactured silks, sugar-candy, &c., &c.

‘Goods to nearly a similar value arrived at Kiachta from the interior of Russia; of these about three-eighths were British manufactures, consisting chiefly of Manchester velvets, and a few muslins. The others were furs, Russian leather, woollen cloths, and horses, Russian horses find a ready market in the northern provinces of China. Articles of British manufacture are suitable for the consumption of the northern provinces of China; and, in spite of every obstacle, they have found their way to that distant country, by an overland journey of upwards of 5,000 miles, a part of which is through regions where there are neither roads nor inhabitants.’

We shall take an early opportunity of reverting to this subject, and of furnishing some further details of the China Trade as carried on at Canton and Kiachta.

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LINES ADDRESSED TO A LADY,

On her Arrival from India with her Infant Daughter to be left in England for her Education.

FAIR daughter of a sunny clime,
From o’er the ocean’s savage roar,
Still blooming in thy summer’s prime,
Welcome to our northern shore.

O mildly blow its wintry blast,
And softly fall its frozen shower,
Around our gentle Indian guest,
Who ne’er before has felt their power!

Friend of my bosom's bosom-friend !
 Though here thou meet'st not hearts so kind
 As greet thee in thy native land,
 So loved for all thou left'st behind ;

Yet some who saw those happier hours,
 When bright arose thy nuptial morn,
 And Love had strew'd thy path with flowers—
 They will not leave thee here forlorn.

Mother of beauty, yon rich East
 Does not contain so bright a gem
 As that which now adorns thy breast,
 Like rosebud on the parent stem.

Though fated soon so wide to part,
 May He who rules o'er time and space,
 Restore her to a mother's heart—
 Restore her to a sire's embrace !

When time has changed each infant grace
 To lovely woman's perfect charms,
 There will be all the mother trace,
 Who clasps her in affection's arms.

Thus guarded by the Almighty hand,
 Amid the tempest and the storm,
 May both review their native land,
 In mind as lovely as in form !

And soon that gloomy wintry sun,
 Whose frigid rays so dimly shine,
 Shall smile upon you, where, alone,
 A heart as true responds to thine.

There heart meets heart no more to part ;
 There mingle in the joyous throng,
 Whose happy days in pleasure's maze,
 By Gunga's waters glide along.

Then farewell, daughter of the East !
 And farewell Fortune's early dream !
 My voice is mute, my song has ceased
 On mighty Gunga's sacred stream.

When years have fled, and tears are shed
 O'er many a friend and friendship's urn,—
 My heart will wander to that land
 To which I may no more return.

VOYAGE ON THE NILE FROM CAIRO TO THE CATARACTS.

[HAVING, in former Volumes of 'The Oriental Herald,' given portions of Mr. Buckingham's Unpublished Travels; first in the Series entitled 'Unpublished Manuscripts of a Traveller in the East,' commencing in vol. vi. p. 15, and ending in vol. xi. p. 545, which related chiefly to the Mediterranean, Turkey, and Greece, and these being again continued in the Series entitled 'Excursions on the Banks of the Nile,' which commenced in vol. xii. p. 393, and ended in vol. xiv. p. 41, including an account of Lower Egypt and the Delta, with Alexandria, Canopus, Sais, Tunis, Bubastes, Heliopolis, the Pyramids, and the Great Sphinx—it has been now determined to resume the thread of the Narrative, in this New Series, which will extend to Upper Egypt and Nubia, and embrace all that was communicated on these countries in the late Lectures at Liverpool and Manchester, these Manuscript Journals being, indeed, the only source from which these Lectures were composed.]

No. I.

Arm-Bazaar—Departure from Cairo—Ruins of Memphis—Sepulchres—Pyramids of Dashour—Fertility of Egypt—Modern and Ancient Manners.

Cairo, October 28.

HAVING completed the purchase of Oriental dresses for myself and servant, there remained only our arms and ammunition to provide, to complete our equipment for the voyage. For this purpose we visited the Arm-Bazaar of Cairo, where the Turks, from their extreme fondness, or even passion, one might say, for sabres, pistols, carbines, and other weapons in use among them, pass whole days in examining such as are for sale, commenting on their merits or defects, eulogizing the celebrity of the principal artists, and pronouncing on the year, the city, and the reign, of the ancient arms of India, Persia, Syria, and European Turkey, with a precision that could only be acquired by long habit of examination. This is, in short, a sort of national exhibition for the Turks, as much so as that of our public museums of painting and statuary for Europeans. As the latter assemble at the Vatican, the Louvre, or Somerset-house, to view the productions of the first masters, discuss the merits of their pieces, and, like true connoisseurs, never express their approbation or censure but in terms peculiar to the art; so the former assemble in parties in the Arm-Bazaar—survey the superb sabres of Bagdad, Damascus, Ispahan, and Stamboul, with a pleasure that is really enviable; and, taking those which strike their eye from the pegs on which they are hung, they handle them with a feeling of enthusiasm—examine the water of their steel with an eye of criticism—discuss the devices and inscriptions near the hilt with a sort of military pedantry—speak of the fine curve of a blade with an ardour amounting to passion—and, flourishing it 'à la Mamlouk,' decide on its deficiency or excess of weight, with as much precision, and as much confidence, as any European connoisseur would analyse the thermometrical temperature of a tint, to ascertain whether it was too warm or too cold for such a season and for such a sky.

From among the pistols, which varied from forty-five to fifteen hundred piastres in price, we selected a pair of the most ordinary kind for my servant ; and of the sabres, which were valued at from twenty-five to three thousand piastres, a blade of Elfi Stamboul, at four hundred piastres, was selected for myself. To mount this blade with silver, and give it a handle of Rhinoceros'-horn, three hundred piastres more were necessary, which were thus divided ; viz., 15 Spanish dollars to be melted down for the silver necessary, each current at 7 piastres, 105 ;—2 Venetian sequins for gilding the whole, at $7\frac{1}{2}$ piastres, 35 ;—for the Rhinoceros'-horn, of which the handle is made, 100 ;—and for the labour, and other necessary materials, 60 ;—forming a total of 300 piastres, and making the whole cost of the sabre 700 piastres, or about 30*l.* sterling.

As no bullion is imported into this country, coin of every sort is thus melted down, for all the purposes for which gold and silver are required ; and, since the metals of Spanish dollars and Venetian sequins are of the purest kind, the consumption of those coins here is considerable, none being permitted to be exported from the country, and every encouragement being given to their importation, for the purpose of mixing them with baser metals in the adulterated coinage of the country itself.

On returning, in the evening, to our dwelling, and dressing in the Turkish garments we had provided, I found them much more commodious than I had at first expected, and was pleased with the freedom they permitted in every movement of the body.

Boolac, October 29.

We embarked on board our boat, and at nine o'clock set sail on our voyage for Upper Egypt, our whole crew consisting of four Arab men, two boys, the Reis or captain, myself and servant, and a peasant of the country, to whom we had given a passage as a matter of charity. Our baggage consisted only of a small portmanteau of apparel, a cass or cane-work chest, in which were contained our supply of biscuit, rice, coffee, &c., and a few cooking utensils. We were each armed with a sabre and pistols, and each possessed a spare pipe to offer those who might visit us, as a sign of amity and peace. Our boat was about forty feet in length, by thirteen feet broad, and drew no more than twelve or fourteen inches water ; and a matted cabin had been covered in on the elastic branches of the palm-tree, which arched from the opposite gunwales ; so that, "upon the whole, we were commencing the voyage with luxury, however contrarily we might finish it.

Having a fine breeze from the northward, we stemmed the current of the Nile rapidly, at the rate of four miles an hour at least, while the stream ran three in mid-channel, increasing its rapidity on the rounding of projecting points, and lessening it proportionably in the curve of bays. The waters of the Nile had, at this period,

fallen about six feet, from the appearance of the perpendicular buildings on its banks, on which its most elevated line was visible; but from the extraordinarily high state of the inundation, we had a prospect of finding, through all the voyage, sufficient water to navigate in.

Passing between the light picturesque village of Gizeh, and the opposing ranges of shady sycamores which border the little fairy isle of Rhoda, and leaving the ruined Babylon the Second, with its pointed arched aqueduct and the dilapidated palace of the Mekias on the left, we soon perceived the minarets of Cairo lessening to the view. The grey ridge of the Mokattem, the northern termination of the Arabian chain of mountains, which skirt the eastern banks of the Nile, presents here a fatiguing monotony of prospect in that direction, relieved only by mausoleums of the same stone, erected on the most elevated summit to some Mohammedan Saint.

Between those dome-capped sepulchres of Sheik Solyman and Sheik Ilman, and nearly opposite to Abousir and the Plain of Mummies, the eastern mountains present, towards the river, perpendicular sides, which, for two or three miles, are pierced with caverns, hewn out, unquestionably, by the hand of man, some having square, and others upright oblong entrances, of a large size. From the known practice of the ancient Egyptians, these caverns had been, most probably, excavated for the entombment of their dead, and, from the extent of space which they occupy, they seem to indicate the Necropolis of some once considerable city; as nothing short of an extensive settlement could have demanded such labours, and none but a rich and powerful people could have carried them into execution.

It was this idea, added to the ocular demonstration of our being now in the narrowest part of Egypt, on the boundaries of the Thebais, and this again strengthened by my recollection of Rennell's able discussion of the position of Memphis, which induced a desire to land, for the purpose of cursorily examining the supposed site of that ancient seat of learning, wealth, and empire; and, as the strong northern breeze had wafted us past the Greek convent, in less than an hour and a half, we landed just above it, on the western side of the Nile, about an hour before noon.

From the water's edge we soon reached Mochannan, although we found some difficulty, from the intervention of canals, which often crossed our path, and obliged us to wind and turn round these numerous channels, which are led off from still greater ones for the purpose of irrigating the soil, until we could find a narrow part over which to leap; as, in wading across them, one would sink deep into the soft mud which they deposit. I cannot forbear saying, it afforded me great satisfaction to find, in the very earliest

footsteps of our intended voyage, so great a conformity between the descriptions of the venerable historian Herodotus, who was to be our guide, and the actual state of things at the present moment. It was a preliminary pledge of his integrity and fidelity of description, than which nothing could be more welcome amid the doubts and even aspersions which had been cast on his veracity, but which every successive extension of modern geographical knowledge successively removes. To the point in question:—the historian says, .

‘On his return to Egypt, after his conquests, Sesostris compelled the captives of the different nations he had vanquished to make those vast and numerous canals by which Egypt is intersected. In consequence of their involuntary labours, Egypt, which was before conveniently adapted to those who travelled on horseback or in carriages, became unfit for both. The canals occur so often, and in so many directions, that to journey on horseback is disagreeable, in carriages impossible.’—Euterpe, 108. .

Without supposing these to be the identical canals thus described, since these are evidently of modern construction, they prove, at least, from their absolute necessity at present for the irrigation of the soil, how essential such an arrangement must have always been to distribute the waters of the rivers over the level plains; and that, as the author of such a measure, Sesostris must have doubled the productions of his kingdom, solely by the labour of the captives who graced his conquests: which proves him to have been as great a statesman as a warrior, and to deserve, not only the character of a victorious sovereign, but one by far more valuable, the friend and father of his people.

The village of Mochannan, which is composed of a few miserable huts only, is less than a mile in direct distance from the banks of the Nile; yet heaps of shapeless ruins extend even close to the village, and in a manner encompass it on three sides, the north, the west, and the south; leaving the east toward the river to be covered by the inundation, on the retirement of which the ground is usually sown with corn, dourra, and wheat. Around the immediate skirts of the village, and interspersed even among the huts, are fine clusters of palm-trees, which afford an agreeable shade to the villagers themselves, and are also a source of profit. In our examination of those heaps of rubbish, the Arabs, who had flocked around us from curiosity, told us that this was ‘Belled Pharaon, cadeem, cadeem,’ or the City of Pharaoh, extremely ancient.

From Mochannan we proceeded onward to Metrahenny, on foot, not having been able to procure animals; but our excursion was far from disagreeable, as we were occasionally sheltered from the heat of the sun by the extensive palm-groves which are scattered over this quarter; and, by keeping more to the westward of the cultivated land, we avoided the numerous canals which intersect the plain toward the river. Those two villages lie from each other

north-east and south-west, at less than a league's distance; the latter being situated about midway between the foot of the Lybian mountains and the Nile, or a mile and a half from each. About this village, also, but particularly to the southward, and on the edge of the Desert west of us, were extensive mounds and heaps of ruins; the whole of which, however, were so indistinct, that it was impossible to say whether they were the remains of temples, or private dwellings; the few masses of granite, marble, and common stone which we saw among them, being broken, mutilated, and shapeless, while the rest was reduced to a loose earth, scattered over with fragments of broken pottery, small pieces of porphyry, alabaster, marble, and red granite, in abundance, as at Alexandria. In some parts, towards the west, were small lakes, or pools of water, let in by the canals, and used as partial reservoirs; but, at the foot of the mountains, are evident vestiges of the canal by which the city seemed to have been surrounded.

These extensive ruins, in the shape of mounds and building materials indistinctly mingled, reach for upwards of five miles in length, and extend westward as far as the edge of the encompassing canal; those on the east being most probably buried by the depositions of the river left at every inundation, and otherwise removed by the cultivation of the soil; but, throughout all this space, we could discover nothing like the foundation even of a building,—not a vestige to mark the spot where stood the magnificent edifices described by the ancient historians as having embellished this superb capital. The temples of Osiris, of Vulcan, and of Venus,—the Serapium, Hippodromos, Squares, and Circus,—its celebrated white castle, which formed the military fortress of the Persians there, as well as the colossal statues, emblematic sphynxes, towering obelisks, and sacred groves, with which the munificence of its kings adorned their proud and sumptuous capital:—these were all now confusedly mingled in one common heap, and could not but excite in the beholder the most painful and humiliating sensations, when he saw to what a worthless pile of dust the labours of ages, the wisdom of science, and the wealth of empires, were now reduced!

The immense quantity of pottery which covers the surface of the whole plain in which the ruins of Memphis lie, as well as the summits of the heaps into which they are formed, excite one's curiosity to know whether the vessels in use for religious and domestic purposes could have been sufficient to have formed them,—whether pottery entered at all into the materials of their building,—or what other cause could have contributed to the production of such inconceivable quantities of these fragments. Their preservation, while softer stones and unbaked bricks have mouldered into dust, they no doubt owe to their superior hardness; but, as regards the original accumulation, Herodotus mentions a custom which may have con-

tributed to it, in no small degree, in Memphis at least. He says, in his 'Thalia,' vi. :

'I shall now explain what is known to very few of those who travel in Egypt by sea. Twice in every year there are exported from Phœnicia in particular, wines secured in earthen jars, none of which jars are afterwards to be seen. The principal magistrate of every town is obliged to collect all the earthen vessels imported to the place where he resides, and send them to Memphis. The Memphians fill them with water, and afterwards transport them to the Syrian deserts. Thus all the earthen vessels imported to the place, or carried into Egypt, and there carefully collected, are continually added to those in Syria.'

As, therefore, on the cessation of such a customary supply of water to the Syrians of the desert, or on the destruction of Memphis itself, the wine in jars would probably continue to be sent from Greece and Phœnicia for some time afterwards, it would account for an increased accumulation of them, both at Memphis and at other ancient cities of Egypt, where these fragments are now so abundant.

In his Philosophical Dissertations on the Egyptians and Chinese, M. de Pauw says :

'Memphis was computed to be three leagues in circumference. This estimate must have included the great ponds, now entirely filled up—the park, or acacia, sycamore, and palm-trees, planted in clusters—and all the royal mansion of the Pharaohs. It is known that the palace extended from one extremity of the town to the other; because most probably the seraglio, chapels, stables, and other outhouses, adjoined the principal dwelling. Memphis, however, augmented only in proportion as Thebes declined, and afterwards ceded, in its turn, to the increasing grandeur of Ptolemais and Alexandria.'

When the cities, therefore, which succeeded Memphis were themselves in ruins, as is now the case, one could not wonder at the destruction of the eldest of them all being so complete.

The literary question relative to the true site of Memphis;—since Doctors Shaw and Norden, with most of the learned in Europe, had fixed it at Giza,—while Maillet, Pococke, Niebhur, Bruce, and Brown, had all fixed it in its present position,—has been so ably set at rest by the discussion of Rennell, whose investigation is complete, and whose authorities are decisive and indisputable, that it will not probably be agitated again.

Herodotus, when speaking of the inundations of the Nile, says,—'Euterpe,' 97,—'As long as the flood continues, vessels do not confine themselves to the channel of the river, but traverse the fields and plains. They who go from Naucratis to Memphis, pass by the

Pyramids : this, however, is not the usual course, which lies through the point of the Delta, and the city of Circasoras.' Pliny also says, —(lib. xxxvi. 12)—' The Pyramids are seated between Memphis and the Delta.' Consequently, by both of these authorities. Memphis was situated above, that is, to the southward, of the Pyramids.

The Antonine Itinerary gives twenty-four Roman miles between Heliopolis and Memphis, of which twelve are taken up between Heliopolis and Babylon. The former of these places is universally allowed by travellers to have been at Matarea, where, amongst other remains, an obelisk is standing ; and the latter is presumed to have been at Fostat, or Old Cairo, where the canal attributed to Trajan led out of the Nile, according to the authority of Ptolemy, and where a canal still exists. These places are distant from each other about eight and a half geographical miles in direct distance, answering to twelve Roman miles, allowing for the windings of the road.

The site of Memphis, then, ought to be $8\frac{1}{2}$ geographical miles from Fostat, or 17 from Heliopolis, through Fostat ; consequently, its general position is on all hands allowed to be on the *south* of the Pyramids, since these are not more than three or four miles to the south of the parallel of Fostat ; and, following the authorities of Strabo and Pliny, in addition to that of the Itinerary, the particular positions may be ascertained. It may be necessary to remark, that, as Memphis is said to have been a city of 150 stadia, or fourteen English miles, in circumference, and that, as it probably extended along the bank of the Nile four or five miles, and, inland from it, two or more, it may be difficult to apply the distances given. It is, however, most probable that the measures in the Roman Itinerary apply to the *centre* of Memphis ; as it appears to have been the practice of the Romans to reckon the millaria from the centre of Rome. And again, the measures of Pliny and of Strabo are likely to have been from the *extremity* of the city towards the Pyramids, when they spoke of the space *between* the Pyramids and Memphis. Ptolemy, perhaps, reckoned his latitude and longitude from the *centre*.

Pliny says that the Pyramids were 6 Roman miles from Memphis : Strabo, 40 stadia ; and, as his stades are of 700 to a degree, the mean of the two accounts will be about $4\frac{1}{4}$ geographical miles ; and if to these be added $1\frac{1}{4}$ more to the centre of the city, we have an aggregate of $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles, which will intersect the line of distance from Fostat and Heliopolis, at a point somewhat less than three miles to the N.N.E. of Saccara, two miles from the present western bank of the Nile, and in a S.E. direction from the Pyramids.

It appears, then, that Menof, Menf, or Menouf, which is rather a *position* than a *village*, as perhaps referring to the site of the

latest remains of Memphis, lies within half a mile, and that to the N.E. of the position above pointed out by the meeting of the two lines of distance from Fostat and the Pyramids. And that this Menf is on the site of Memphis, there is little doubt; since Abulfeda describes the situation of that capital, which existed as a considerable place so late as the seventh century, when Egypt was conquered by the Mohammedans. This author says that it stood at a *short* day's distance from Cairo; and, as the site of Menf may be taken at 14 *road* miles from Cairo, it agrees very well. To this may be added, that Mons. Maillet, Dr. Pococke, Mr. Bruce, and Mr. Browne, agree that there are remains on the spot which prove the existence of a former city.

We may surely rest the proof of the position of Memphis here; and it is very extraordinary how an idea ever came to be entertained that it was situated at Gizeh. The words of Herodotus alone ought to disprove it; as well those which have been already quoted, as in 'Euterpe,' 99, where he says, that 'it was situated in the *narrowest* part of Egypt.' Let any one cast his eyes on the map of that country, and he will see that this description cannot accord with any place *below* the Pyramids of Gizeh.

It is very uncertain whether, in the time of Herodotus, the Nile ran exactly in the same bed it now does in the part about Memphis. It is certain that Pliny says, the Nile ran at the distance of 4 Roman miles only from the Pyramids, which seems unlikely, as Memphis was half as far again from them; although there is no question but that the Nile, in early times, ran between the site of Memphis and the Pyramids. This, however, must have been previous to the foundation of Memphis, and before the operation which is described by Herodotus, and which appearances abundantly justify. He says, 'Euterpe,' 99 :

'Menes, as I was informed, effectually detached the ground on which Memphis stands from the water. Before this time, the river flowed entirely along the sandy mountain on the side of Africa. But this prince, by constructing a bank at the distance of 100 stadia from Memphis, towards the south, diverted the course of the Nile, and led it, by means of a new canal, through the centre of the mountains. And, even at this present period, under the dominion of the Persians, this artificial channel is annually repaired, and regularly defended. If the river were here once to break its banks, the town of Memphis, would be inevitably ruined. It was the same Menes, who, upon the solid ground thus rescued from the water, first built the town now known by the name of Memphis, which is situated in the narrowest part of Egypt. To the north and the west of Memphis he also sunk a lake communicating with the river, which, from the situation of the Nile, it was not possible to effect towards the east.'

To all these evidences, already more than sufficient to remove every doubt on the question of the site of this ancient and celebrated capital of the Pharaohs, may be added the circumstance of its being completely environed with sepulchres, both on the desert sands, which encompass it towards Lybia, and in the extensive excavations which appear in the opposite cliffs of the Arabian mountains, conformably to the Egyptian law, preserved by Plato, which declares that no person should be buried in any spot capable of bearing a tree : a custom worthy of admiration in such a land as Egypt, and which seems never to have been infringed on by the ancient possessors of the country. In short, a spot surrounded by the pyramidal mausoleums of its kings and nobles—occupying a plain, which, from the countless number of the dead that have been yielded up by its sepulchral caverns, has obtained the appellation of the Plain of Mummies : while, on the opposite side of the river which washed its eastern shores, is another Necropolis, that would alone have sufficed, for centuries, to contain the dead of a populous city ;—such a spot bears around it incontestible evidences of its having been once the site of a powerful and thickly-peopled capital. The remark of Plutarch, that Abydos and Memphis were preferred to all other places for interment, although it may account for the immensity of scale on which the cemeteries of this latter city are found to exist, must, at the same time, be admitted as another satisfactory proof of the position of the city itself, which they may be naturally supposed to have encompassed ; the living multitudes being enclosed within a Necropolis, more extensive in space, and even more thickly peopled, than the gay and crowded capital which the living inhabited !

The reflections suggested by thus witnessing the complete annihilation of so renowned a seat of learning, wealth, and power, were full of sorrow : the habitations of the living seemed mingled with the dust of those who reared them, to teach posterity the vanity of human hopes ; while the gigantic monuments of the departed great, and the humbler chambers of the forgotten poor, still remained—as if to combine with that lesson the silent proof of man's irrevocable destiny.

On the Nile, Oct. 30.

After the fatigue of our excursion to the ruins of Memphis, I reposed so soundly that I was awakened only by the warmth of the rising sun beaming full in my face as I slept. It was still calm ; and, as we could make but a slow progress upwards against the stream of the Nile, I quitted the boat, and, accompanied by the Reis, walked a few miles from the banks of the river to observe the Pyramids of Dashour, which were immediately before us.

The country around us, being hemmed in by the mountains and desert sands on both sides of the majestic stream, as if to confine the expansion of its fertilizing waters within restricted bounds, corresponds faithfully with the description given of this God of Rivers

by the Chief Priest, Achoreus, when entertaining Cæsar at the banquet of Cleopatra, in Alexandria :

‘Mountains and deserts Nature’s hand provides;
To bank thy too luxurious river’s sides ;
As in a vale thy current she restrains,
Nor suffers thee to spread the Libyan plains :
At Memphis first free liberty she yields,
And lets thee loose to float the thirsty fields.’—LUCAN.

Denon has given a drawing of those Pyramids of Dashour, in his thirteenth plate of engravings, calling them ‘The Pyramids of Saccarah,’ in which he must have been misinformed, as these are a detached group, four or five miles to the southward of those of Saccarah, and easily distinguished from them by their larger size, the peculiarity of the shape of one among them, and the difference of the materials of another. The first of this group, comparing it on the spot with my remembrance of the great Pyramid of Gizeh, cannot be less than five hundred feet in breadth at the base, round which the sands of the desert have collected in the same way ; its elevation is, however, less in proportion to its base than in those of Gizeh, but its angles are evidently less injured and decayed. The second has the peculiarity which Denon describes, of closing in at the top with a sloping line ; so that its sides, instead of ascending in a pure pyramidal form, partake something of the nature of the Saracenic dome, by rounding inwards, about midway up from its base, and terminating in a more acute angle at the summit. The one which he describes as nearer to the Nile, and which the plate places on the very water’s edge, is at least five miles from the river ; it is of the most irregular shape, and dark colour, being built of a brown hardened earth, or what is generally termed sun-baked bricks, the falling away of which has surrounded its base with their mouldered fragments. A number of smaller pyramids are scattered round in ruins ; but, though they are in general built upon the same proportional dimensions of form as those at Gizeh, the stones of which they are composed are not more than one-fourth of the size used there ; nor could I perceive among them any whose sides presented the appearance of an opening. They are all beyond the line of cultivation, and are surrounded on every side by the sands of the desert.

‘Monsieur De Pauw, in his ‘Philosophical Dissertations on the Egyptians and Chinese,’ has offered the most satisfactory arguments in proof of these multiplied and enormous masses of buildings having been erected for some other end than that of facilitating astronomical observations ; though he does not appear to me to have been equally happy in his attempts to substitute the idea of their being simply monuments erected in honour of the Being who enlightened the universe, to the exclusion of their use as sepulchres. The undisputed fact of their being all most securely closed,—their situation, encompassing the royal city, and built upon

the unproductive sands, conformable to the law which forbid interment in a cultivable soil,—and the existence of a sarcophagus in the one that has been opened,—would all tend to confirm the idea of their having been regal sepulchres, and at the same time account also for their being found in the neighbourhood of Memphis only, and nowhere else throughout all Egypt; a different taste or fashion having led to the magnificent excavations which form the tombs of the Kings at Thebes. Had they indeed been monuments erected in honour of their chief deity, Osiris, as has been suggested, they would have been as widely scattered over the land in which his worship prevailed, as are the temples whose vestiges still remain along the borders of the Nile; nor would such a profusion of monuments to the Divine Being, all of the same description, have been thus clustered together on the barren sands, any more than those superb edifices which were reared in honour of the gods they adored, and which were as extensive in their positions, from the frontiers of Ethiopia to the borders of the Nile, as they were varied in their sizes, their forms, and their decorations.

It is singular enough that this writer, De Pauw, has himself noticed the first of these Pyramids, under a name which no one else would certainly conceive to imply a monument erected to the Author of all Good, and which could only have arisen from some misconception. In endeavouring to disprove their eligibility for astronomical purposes, he says, 'It should be remarked that the Egyptians observed no determined proportions between the breadth of the base and the height of the Pyramids; and, as their dimensions varied so considerably, no idea could be had of having recourse to them, in order to find out the equinoctial days. The Pyramid, called *El Haram el Kebeer el Koubli* by the Arabs, has a base much broader in proportion to its height, than the Great Pyramid of Memphis.' The fact is certain; but this name, which literally signifies '*The great robber of the upper country*,' could only have been an answer to some ill understood question, proposed, perhaps, by some traveller who did not understand Arabic; or, possibly an evasive reply of some eccentric peasant to a demand made in a moment of petulance, and committed to the journal of the inquirer without knowing its meaning.

It was nearly noon when we returned from our excursion to these Pyramids of Dashour, and not an air of wind was yet stirring; the Arabs, however, towed us along the western shore for three or four hours, until we reached the little village of Cafr Iabt, when, the wind springing up southerly, we were obliged to bring up, and moor to the bank, in company with several other boats who were bound upward, on the same course as ourselves.

I had already dined on a rice pilau, and exchanged pipes with the Reis, or Egyptian Captain, a tranquil and venerable old man, punctual in his ablutions and prayers, and fond of stroking his

white beard with great gravity of countenance, which was all that I yet knew of him ; and, as he offered to accompany me, we walked together over the village, and even entered into some of the dwellings there. The women were less scrupulous of showing their faces than I had before found them, the children less afraid of approaching strangers, and every thing wore a greater appearance of amity ; but the same filth, the same poverty, the same wretchedness every where prevailed. Their huts were only walled dung-hills, in which single inclosure, without bed, mat, or covering of any kind, lay frequently a family of eight or ten in number on the damp earth ; to which might be added the occasional visits of sheep, goats, fowls, pigeons, fleas, and mosquitoes. The males, from the age of ten to twenty, were all employed in the cultivation of the ground, and in watering it from the Nile ; the females, between the same ages, in carrying burthens, and in the performance of all the inferior offices of labour, for their husbands or fathers ; and the children, from the moment of their walking alone, until the period of their being capable of assisting in the duties of the field, were occupied in collecting the dung of animals while yet warm on the earth, and moulding it into cakes, which, being dried in the sun, forms their only fuel, as Egypt produces but little wood, except the palm tree, and this is carefully preserved for the dates it supplies ; while the charcoal from Mount Sinai, and other parts, can only be procured as a luxury by the rich. The whole property of these oppressed and degraded beings, moveable and immoveable, seldom exceeds, for a whole family, the amount of twenty piastres—less than a guinea sterling. Of furniture or utensils, they have none beyond a kettle for cooking, some large jars for water, and a few vessels for butter, milk, &c. The husband is well clad if he can procure a coarse brown goat's hair shirt of his own weaving, and a white cotton cap for the head ; a simple blue chemise, with a square piece of the same kind thrown over the head, comprises all the wardrobe of the wife ; and few of the children of either sex, before the age of eight or ten years, know any thing of the burthen of being dressed, or of wearing garments of any description.

One of the most interesting subjects on which the mind can employ itself, when traversing a country renowned for its celebrity in history, is the comparison of its modern with its ancient manners, and the tracing out such deviations and coincidences as may most forcibly arrest the attention. It was thus that the features given of the early Egyptians by the different writers of antiquity were frequently recalled to my remembrance by some remaining trait which I occasionally perceived among their descendants ; more particularly those minute yet striking characteristics preserved of them by their most copious and faithful historian, Herodotus :

'The Egyptians,' says he, 'born under a climate to which no

other can be compared, possessing a river, differing in its nature and properties from all the rivers of the world, are themselves distinguished from the rest of mankind by the singularity of their institutions and their manners. In this country the women leave to the men the management of the loom in the retirement of the house, while they themselves are engaged abroad in the business of commerce. Here the men carry burthens on their heads, the women on their shoulders; the women stand up to do that for which the men stoop. The offices of nature are performed at home; but they eat their meals publicly in the streets. In vindication of this they assert, that those things which, though necessary, are unseemly, are best done at home; but whatever has no shame attached to it should be done openly. Other nations will not suffer animals to approach the place of their repast; but in Egypt they live promiscuously with the people. They knead their dough with their feet, whilst in the removal of mud and dung they do not scruple to use their hands.—Euterpe, 5, 36.

At present the freedom of the Egyptian women, and their occupation in the business of commerce, is principally restrained by the influence of the Mohammedan religion; although they still possess the same disposition to manage their husbands' affairs, and evince it on every possible occasion, when called on to assist in the sale of the products of their harvest, the barter of their flocks and poultry, or their necessary transactions in the public fairs and bazaars. The burthens of the men are still carried on the head, and those of the women, particularly the water-jars of immense weight and size, on the shoulders; the former still stoop on certain occasions, and the latter fulfil the same purposes while standing; and, while to other duties are given a becoming privacy, they still affect to eat in public, both because it is an act of which none should be ashamed, and because they conceive it to display an openness of hospitality, and to imply a tacit invitation to all who pass by to partake of their humble fare. Their animals, of every kind, still live promiscuously with the people; and, though I am not aware of their continuing to knead the dough with their feet, they still employ their hands without scruple in the removal of mud and dung.

Nothing can exceed the fertility of every portion of this part of Egypt, within the range of the river's inundation; for, wherever the swelling waters spread, vegetation seems spontaneous, and demands but little aid from the hand of labour; less, perhaps, than in any other country on the face of the globe. Volney has therefore well observed, that

‘Toute l'existence physique et politique de l'Egypte depend du Nil: lui seul subvient à ce premier besoin des êtres organisés, le besoin de l'eau, si fréquemment senti dans les climats chauds, si vivement irrité par la privation de cet élément. Le Nil seul, sans le

secours d'un ciel avare de pluie, port partout l'aliment de la végétation ; par un séjour de trois mois il l'imbibe d'une somme d'eau capable de lui suffire le reste de l'année. Sans son débordement, on ne pourroit cultiver qu'un terrain très-borné, et avec de soins très-dispendieux ; et l'on a raison de dire qu'il est la mesure de l'abondance de la prospérité, de la vie.'

Nor are the testimonies of the ancients less descriptive of its modern state, whether we regard the acknowledged bounty of its waters, so often alluded to by Moses and the earliest historians of the Jews ; the threats of barrenness, contrasted with its astonishing fertility, in the lofty denunciations of the Hebrew Prophets ; its fame, so often chaunted by the Bards of Greece, from Hesiod and the father of the Epic song, to the humblest muse that ventured to re-echo or repeat their strains ; or the latter efforts of Roman verse, from the Mantuan flatterer of Augustus, and his polished contemporaries, to the poet who nobly dared to espouse the cause of liberty against the mighty Cæsar, and rear a monument to its defender Pompey, whom Lentulus, after his defeat at Pharsalia, thus addresses :

' Abounding Egypt shall receive thee yet,
And yield, unquestion'd, a secure retreat.
By nature strengthen'd with a dangerous strand,
Her syrts and untried channels guard the land ;
Rich in the fatness of her plenteous soil,
She plants her only confidence in Nile.'

LUCAN, Book VIII.

In directing my inquiries to the subject of the tenure on which the people held their lands, I found an Albanian soldier in the village who spoke Italian, from whom we received much information, in addition to what had been communicated to us by the Arabs themselves in their own houses. I learnt from these that the whole soil was the property of the Pasha, who farmed out every district to such Turks as might be found to offer an adequate price for them, investing these military chiefs with unlimited power to remunerate themselves by any means which might appear most eligible to them ; and warranting every act of tyranny which they might commit, in order to wrest from the country a fortune for themselves. The established rate of rents for the lands in the neighbourhood of this village was fifteen piastres per harvest for every plot of twenty feet square ; and, this harvest occurring regularly twice in the year, the revenue yielded by so disproportionate a tribute was immense. Nothing, indeed, but the extreme fertility of the soil, and the cheapness of living, from the poor and miserable sustenance of the inhabitants, could enable them to pay it. Yet, far from being satisfied with a tribute so ample, these barbarous despots furnish themselves with every species of provision for their household without payment ; and even warrant the most insolent robberies and abuses by

their licentious soldiery, who practise on the peasantry every species of cruelty and oppression which man can exercise upon his fellow.

It is as painful as it is surprising to behold a land thus teeming with plenty, and a crowded population, subjected to a scattered horde of tyrants, whose forces are, in every point of view, contemptible, and whom, beneath the guidance of an intelligent leader, the people might sweep utterly away between the rising and the setting sun ; but, born in slavery, they neither know nor value freedom, and are satisfied with believing that they outwit their oppressors by neglecting as much as possible the culture of the soil ; on which principle, they often suffer castigation, want, and all the inconveniences of persecution, with pride and firmness, if they can thereby secure from the rapacity of their tyrants a hidden treasure that they dare not themselves ever openly enjoy. It is the same, too, with their buildings ; they raise walls of mud, and cover them with roofs of straw, to answer the temporary purpose of their own existence. Their children must labour for themselves, and build their own habitations ; those of the parents being so fragile, that, but for the climate, they would be inadequate to serve even the present generation, as the mildest April shower that England ever sees would melt whole villages by its fall, so that every trace of them would be lost in the vegetation that would soon cover the surface of its prolific mud.

All that one beholds, in short, in this den of slavery, guarded by brutal, ignorant, and unfeeling monsters, is calculated to oppress the heart with sadness, when it forces on the mind, by the power of its melancholy contrast, a remembrance of its ancient grandeur, wealth, and happiness, either under the government of its early monarchs, or in the brilliant reigns of the Ptolemies, when

• Jove's favourites, heaven-protected at their birth,
Held the bright sceptre o'er the subject earth,
While, rising from the rich, prolific shower,
Wide plenty waved, and myriads bless'd their power.
Secure from ravages or slaughtering arms,
The rustics reap'd the produce of their farms ;
Pastured their herds where Nile o'erflows the coast,
Nor fear'd the navies of th' invading host.

THEOCRITUS, Id. 17. •

On returning to our bark, we found that a misunderstanding had taken place, which, if aggravated, would probably have terminated unpleasantly, but which, by a lucky accident of the moment, had the best effect. Some insolent Turks, who were in one of the boats that were moored near to us, after rising from their sun-set prayers and washings, had been very liberal in their abuse of my servant, and continued to reproach us, as infidels, with being the cause of the calm that prevailed, and retarded their progress. The young Greek,

who spoke the language of the Turks with great fluency, had replied to them with more warmth than prudence, and the quarrel had already drawn a crowded circle round our boat. We pushed through them, however, amid their vociferations of the foulest kind, of which few people are more liberal. A large meteor was just falling in the air : their extreme ignorance and astrological superstition induced me to take advantage of the moment, and, pointing towards it with an air of forced gravity, I pronounced, in a lengthened and solemn tone, the name of 'Allah !' They regarded the extinction of the meteor with silence, and gazed on me with a stare of stupid inquiry. We had scarcely stepped into our boat, however, before a light air of wind, sweeping along the river from the northward, enabled us to make sail : and, according to their own confession, which both our Reis and my servant heard, some were disposed to believe that I had demanded this double proof from heaven, namely, the extinction of the meteor, and the springing up of the breeze, of my not having merited their accusation ; while others insisted that it was a species of magical power which I had possessed from the devil, and that it ought rather to be considered as a proof of their being originally right in supposing me to command an infernal influence over the winds themselves. Our own crew even began to talk of this event ; and this circumstance, joined to the consideration of my going to see the ruins of antiquity, which they believe to have been the work of magicians, so strengthened the suspicion of my being one of that mysterious order, that it was little short of absolute belief, more particularly as they had often noticed my being provided with books, maps, and charts, as well as with instruments of a kind they had never before seen. Its effect, however, was of the happiest kind on all parties ; for, whether I held my commission from above or below, they were unanimous in considering me as a controller of nature, and very peaceably submitted. It was the first time of my ever having been vested with the honours due to supernatural powers ; and, perhaps, I never could have received them in a moment of greater need than the present, when the impression they created had served to check the influence of fanaticism, haughtiness, and ferocity.

We continued to make but a slow progress, from the frequency of the boat's grounding, although the clearness of the evening, and the bright moonlight, would have enabled our crew to keep sufficiently near the shore to avoid the greatest strength of the current, without approaching it so close as to get aground ; but all reasoning with them on this point was useless. They were convinced that it was impossible to proceed upon the Nile by night ; and, when the moon had set, though it was still quite clear with a bright star-light, we again made fast, by mooring to the shore of a small island in the middle of the stream, there to await the break of day.

Before I slept, I exchanged pipes with the Reis, at his desire, and profited by this opportunity to describe to him something of sea-navigation, as he saw so much peril and difficulty in river-sailing. But, though he had lived upon the water for nearly half a century, yet he had never once seen the sea; his voyages being confined entirely to the Nile, of which he considered himself one of the oldest and most experienced pilots. Our conversation was, therefore, of that description, in which it would be difficult to say whether his surprise at the simplest facts, or my amusement at witnessing it, was the greatest.

TO DEPART IS BETTER.

SHE said she would that she were dead,
For that this world was full of strife,
And all the transient hopes had fled
That once conferr'd a charm on life.

I ask'd her if she, then, could leave
The green earth, and her soul unwed
From all its tender ties, nor grieve
At parting? 'Yes, I could,' she said.

I did not—for I could not—chide
The hopeless maid when she preferr'd
That place where man is deified,
To this where human monsters herd.

My heart was full; but, though I knew
Her accusations of the earth
Were all by sad experience true,
I treated them with seeming mirth.

And is there none, I ask'd, can give
A happier colour to thy fate,
And make thee yet desire to live
To some far-distant future date?

Then with a conscious look I gazed
On her pale cheek, and sought reply;
Her dark blue eyes to heaven she raised,
And answer'd: 'None; I'd rather die!'

Alas! and is the teeming earth
A parent so perversely blest,
To give to fairest children birth,
For whom she has no mother's breast?

THE FOUNTAIN OF OBLIVION.

' Implora pace.'

ONE draught, kind Fairy! from that fountain deep,
 To lay the phantoms of a haunted breast,
 And lone affections, which are griefs, to steep
 In the cool honey-dews of dreamless rest;
 And from the soul the lightning-marks to lave—
 One draught of that sweet wave!

Yet, mortal, pause!—within thy mind is laid
 Wealth, gather'd long and slowly; thoughts divine
 Heap that full treasure-house; and thou hast made
 The gems of many a spirit's ocean thine:
 Shall the dark waters to oblivion bear
 A pyramid so fair?

Pour from the fount! and let the draught efface
 All the vain lore by Memory's pride amass'd,
 So it but sweep along the torrent's trace,
 And fill the hollow channels of the past!
 And from the bosom's inmost-folded leaf
 Raze the one master-grief!

Yet pause once more! All, all thy soul hath known,
 Loved, felt, rejoiced in, from its grasp must fade!
 Is there no voice whose kind, awakening tone,
 A sense of spring-time in thy heart hath made?
 No eye whose glance thy day-dreams would recall?
 Think—wouldst thou part with all?

Fill with forgetfulness!—there are, there ARE
 Voices whose music I have loved too well;
 Eyes of deep gentleness; but they are far,
 Never, oh! never in my home to dwell!
 Take their soft looks from off my yearning soul—
 Fill high the oblivious bowl!

Yet pause again!—with Memory wilt thou cast
 The undying Hope away, of Memory born?
 Hope of reunion, heart to heart at last,
 No restless doubts between, no rankling thorn!
 Wouldst thou erase all records of delight,
 That make such visions bright?

Fill with forgetfulness, fill high!—yet stay—
 'Tis from the past we shadow forth the land,
 Where smiles long lost again shall light our way,
 And the soul's friends be wreathed in one bright band:
 Pour the sweet waters back on their own rill—
 I must remember still!

For THEIR sake, for the dead—whose image nought
 May dim within the temple of my breast,
 For their love's sake, which now no earthly thought
 May shake or trouble with its own unrest,
 Though the past haunt me as a spirit—yet
 I ask not to forget!

F. HEMANS.

THE TEA MONOPOLY.

WHATEVER difference of opinion may exist as to the expediency of depriving the East India Company of its exclusive privileges at the expiration of the Charter, or of entering into some arrangement respecting them before that time, it must be admitted, on all hands, that there is no pretext of policy or justice for removing any checks which may be placed on their abuse, or for extending them beyond their strict letter by forced and arbitrary constructions. In a paper published in 'The Oriental Herald' for last December, we endeavoured to show, by reference to official documents, and by arguments raised upon them, that the commercial policy of Leadenhall-street is directly opposed to the commercial policy of Whitehall, and that the restrictions on the Chinese trade and the traffic in tea were of a nature to embarrass our colonial system, and to exclude from the carrying trade of Europe the merchants and shipowners of Great Britain. When the laws which secured those monopolies to the Company were enacted, we have shown that Government was not conscious of the immense importance of the grant, and that the inconveniences which have since resulted from it were not in their contemplation. It certainly does seem to us that, in a matter of such vast importance to the industry and prosperity of the country, some method ought to be devised to prevent the full completion of that ruin which the prodigality of 1813 must inevitably create. That the Government of 1821 were of this opinion is clear, from the correspondence between Mr. Canning and the Directors; and we are sure that all well-informed and impartial men will agree, that the new system of trade will have no fair trial until, by concessions from the Company, or by the omnipotence of Parliament, our Asiatic commerce be placed on the same footing as that to the rest of the world.

We wish we could discover, in the conduct and declarations of the present Government, some symptoms of adherence to the policy of their former colleagues, some ground of hope that the blessings derivable from extended intercourse with Asia were no longer to filter in scanty rivulets through the house in Leadenhall-street; and that, instead of conspiring with the Company to defraud the public, and seeking apologies and constructions to secure from the most trifling invasion a monopoly at variance with the general policy of the empire, their subordinate officers had evinced some inclination to give to the population of these countries the full benefit of the law as it stands, and to affix such a meaning to the loopholes and ambiguities which the lawyers might have left in the text of the Charter, as might be conducive, through extended trade, to the general comfort of this people.

We have often had occasion to insist, in this Journal, on the comparatively trifling progress, of late years, observable in the consumption of tea. Notwithstanding the prodigious increase of population, it appears that, although the use of other articles of economical beverage, such as beer and coffee, has, during the last twenty years, been stationary, there is little sensible advance in the consumption of tea. No person can live six months in England without being fully convinced that the infusion of this plant remains almost the only luxury enjoyed by a great proportion of our population; and we all know that the revenue of the country is as much concerned in its extensive use as the happiness and morals of the people. We have seen, in former Numbers of 'The Oriental Herald,' that the King's Government have recently been humble suitors* to the Directors of the East India Company for increased facilities for the importation of this very article, and that the refusal of the Company to accede to their reasonable demands and just application was, six years ago, the subject of much remonstrance and expostulation on the part of committees of both Houses of Parliament.

The early legislators for the East India Company, in the midst of the profusion and extravagance of their successive grants, were not altogether unmindful of the interests of the people of England. The first charter of the Company, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, gave power to put an end to it on giving two years' notice, if it was found not to be conducive to the profit of the Crown and realm; and from that time downwards, the interests of the people of this country have always been the object of special and distinct provisions. In later times, the benefit likely to arise to the lower orders of the community by introducing an agreeable and wholesome substitute for fermented liquors, was distinctly foreseen; and, in all the acts of the last four reigns, special enactments may be found to secure this vitally important object.

Thus, by the 18th section of the Act of Geo. II., 'in order to keep the price of tea in this kingdom upon an equality with the price thereof in other neighbouring countries of Europe,' a power was reserved to the Treasury to permit its importation 'from any ports of Europe,' when its price here should exceed that marked in the foreign quotations.†

The 14 Geo. VI., c. 34. s. 3., repeats, word for word, the provision to license private traders to import teas, in case the East India Company should neglect to import a sufficient quantity to keep the prices on an equality with those of the continent of Europe, and the same provision may be found in the 16 Geo. III., c. 51. s. 3.

* Vide 'Oriental Herald' for December.

† Vide Report of the Liverpool Association.

The Commutation Act of 1784 annuls none of these provisions. On the contrary, it makes farther provisions, (as far as regards the Company's modes of sale,) for securing to the public cheap teas. It tells them that it is just and reasonable that they should contribute their utmost endeavours for securing to the public the full benefit which will arise from an immediate and permanent reduction of prices ; and, although, since the year 1784, tea is the subject of no less than fourteen statutes, in not one of these is there a syllable tending to repeal the provisions previously enacted for the security of the public.

The principal Acts regulating the affairs of the East India Company, are the two last charters, that is, the statutes of 1793 and of 1813. The first of these makes no specific mention of the tea trade, except in so far as it confirms with trifling and valueless exceptions the whole monopoly as it stood before the passing of the Act ; which, in law and reason, is surely a confirmation of what was enacted for the advantage of the public, as much as of what was enacted against it, that is, in favour of the East India Company.

In the last charter, the monopoly of the tea trade, and the exclusive privilege of trading to the dominions of the Emperor of China, are left untouched to the East India Company. The open intercourse with other countries of the East, and in all commodities tea excepted, which was then conceded to the nation, called for express provisions in favour of the East India Company : they are accordingly provided by the 2d and 8th sections of the Act. In the first of these it is provided that the monopoly shall be exercised conformably to former Acts not repealed in the present ; and, among such repealed Acts, those securing cheap teas to the public are most unquestionably not included, nor could they be so without a most flagrant neglect of its duty on the part of the Legislature, or a collusion between it and the East India Company to defraud the public.

Down to the year 1772,* the East India Company appears to have felt the necessity of complying with the statutes which we have quoted. In that year they ostentatiously put forth a statement to show, that they sold tea by 46½ per cent. cheaper than the Swedes, by 34½ per cent. cheaper than the Dutch, and by 15½ per cent. cheaper than the French.

At the period in question, the East India Company had to compete only with monopoly corporations like themselves ; and, with a better market and a larger capital, it was no very difficult matter for them, if they thought proper, to undersell such competitors.

* Vide Report of the Committee of the Liverpool East India Association, page 8.

This state of things, however, was not of long continuance. The East India Company insisted upon extravagant monopoly prices, and upon these extravagant monopoly prices the State charged excessive duties.

The Dutch, Danes, Swedes, French, and others, took advantage of this state of things, and illicitly poured such a quantity of tea into this country that, at the passing of the Commutation Act in 1784, it was computed that they furnished two-thirds of the whole consumption of the kingdom. At this period, the nations in question exported from Canton to Europe no less than 13,469,890 lbs. of tea yearly; whereas the East India Company exported only 5,450,614 lbs. After the passing of the celebrated Commutation Act, which may safely be described as a measure of the Minister of the day to support the East India Company at the expense of the nation, the duties were reduced from 119 to 12½ per cent., and a window tax was imposed to make up the expectation of a loss to the yearly amount of 600,000*l.* to the revenue. The tea trade of the East India Company was improved; for, in the second year, when the Commutation Act came fairly into operation, the Company's sales rose from 5,857,883 lbs. to 15,081,737 lbs.; but the nation was evidently worse off than during the smuggling system. The sum total of the advantage which the public derived from this measure, as far as the East India Company was concerned, was a reduction in the price to the amount of something less than 6*d.* a pound on the average of all teas!

The King's duty on tea was not raised until the commencement of the French revolutionary war; and the Company preserved, from the period of the Commutation Act until then, its monopoly entire. The East India Company had now no competitors, either in the shape of monopoly companies or free-traders. No means existed for determining whether they sold their teas cheap or dear. They forgot the conditions on which they held their charter. The nation supremely submitted, and the Legislature made no effort to protect the people from this gross oppression.

In the Commutation Act, the Legislature, in order that the Company might take no advantage of the monopoly then so completely established in its favour, specified the prices at which the first sales of tea should be put up; thus pointing out the rates at which it expected the nation should in future be supplied. It is remarkable, that the Company's prices down to the present hour exceed this by full fifteen per cent.; while, in their turn, they exceed the quotations of the New York Market by no less than forty-three per cent.

The following table, exhibiting the comparative prices of English and Dutch teas, in 1772 and 1827, will afford a very curious and a very instructive exposure of the Company's evasions of the statutes made for the protection of the public. From this statement it ap-

pears that the Company's teas, since 1772, have fallen in price about 25 per cent. only, whilst those of the Dutch have fallen above 66 per cent. :

	London Prices. 1772.		Dutch Prices. 1772.		London Prices. 1827.		Dutch Prices. 1827.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Bohea	1	10½	2	0 8-16ths	1	7	0	5 2-5ths
Congou ..	3	0½	3	7½	2	5 8-10ths	1	0 9-10ths
Hyson....	7	4	6	8 11-16ths	4	11	2	7½
Average ..	4	0½	4	1 11-16ths	2	11 9-10ths	1	4 47-100ths.

The following correspondence on this subject has recently taken place between Messrs. Cropper, Benson, and others, of Liverpool, Mr. Fortune, of London, and the Lords of the Treasury.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, the respectful Petition of the undersigned Merchants of Liverpool

SHEWETH,—That, by the 11th section of the 18th of Geo. II., cap. 26, in order to keep the price of tea in this country upon an equality with the price thereof in other neighbouring countries of Europe, it is provided as follows :

‘ Provided always, and be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that if the said United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, shall at any time neglect to keep this market supplied with a sufficient quantity of tea at reasonable prices to answer the consumption thereof in Great Britain, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Commissioners of the Treasury, or any three or more of them, or the said High Treasurer for the time being, to grant licenses to any other person or persons, body or bodies, politic or corporate, to import tea into Great Britain from any parts of Europe, in such and the like manner, and subject to such duties, and under such restrictions and limitations, and upon such notices, and with such licenses, as are heretofore prescribed and directed with respect to tea, to be imported from any parts of Europe, by the said United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, any thing in this or any former Act or Acts of Parliament to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.’

That the same provision has been repeated in the 6th of Geo. III., cap. 13, sec. 2, by the 14th Geo. III., cap. 34, sec. 3, and by the 16th Geo. III., cap. 51, sec. 4; and, having never since been repealed, of course remains in force.

That the price of tea, at the last sale of the United East India Company, at their house in Leadenhall-street, in the month of June last, was as follows :

	s.	d.	s.	d.	
Bohea.....	1	5	to 1	6½	per lb.
Congou kind, and Congou Packages	1	7½	to 1	8½	
common.....	2	2	to 2	3½	
good	2	3	to 2	5	

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Congou, fine	2	6	to 2	11
Pekoe kind	2	7	to 3	4½
Pekoe	3	9½	to 4	7
Campoi	2	7	to 3	2
Souchong	3	1	to 4	8
Twankay, common	2	1¼	to 2	2½
—— good	2	3½	to 2	10
—— fine	3	0	to 3	7½
Hyson kind	3	9	to 4	2½
Hyson Skin, common	2	1¼	to 2	4
Hyson, common	3	10	to 4	0
—— good	4	3	to 4	6
—— fine	4	11	to 5	8
Caper, common and good	2	6	to 3	0
Gunpowder	5	9	to 5	10

That the prices at which the same article may be had in various parts of the continent of Europe are very materially lower, particularly at Hamburgh, where, as your petitioners are prepared to prove, it can be shipped at about the following prices, viz :

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Bohea	0	5	7-10ths to 0	86-10ths per lb.
Congou, ordinary middling	0	9	5-10ths to 0	105-10ths
—— middling	0	10	5-10ths to 0	114-10ths
—— fine	1	1	8-10ths to 1	23-10ths
Campoi	0	9	5-10ths to 0	105-10ths
Souchong	0	9	5-10ths to 1	04-10ths
Twankay, ordinary middling	0	11	4-10ths to 4	14-10ths
Hyson Skin, ordinary to fine middling	0	7	6-10ths to 0	114-10ths
Imperial, middling and good	2	8	3-10ths	
Hyson	2	2	6-10ths to 2	36-10ths

That the case has, therefore, arisen, and, indeed, has long existed, to provide against which the Legislature reserved to the Government the power of interfering with the exclusive privileges of the East India Company, by granting to individuals the right of importing tea from the continent of Europe.

Your petitioners, therefore, respectfully petition that your Lordships will be pleased to grant to them a license to import from Hamburgh, or some other continental port, into this country, a quantity of tea, not exceeding two millions of pounds weight.

(Signed)

CROPPER, BENSON, & Co.

(And others.)

Liverpool, August, 1828.

To Messrs. Cropper, Benson, and Co., Liverpool.

Downing-street, 20th August, 1828.

GENTLEMEN,—I am desired by Mr. Calburn to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to the Duke of Wellington, inclosing a petition from the merchants of Liverpool, requesting, for the reasons

therein stated, that a license might be granted to them to import from Hamburgh, or some other continental port, into this country, a quantity of tea not exceeding two millions of pounds weight; and I am to acquaint you that the 18th Geo. II., cap. 26, on which the petitioners rely, was certainly, as they state, continued by several Acts, but was ultimately repealed by the 6th Geo. IV., cap. 105, sec. 90. The last Act which recognised it, was 2d Geo. IV., cap. 43, sec. 21, and that Act was expressly repealed by the 6th Geo. IV., cap. 105, sec. 358. The provisions, therefore, on which the petitioners call upon the Treasury to act, have been repealed. But, in addition to this, the 4th Geo. IV., cap. 80, sec. 9, and, lastly, the 6th Geo. IV., cap. 107, sec. 52, expressly prohibit the importation of tea, unless from the place of its growth, and by the East India Company, and into the port of London. I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

(Signed)

EDWARD WALPOLE.

To the Right Honourable the Lords of the Treasury, the Petition of Francis Fortune, of 29, Lombard-street, Merchant, for himself and others,

HUMBLY SHEWETH,—That, by the Act of 18 Geo. II., cap. 26, passed in 1745, it is statuted and ordained, that 'the East India Company shall import such a quantity of tea as to keep the price of it in this country upon an equality with the prices thereof in the neighbouring continent; and that it is therein further enacted, that, if the East India Company shall at any time neglect to keep the British market supplied with a sufficient quantity of tea at reasonable prices, it shall be lawful for the Lords of the Treasury to grant licenses to any person or persons, body politic or corporate, to import tea into Great Britain from any port of Europe.'

And your Petitioners further show, that the prices of teas in this country are very far from being on an equality with the prices thereof on the Continent; and that the prices are such in Holland as to enable them to import it from thence so as to sell it in the British market at a much lower rate than the prices of the sales by the East India Company; and your Petitioners further state, that a sale of 17,488 chests of tea is to be made at Amsterdam in October next.

Your Petitioners humbly pray that your Lordships will grant them a license, under the Act of 18 Geo. II., to import the said 17,488 chests of tea, or any part thereof, into Great Britain.

And your Petitioners will ever pray,

(Signed)

FRANCIS FORTUNE.

London, September, 1828.

N.B. The Act of 24 Geo. III., confirming Act 18, Geo. II., not inserted in this Petition.

To Mr. F. Fortune, Merchant, 29, Lombard-street.

Treasury Chambers, October 3, 1828.

SIR,—Having laid before the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury your Petition, praying permission to import tea from the Continent of Europe, under the regulations of the 18th Geo. II., cap. 26, I am commanded by their Lordships to acquaint you, that, under the Act 6, Geo. IV., cap. 107, tea is restricted from being imported into this country, unless from the place of its growth, and by the East India Company, and that your request cannot be complied with.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) J. STEWART.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, the humble Petition of Francis Fortune, of Lombard-street, London, Merchant, for himself and others,

SHewETH,—That your Petitioner, having applied to your Lordships for a license to import tea from the Continent of Europe, under the regulations of 24th Geo. III., your Petitioner has been informed in answer thereto, that, under the Act 6 Geo. IV., tea is restricted from being imported into this country, unless from the place of its growth, and by the East India Company, and therefore that the license required could not be granted to your Petitioner.

Your Petitioner, with great deference, again trespasses on the attention of your Lordships, and begs to submit to your Lordships, that the Act of the 6th Geo. IV. in no manner whatever repeals the Act of the 18th Geo. II., but distinctly states in its preamble to be only a repeal of the several laws relating to the Customs,* and having no reference whatever to the repeal of the Act of the 18th Geo. II., or any of the subsequent Acts for the regulation of the East India Company.

Your Petitioner also humbly begs to remind your Lordships, that, by the Act of the 24th Geo. III., the very same provisions contained in the 18th Geo. II. are repeated, nearly word for word, as regards the license to private traders to import tea, in case the East India Company should neglect to import a sufficient quantity to keep the prices on an equality with those of the continent of Europe.

By the Commutation Act, passed in 1784, the same principle, and which has now been continued for upwards of eighty years, remains unaltered; and your Petitioner humbly submits to your Lordships, that, by an Act of the 6th Geo. IV., no repeal whatever has been

* 6th Geo. IV., cap. 107, 'An Act for the General Regulations of the Customs, July 5, 1825.'

Restrictions on Importation.—'Tea, unless from the place of its growth, and by the East India Company, and into the port of London.'

made of any of the statutes passed for regulating the East India Company; and that the enactment of the 52d section of the said Act, as regards the prohibition or restriction of certain goods, is not repugnant to the previous provisions of the Act of the 24th Geo. II., but confirmatory thereof, inasmuch as tea could not be imported into the port of London except by the East India Company, unless by your Lordships' license, the power of granting which your Petitioner most humbly contends has never been abrogated, annulled, or repealed, by any express enactment whatever, much less by the Act of the 6th Geo. IV., which was alone passed for the regulation of the laws of the Customs. Your Petitioner, therefore, humbly prays that your Lordships will be pleased to consider the prayer of your Petitioner's former petition, and grant him a license to import teas, under the provisions of the said Act of the 18th Geo. II., or afford him such other relief as to your Lordships shall seem meet.

(Signed) FRANCIS FORTUNE.

London, October 25, 1828.

It is perfectly clear, from this correspondence, that the point thus raised by the merchants of Liverpool and Mr. Fortune, was new to the gentlemen at Whitehall, and equally clear, we regret to add, that they have viewed it with a strong leaning in favour of the East India Company. Mr. Stewart is commanded by their Lordships to say, that, by the 6 Geo. IV., c. 107, the importation of tea is prohibited, except from the place of its growth, and by the East India Company. True; in the schedule of that Act tea is included among the articles the importation of which is prohibited; and that this is, and has for a long time been, the general rule, there can be no sort of doubt. But the question is not as to the law, but as to the power of dispensation existing in the Lords of the Treasury; and, accordingly, we find their Lordships, apparently distrusting Mr. Stewart's construction, more communicative in their reply to the Liverpool memorial. They admit the continuance of the 18 Geo. II., c. 26, by the successive statutes to which we have referred, but contend that it was ultimately repealed by the 6 Geo. IV., c. 105, s. 90, and that the last Act which mentioned it, 3 Geo. IV., c. 43, s. 21, was also repealed by the 358th section of the same statute. No doubt they were; and, if the question depend on those two Acts, the Treasury cannot now license importations of tea from Europe. It happens, however, that among the 444 statutes repealed by the 6 Geo. IV., neither the 14 Geo. III., nor the 16 Geo. III., is numbered; and, inasmuch as the provisions of those Acts are quite as extensive as those of the repealed statutes, and totally independent of them, we conceive that, unless the Treasury feel their discretion fettered by the schedule of the Customs' Act, (which, by the bye, is pure nonsense,) there is

nothing to prevent them from licensing the importation of tea from the ports of Europe. It is, however, in truth, more a point of policy than of law. If the power of the Treasury have been restrained by recent statutes, there is nothing to prevent its enlargement. The restraining laws may be repealed without the slightest infringement of the charter, or the smallest pretext for complaint on the part of the East India Company.

The best mode, therefore, of effecting the object of the memorialists, is to present a petition to Parliament on the subject, and endeavour to obtain a discussion upon its merits. We trust that the merchants of Liverpool will not relax in their meritorious exertions to open this branch of our domestic trade, and that some patriotic Member of Parliament may be found to enforce the prayer of their petition. It is really too bad that the only curb on the monopoly of one of the principal necessities of life should be removed like a cobweb, by the carelessness of those who undertake to amend and consolidate the laws, and that the people of this country should thus be left at the mercy of a set of men who appear to have no object in view but to supply, by the exorbitant profits of their China trade, the wasteful extravagance of the system which, for the benefit of themselves and their relations, they seem determined to perpetuate in India.

Since writing the above, we have received the petition of the merchants, bankers, and other inhabitants of Liverpool, in which the subject of the foregoing paper and correspondence is embodied. We are happy to inform our readers that it is the intention of the petitioners to instruct their representatives to bring this subject at an early opportunity before the House of Commons; and, inasmuch as the grievance complained of is a matter of universal concern, we trust that similar petitions will be taken by other towns and cities throughout the Kingdom.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled, the Petition of the Bankers, Merchants, and other Inhabitants of Liverpool

HUMBLY SHEWETH,—That the present price of tea in London, free of duty, being more than 100 per cent. above the price in the neighbouring ports of Europe, a burthen is thus imposed upon the people of this country of upwards of two millions and a half sterling per annum, for the sole benefit of the East India Company, whilst the Legislature has declared its intention that Great Britain should be supplied with tea as cheaply as Continental Europe. That, by the 18 Geo. II., c. 26, s. 11, a power was reserved to the Lords of the Treasury to grant permission to individuals to import tea from the Continent of Europe in case the East India Company

should neglect to supply the market with a sufficient quantity of that article, in order, as is expressly declared by the Legislature, to keep the price in this country upon an equality with the price in the neighbouring countries of Europe; and that, so late as the year 1822, by the 3 Geo. IV., c. 43, s. 21, this law of Geo. II. is expressly recognised as existing unrepealed and unaltered. That, in the year 1825, being the 6 Geo. IV., an Act, c. 105, was passed for the purpose of repealing a great number of Acts of Parliament relative to the commerce of this country, in order to simplify the laws of the customs, with the avowed declaration, as is stated in the preamble, that the purposes for which those Acts had been from time to time made should be secured by new enactments exhibiting their provisions more conspicuously. That by this Act of the 6th of the present reign, the power for securing to the public a supply of tea as cheap as it might be in other neighbouring countries, was, it is presumed, unintentionally swept away from the Statute Book. That, in the same Session of Parliament, and simultaneously therewith, another Act was passed, c. 107, which, whilst it professes to secure by re-enactment the purposes for which the Acts so repealed were made, not only omits to secure to the Lords of the Treasury a power which had been so wisely given, in respect of the supply of tea, but absolutely restricts the importation thereof from any place but that of its growth, and by the East India Company, and into the port of London. That, thus, that salutary and equitable provision, devised by the wisdom and justice of previous Parliaments, has been wholly abrogated, and, as no equivalent advantage was given to the public, it is manifestly clear that this provision has been inadvertently withdrawn, and that, consequently, it is competent to the Legislature to re-enact the same as will restore, to the Lords of the Treasury, the power so unaccountably revoked. Your petitioners, therefore, pray that the said Bill may be brought into your Honourable House, and that the same may be made perspicuous from the purposes of the 18 Geo. III. c. 11.

THE WARRIOR'S LADY EXPECTING HER LORD'S RETURN.

A LETTER from a foreign land '—It is my dear lord's crest—
Dry up, my tears; my trembling lips his signature have prest:
He says, ere this arrive, his foot has touch'd his native shore;
My God! I thank thee, he is safe! what can I ask for more?
Come to my arms, my cherub sweet!—my lovely, darling child!
These four long tedious years hast thou my loneliness beguiled;
Oh! I have sat and gazed upon thy father, in thy face,
Till through my tears his lineaments no longer I could trace.
Thy dear papa is coming home—how thou dost leap for joy!
O he will doat upon thee so, I shall be jealous, boy—
He'll gaze upon thy bright blue eyes—thy glossy auburn hair;
But thou wilt not have all his heart—he'll see thy mother there.

Perhaps, e'en now, he homeward hies—perhaps, this very hour,
 My longing eyes may gaze upon the husband I adore !
 Haste, maidens—deck my favourite bower with things most fair
 and sweet,
 Let all things breathe of love and joy, my lord's return to greet.

Here—aid me to adorn this form, neglected days and years,
 Since he, for glory, left his bride to loneliness and tears ;
 And bring my most becoming robes, my jewels rich and rare—
 I would appear like what I was when he pronounced me fair.

You say the rose has come again upon my faded cheek—
 Yes, girl, my heart's best blood springs forth its bosom's lord to
 seek :

And do I look so well ?—Indeed, I would look well, that he,
 The honoured and beloved one, may find no change in me.

There, now—all's right—come, come away—here, in this turret
 high,
 We'll watch.—See, see, a horseman comes ! ah me ! he passes by ;
 Another ! but he does not bear my love's majestic form—
 His stately mien—his noble port—his every graceful charm.

My babe ! I press thee to my heart—how calmly dost thou sleep :
 To think upon thy father, dear, and gaze on thee, I weep ;
 But these are tears of joy, not like the bitter ones I've shed,
 When, dreadful thought ! I feared they might bedew an orphan's
 head.

Nurse, bear my darling to his couch—Ah ! he awakes—yes, dear,
 Thou shalt be told when he arrives—Forget ? O do not fear—
 Yes, thou shalt draw his sword—poor child, he thinks it but a toy,
 Thy tiny fingers could not clasp its hilt, aspiring boy !

Could'st thou ?—and mount his charger ?—well, to-morrow we
 shall see

What mighty deeds of horsemanship shall be performed by thee :
 This one kiss more—do thou, good nurse, to-night smooth down
 his bed ;

Oh ! may Heaven's choicest blessings rest upon my infant's head !

The sun is sinking in the west—I would that he were come ;
 Go, let the banquet be delayed until my lord be home :
 Oh, I have watched, and watched in vain—how tedious this delay !
 The sun has set—I'm sick at heart—why does my hero stay ?

How bright the moon—there, twelve has struck—O shield him,
 Heaven, from ill—

Hist ! heard ye aught ? I heard a sound—again ! 'tis nearer still—
 A thundering hoof is on the lawn—I see a steed of foam ;
 I hear, I hear my husband's voice !—my lord !—my life ! I come !

E. D.

ON THE CIVILIZATION OF AFRICA.

Not many years ago, the interior of Africa was considered by us as an immense forest, interspersed with vast deserts of sand, throughout which wandered at random some hordes of savages. Numerous geographical discoveries, achieved by the enterprise of travellers, have at length dissipated this prejudice. It is now ascertained that, beyond Sahara, the continent of Africa contains a great number of populous and fortified towns. Some of these towns have markets regularly frequented by caravans, and furnished with a variety of the merchandise of Europe. Exchanges are effected by means of different sorts of money: in some places *cowrie* shells, imported by the Arabs and the English, form the circulating medium; in others, small pieces of linen cloth serve the same purpose; in some countries, they have also a metallic money coarsely made. The European coins pass among the merchants, and letters of exchange are not absolutely unknown. Many of the central regions of Africa are in a high state of cultivation, and there the properties are divided and inclosed; but in some other countries the land which remains untilled for the space of one year belongs to the first occupant. The negroes also possess some arts of ingenuity and industry; they erect houses, temples, and fortifications; they work in wood, leather, and iron; they fabricate webs of cotton, of linen, and also of silk. There are some African kingdoms which can send out an army of one hundred thousand combatants, infantry and cavalry. The greater number of these warriors are armed with arrows, spears, and lances; some wear steel coats of mail, like those of the Roman soldiers, or like our ancient knights; some of them have fire-arms; and many of the natives are acquainted with the process of making gunpowder. These troops have their tactics, their words of command, and their discipline. A certain degree of art is observed in their attack, as well as in their defence, of places. Among some of the nations of Africa justice is administered by assemblies of the oldest and most influential men. They have also political assemblies and free institutions. The negro is naturally good, humane, affectionate, and hospitable. He is passionately fond of music, dancing, eloquence, and poetry. They have some musical instruments, the notes of which are not destitute of sweetness. Their orators and their poets have fire, imagination, and enthusiasm. The higher personages of the country greatly dread their satires, and are very covetous of their praises. Sometimes, in order to obtain them, they engage themselves without reason in the most disastrous wars,—the too frequent effect of an ill-directed love of glory, from which Europe herself is not exempt.

The negroes appear to have made great progress during the last century. Cannibalism, that horrid custom which has probably stained the infancy of every nation, seems to have disappeared from the continent of Africa. The human sacrifices which characterise the second stages of society no longer offend the eye of the traveller, except amongst the people of South Guinea. Towards the north of Africa the manners of the negroes have some traits which strikingly resemble those of the Greeks of the heroic centuries, or of our Europe in the time of the troubadours. These two epochs were, both in the one country and the other, the commencement of civilisation. The same social development is, perhaps, reserved for the Africans. These people are in a state of advancement. This is an important and decisive fact; for it proves that they are capable of being civilised.

But, it will be asked, is the black race susceptible of a civilisation so developed as that of the race of whites? Does it not exhibit, compared with that race, an intellectual inferiority which seems to be occasioned by a different conformation of the brain? Does not the climate which they inhabit, in rendering their wants almost nugatory, oppose an obstacle almost insurmountable to the progress of their industry? And can it be said, that the negro, placed by nature under a burning and stormy sky, exposed to a temperature which is subject to the most sudden changes, surrounded by ferocious beasts and devouring reptiles, assailed by myriads of insects, which incessantly annoy him, devour his property, and endanger even his very life—can it be said that he is without wants! The inhabitant of the polar regions excepted, it is he, of all men, who has the most. Has he not his luxuries; are not his wives vain and coquetish in their way? Those men, in fact, must have real or fictitious wants, who, to satisfy them, outrage humanity and nature, by enslaving one another, and selling even their own offspring!

Can it be true, on the other hand, that the common Father of men has divided among them, with so little equality, the most precious of his gifts, intelligence?

We could oppose here, to prejudices against the black race, examples as numerous as bright. But let us leave those which may be called, without doubt, exceptions, and examine the general facts. The mind of the negro is acute; his imagination is lively; his perception rapid. His ideas appear to fall short chiefly from want of application and perseverance. Superior, perhaps, to the white in all that depends on instantaneous conception, he is inferior in that which requires cool observation, study, and calculation; from whence it follows, that between black and black, you do not remark the same intellectual distance, as that which exists between white and white. The riches of the mind are, among the chiefs, more equally distributed; and Africa is less acquainted with the aristocracy of

knowledge, more valuable in Europe than that of titles. But in a country, which, to this day, has offered so little security, where the representative sign of riches is scarcely known, is it astonishing that but a small number of men should devote themselves to studies which require, at the same time, ease and repose ; that science, as well as industry, should count so few capitalists. Let us add to the other causes which prevent the progress of the blacks, the immense extent of the continent which they inhabit. It is a great advantage for nations to be separated by the sea, which offers, at the same time, a barrier against conquest, and a highway for commerce. The progress of nations is almost always in proportion to the facility of their maritime communications ; and all the large continents have risen by slow degrees in the career of civilisation. But, even supposing that the brains of the blacks are less happily constructed than those of the whites, is this defect irremediable ? Do not we always see exercise develop that part of the body to which it is applied ? If the leg of the dancer and the arm of the fencer increase in vigour and in size by the practice of their arts, why should not study, that gymnastic of the brain, produce an analogous effect ? Why should not the development of that organ transmit itself from the father to the child ? Foolishness is unquestionably hereditary. It is thus, doubtless, that the descendants of so many barbarous nations, the Goths, the Vandals, and the Huns, whose savage ugliness formerly terrified our ancestors, now rank among the most civilised people of the globe. The same modification operates among all civilised nations ; why might it not also operate among the black race ?

But how does it happen that the Africans, after so long intercourse with the whites, have so little profited by their example in the cultivation of the arts, while the latter, without models and without masters, have elevated themselves to such a degree of superiority ? This is a question easily solved, if one considers that their intercourse with the white race has hindered, rather than favoured, their progress ; and that the effect constantly produced by the efforts of the more advanced of the two, is to preserve and promote the ignorance of the other.

The whites of Asia, the Barbaresques, the Numidians, the Persians, the Phœnicians, the Moors, and the Arabians, having been since time immemorial masters of the northern rivers of Africa, have never ceased to levy upon them a tribute of blood. The Christians, after having exterminated the peaceable inhabitants of the New World, have undertaken to repopulate it with slaves, by establishing markets for men on the western shores of this unfortunate continent. The horrors of the European slave-trade are well known ; there can be but one opinion in regard to this traffic in all civilised countries. The slave-trade of the Moors is stained with the same crimes ; and the sands of the desert, less yielding than the waves of the Atlantic, constantly exhibit to the

notice of the traveller the traces of caravans which carry the slaves to the Barbary markets. On the north as well as on the west of Africa, the white race behave themselves so mercilessly towards the blacks, that the oppressors cease to deserve the name of men, which they refuse to the oppressed. If an attempt were made to estimate the population of which this double calamity has deprived Africa, the results of such a calculation would be appalling ; but this evil is, nevertheless, the least of those arising from the traffic in slaves. Our greatest crime towards Africa is having made the hunting of men the most lucrative of all occupations. Thence the laws of nations and of nature are trodden under foot, and the social and family ties are every instant broken ; thence the inhabitants of the coast abandon all sorts of useful occupation in order to prosecute the slave traffic ; chiefs are always armed against their neighbours, and hunt down even their own subjects ; villages are destroyed as soon as they are built ; the people rush fiercely against each other ; and all the peaceable arts are neglected for a war of plunder, in which man is the booty.

As one ought, however, to be just towards all the world, even towards slave-dealers, I must admit that there were times and countries in which the slave-trade may have been in some respects beneficial : for example, where it was the custom to devour the prisoners, or to sacrifice them to the negro idols, avarice may have sometimes served humanity ; but, now that these acts of barbarism have generally ceased, the continuance of such a traffic is the most enormous of crimes, and Europe ought to blush to see her children concur with the Moors, whom we refuse to count among civilised people, in its perpetration.

For three centuries, the thirst of gain, and of an immediate gain, has alone attracted Europeans to Africa. The aim of all their actions has been to build forts, to usurp the territory, and to seize the people and their gold. With a climate less hospitable, and a people less brave, the fate of Africa would have been the same as that of America. During these three centuries have the Europeans ever thought of communicating to Africa any moral ideas, or any of their arts ? So far from that, they have only thought how they might deceive them, in order the better to enslave them. The Portuguese formerly sent missionaries up the Congo ; and, although the priests were almost as ignorant as the people whom they went to catechise, they nevertheless made, even among the chiefs, numerous proselytes. With a little more effort, a great part of Africa would have become Christian. This result was soon foreseen, and the civilisation of Africa was sacrificed to colonial policy. Deception and violence continued ; and the Negroes, more frightened than seduced by our arts, saw in us only objects of dread and abhorrence. More lately, some European nations, in the first rank of which it is just to place England, have acknowledged this fault. It has been felt how important it is to Europe to communicate its manners to an im-

mense continent situated so near to us, and to render it tributary to our industry. But it is now too late; the spirit of defiance has taken root in the minds of the negroes; they have every where thrown obstacles to our going amongst them; and, in this career, so long abandoned to the Arabs, our boldest efforts have as yet made but little progress.

The Arabs, it must be confessed, have some advantages over us: they are more on a par with the negroes, from their climate, their colour, and the degree of their civilisation. After having brilliantly distinguished themselves in the cultivation of the arts and sciences, we have seen them all of a sudden stop short; and, as, in the forced movements of the human mind, it is necessary for people either to advance or go back, the Arabs have retrograded. To what cause do we assign this social phenomenon? I see two principal causes,—the union between civil and religious law, and polygamy. Held back by these two ties, the Arabs have never got beyond the poetical period of the existence of society. All their life is occupied in travelling, in fighting, or in singing. To their eyes, houses are like tombs; and work, the lot of the slave. They take delight only in two professions, plunder and commerce; these two professions, which they carry on at the same time, conduct them into the most remote regions. Sober, courageous, patient even to heroism, they delight to combat the rigours of nature. By means of the deserts, which they have made the channels of their industry, they penetrate to every point of the African continent; they travel over it in all seasons; they encircle it with their caravans. They impose upon the natives by some remains of their ancient arts, and by the fire-arms which they procure from Europe; they excite these credulous people to arm themselves one against the other; they put themselves at the head of their expeditions, acquire, as merchants, those slaves whom, as warriors, they fail to capture; and, dragging after them this double prey, supply the Musulman markets, from Fez and Morocco as far as Persia and Hindostan. But, in their way, too, they have transmitted to the Africans, along with some commercial notions and habits, their language, writing, and religion. These were for a long time confined to the eastern shores of Africa. To the north, as far as the 10th degree of latitude, almost all the negro people have adopted Islamism; every day this worship makes new progress, effecting in Africa a slow but remarkable revolution. Among the results which this revolution will produce, there are some of which no friend of humanity can mistake the advantages. Thus, ferocious and absurd superstitions will be abolished; secret societies, or sects, formerly the abettors of crime,* will be dissolved; manners

* The *pourrah*, a sort of congregation, or free-masonry of robbers, who govern many states, and, among others, the Timanni. The *moungou-joungo*, or *moumbo-joumbo*, is an association of husbands for the punish-

will become softened ; the abuse of strong liquors will be repressed, and polygamy restrained ; lastly, and this will be the greatest benefit of the revolution, the sources of the slave-trade will be by degrees entirely exhausted ; for the law of Mohammed interdicts every Musulman from reducing another Musulman to slavery. Thus, in those expeditions which are made for the sake of carrying off slaves, the Mohammedan population are spared by those of their own religion. Their inducement, therefore, to adopt Islamism, is a most powerful one ; and the period is not far distant, when, the Koran having subjected the whole of Africa, the exportation of slaves will cease on all its shores.

But serious inconveniences oppose themselves to these benefits. Civil law, incorporated with religious law, will become, like it, stationary. Free institutions will perish, stifled by the influence of the priesthood. Bornou is the country which offers us the best illustration. Fatalism benumbs the spirits. The communications with Europe become every day more difficult. This difficulty arises, in a great measure, from the influence of the Arabs, who, dispossessed of the exclusive commerce of India and of Mozambique, wish, at least, to preserve the monopoly of Timbuctoo, and of the other great markets of Central Africa. They intercept, with armed bands, the passages of the Desert ; they propagate among the negroes all sorts of errors and prejudices hostile to the Christians ; sometimes they describe them as *caffres* or idolaters, whose aspect alone inflicts death ; sometimes they are represented as cannibals who devour the negro slaves bought on the coast, whilst the slaves of the Moors recover their liberty, as they pretend, as soon as they have reached their destination, and are even permitted to wear red garments. In short, the conquest of India, the expedition to Egypt, the bombardment of Algiers, the insurrection of the Greeks, &c., are related and commented on throughout Africa, with a view to persuade its princes, that the aim of the *Nazarenes* is to get possession of their territory ; and that too much care cannot be taken to shut up from them every avenue of access to it. How will it be when the whole of Africa shall have adopted the Musulman faith and manners ?

Besides this, polygamy, which is limited by the law of Mohammed, would become still more deeply rooted in the institutions of the country—polygamy, the greatest obstacle which can be opposed to the progress of civilisation. Where polygamy is practised, one half of the human race is necessarily enslaved ; and the influence of woman, so gentle and beneficial to the progress of society, is paralysed in its very origin. Wherever this baneful institution prevails, domestic enjoyments are unknown. Encircled by a numerous

ment of wives. A King having revealed the secret of this association to one of his wives, whom he tenderly loved, both were stabbed by a member of this society, clothed in the costume of the *moungo-joungo*.

offspring, amongst whom his affection is, as it were, dispersed, the father treats them rather like a flock of cattle than like children. These children, inheriting all the jealousies of their mothers, are more like rivals than brothers; and the throne, nay, even a hut or a tent, is often obtained at the price of fratricide. It is polygamy which has, more than any thing else, retarded the advancement of the Eastern World. The Greeks and Romans were almost solely indebted to monogamy for the rapid strides which they made in civilisation; and the matrimonial institutions of these two nations, combined on the one side with Christian morality, and on the other with the respect felt by the natives of the north towards females, are the sources of European civilisation.

But, moreover, have not Europeans also good cause to dread such an event as Africa becoming entirely a Musulman country? What would be the situation of Europe, immediately opposite to it, should this continent acquire, through Constantinople and Egypt, our military discipline? If, by the propagation of Islamism, the Turks, Arabs, and Barbabesques, should find a deficiency in black *cafres*, would they not seek for a reinforcement of their slaves, from amongst white *cafres*? At present, four or five thousand Christians, captives in Algiers and other kingdoms, suffice to satisfy the avarice and inhumanity of the Moor; and some prizes taken from the weaker powers, some shipwrecks on the northern shores of Africa, and the carrying off of some fishermen and peasants from the coasts of Italy and Sardinia, easily furnish this contingency of victims. But, when the true believers shall no longer obtain slaves but amongst the Christian dogs, is it not to be feared that the inhabitants of our own shores, and those of Spain, will, one day, as in the middle ages, be dragged away under the lash of the Barbary pirates?

Thus, whether as regards its Negro population, or its Moorish conquerors, Africa ought at the present moment to fix the attention of the statesman, as well as the philanthropist. And what other step can be taken but to draw it nearer to us by civilisation?

We have already explained the principal causes which have impeded our progress amongst the blacks. The chief of all is the suspicion which they entertain of our intentions, a suspicion but too much justified by our acts. What have we demanded from Africa during the three last centuries? Gold and slaves. What have we given in return? Guns and gun-powder, to enable the children of its soil to destroy one another; strong liquors to stupify them; a few articles of frivolous luxury; amber, glass beads, laced hats, and mountebank dresses; these have been the price of the liberty and life of man! Thus, civilisation, flying our approach, has hidden itself as it were in the interior of the country. And when a nation, which partly from philanthropy, partly from policy, lately made some generous efforts in Africa, the results but ill answered its hopes: the civilisation which it desired to effect, has remained limited to

its establishments ; the towns which it founded, and peopled with slaves taken from the slave ships, excited the alarm of the natives of the country, who saw in this enterprise nothing but the design of obtaining possession of their territory and subjecting themselves ; and the impetuosity of these barbarians, directing all its efforts against this advanced post of civilisation, has several times triumphed over European tactics. England appears to be quite tired of the losses she has sustained from the establishment of Sierra Leone. Independently of any other circumstances, the project of this establishment was not well conceived ; complete civilisation cannot be at once transported amongst a barbarous people ; a tree must be planted young in the soil which is to be shaded by its branches. Civilisation must conform itself to the climate, to the nature and productions of the country, to the character of the inhabitants, &c. It does not consist in any particular mode of lodging, feeding, or clothing, but in the development of the physical, moral, and intellectual faculties, and in their application to the social duties and well-being of life.

This development, which is the fruit of perfect liberty of person, opinion, and property, can only be gradual amongst nations, as it is amongst individuals. If, then, European nations are desirous of accelerating the progress of social happiness amongst the blacks, they must endeavour to do so, not by striving to make them suddenly comprehend and enjoy the whole of our system of civilisation, but by gradually suggesting to them the means of developing that of which they already possess the germ. At the same time that they strictly proscribe the slave trade, they must no longer give to Africa, in exchange for the numerous productions of its soil, arms and spirituous liquors, but tools and instruments of agriculture. The slaves taken from the slave ships should be first placed for a certain length of time in the workshops of our African possessions, and then sent back to their native country with the instruments of their new profession. These men would doubtlessly know very little ; but that little would be appropriated to the benefit of the country. Workmen should be engaged, either Europeans, or men of colour from our colonies, to settle for some time in the midst of African communities, in order to disseminate amongst them the knowledge of our arts. He who should introduce amongst the blacks the use of the wheel, the spinning-wheel, and the mill ; he who should teach them to construct dikes, bridges, and roads, and to preserve their habitations from the annoyance of insects without filling them with smoke,—would have effected a great step towards African civilisation. And he would have done still more, who should have given to Africa an alphabet with which to write the dialects of the country. Hitherto Arabic has been almost the only written language throughout Africa. Now this language is not in common use there, and therefore subjects the Africans to the Moors and Marabouts, who can alone teach it, and

who give them no other books than the Koran and its commentaries. The Arabic language is to Africa what the Latin was to Europe during the middle ages; to escape from the darkness and ignorance of which period, each nation found it necessary to adopt an idiom of its own, and form for itself a national literature.

The employment of such measures as we have here proposed gradually strengthening the confidence of the people, and the cessation of the slave trade rendering the civil wars of the natives more rare, it would become much less difficult to penetrate into the country. The chiefs who govern it would in time consent, for the sake of the duties on merchandise, to permit their territory to be crossed for the purpose of trading with their neighbours. The germs of this system already exist in some countries, and the results cannot fail in time to convince these princes, that it is entirely to their advantage. A commerce might then, by employing the natives of the country, be carried on between the coast and the interior, either by ascending the rivers by means of steamboats, or by the establishment of caravans like the Arabs. The establishment of commerce would necessarily bring in its train, knowledge, improvement, and civilisation. In the present age, commerce is the most persuasive of all missionaries. Nevertheless, why are not some efforts made to convert the African nations to Christianity? The superiority of this religion, in its humanising influence, which is the only effect we have taken into consideration, is too evident to need any proof here. Were Christianity only to abolish polygamy, the cause of civilisation would be gained wherever it was established.

It must not be believed that polygamy is inherent in the manners and physical constitution of the blacks. Montesquieu attributes this custom, of which the slavery of women is the necessary consequence, to the very early age at which they become marriageable in hot countries. When beauty, he says, 'demands empire, reason refuses it; when reason can obtain it, beauty no longer exists. Women must therefore remain in a state of dependence.' This observation, however, is by no means applicable to the Negroes: whilst in the north of Africa, the women of the Arab race, or Barbaresques, are marriageable at ten years of age, those of Bornou 20 degrees south are not so until fifteen, that is to say, later even than in Italy. So little, indeed, is polygamy founded on an excess of prolific qualities amongst the blacks, that Europeans travelling in Africa are every where importuned by people who solicit remedies for inability. Polygamy did not exist amongst the ancient Egyptians. What cause, then, has introduced and supported in Africa this monstrous institution? The same which established it amongst the barbarians of the north,—the abuse of power.

The negro is more strongly inclined towards the use of spirituous liquors than to a plurality of wives; and yet he every where

ranges himself under the law of Mohammed; the greatest obstacle, therefore, to the adoption of Christianity, is not in the manners and customs of the negroes, but rather in the progress of that faith so extravagantly extolled by the Moors, who, whether merchants or brigands, penetrate and govern throughout all Africa, and have inspired its inhabitants with a kind of superstitious terror. Thus, by abstaining from all proselytism, Africa must be abandoned to the disciples of the Koran: by endeavouring to introduce the Christian faith, it must be exposed to the horrors of religious warfare. The alternative is dreadful, and can only be averted by associating with the propagation of Christianity, that religious tolerance which is the greatest blessing that Heaven can accord us, and the purest worship that man can offer to the Creator.

We have ventured to trace out the plan which ought to be pursued by the European nations for accelerating the civilisation of the Negroes; the following is a *resumé* of its principal points:

1. To complete the blessing of the abolition of the slave trade, by obtaining the concurrence of the Powers which still continue to tolerate this traffic, and by redoubling the efforts made to seize all slave vessels.

2. To place those negroes freed from slavery in workshops, and afterwards to send them back to their native country, furnished with the instruments of the particular professions they may have learned.

3. To engage either Europeans or half-castes, exercising mechanical professions, to follow them.

4. To give to the Africans, in exchange for the productions of their soil, instruments of agriculture, and other tools, of which they should be taught the use.

5. To induce the black princes, by the payment of certain dues, to open their territory to European or other merchants; and to set on foot, at the expense of Government, some expeditions, employing for this purpose either steam-boats or caravans.

6. To appropriate the European alphabet to the most widely extended African dialects; and to form, by the means of mutual instruction, institutions which would by degrees propagate knowledge in the interior.

7. To disseminate, gratuitously, throughout Africa, books written in these dialects; such as an abridgement of the Bible, almanacs, treatises containing the simple principles of arithmetic, geography, the mechanical arts, morals, &c.

8. To endeavour to introduce Christianity into Africa, taking at the same time the greatest precautions to implant a respect for religious liberty.

The results of this plan would be slow and almost insensible; but they would therefore be more sure. Let those who would act for the benefit of future generations imitate nature in the gradual develop-

ment of its productions. Every enterprise, the aim of which is to modify the institutions and manners of a people, should take time for its auxiliary : the slowness of its march is almost a guarantee for its success.

The Moorish population, which inhabits the north of Africa, is, in a great degree at least, originally Arabian : like the strata of lava which have issued from a volcano, the different masses of which it is composed still exhibit in their character and manners the various dates of their migrations. Those who first arrived on the African soil have taken root there and become agriculturists ; and the others will gradually yield to the same influence, with the exception of the desert hordes. Even the desert, sterile as it is, has been divided by these hordes, each of which acknowledges a boundary, and is denied the right of encroaching on the lands of the neighbouring tribe. The passage of caravans has already traced on these sands some lines where commerce dispenses its beneficial influence. What is requisite to render this passage more frequent, and these lines more numerous ? That the population of Central Africa should increase, and become civilised ; that the Moors should abandon a portion of their fanaticism, and should learn that it is for their interest to favour the intercourse of Europe with this continent.

If we were not much deceived, the Musulman religion is becoming less rigorous among its followers. The Sultan, it is said, calls his subjects to his standard without any distinction of faith ; the Pasha of Egypt sends his to obtain information amongst us ; and an ambassador from Tunis attended the coronation of the King of France. Let European nations encourage by their example the spirit of tolerance which appears to be so rapidly gaining ground amongst the Turks, and which will be transmitted by them to the Moors ; let us communicate to them our arts, and strive to convince them of the reciprocal advantages which would arise from a friendly commerce. They would by degrees see those Governments, now so terrible, relent, in order to consolidate their power ; those people now so savage, become civilised, in order to enrich themselves. But, in the midst of the general impulse which seems to attract all nations towards a better order of things, there is one which seems to remain immovable : Algiers is still the same ferocious Algiers. But whence emanates the Government of this pretended kingdom ? From the Grand Signor ? No. From the natives of the country ? Still less so. A few thousand adventurers have formed in Algiers a tyrannical militia, which, at its sole pleasure, creates or overthrows a despot, always chosen from its body. This militia is recruited from the dregs of Constantinople and other Turkish towns, and is, properly speaking, the aristocracy of vagabondism. These, then, are the men who, erroneously called Algerines, oppress the natives of the country, excluded, like schismatics, from all share of power ; who, often masters of Tunis, impose their own barbarity on all the neighbouring coast by means of the terror which they inspire ; who, every day,

seize from vessels, and even from the very shores of Europe, a fresh tribute of slaves ! and yet Europe hesitates to send an army of twenty thousand men to take possession of this town, to drive out the soldiery by which it is oppressed, to free the black and white slaves who are lingering there in wretchedness, to destroy the arsenal, dismantle the place, and give over the government either to the Sultan or the natives of the country, stipulating for a free passage to Central Africa ! Never would an army have more truly deserved the name of *liberators* : it would be so to the Europeans, the Negroes, and even to the Moors ; and the disinterestedness which Europe would display in making a restitution of her conquest, would give a powerful and effectual impulse to that general movement towards civilisation which is now operating even in Africa, and which will sooner or later unite all nations in the most sacred bonds of mutual good-will and brotherhood.*

QUIET.—IN TWO SONNETS.

I.

DARK as this world appears at times and wild,
 A guardian spirit she possesses still,
 Which, in its fond caresses, sweet and mild,
 Soothes her swollen bosom's keen distracting thrill ;
 Soft Quiet is that guardian spirit fair,
 Which glideth in the pleasant summer even,
 Down from the lovely valleys of the air,
 Clad in the purest light that lives in heaven.
 How lovingly its delicate embrace
 Lies now upon her calm untroubled breast !
 How softly Evening shades her placid face,
 As if afraid of breaking on her rest !
 No slightest murmur on my ear doth flow,
 Save my own heart's warm breathing—deep and slow.

II.

How terrible it would be, now, to see
 The vengeful lightning flashing from on high,
 And burning, in its wild and horrid glee,
 Soft Quiet's wings, which now so calmly lie
 Upon the world, that scarcely stirs a dry
 And withered leaf ! How terrible to hear
 The rugged thunder rolling through the sky,
 And with its awful voice commanding Fear
 And dark and dreadful Agony to spring
 Again within the world's frail slumbering breast—
 And to her tenderest places deeply cling,
 And rouse her wildly from her balmily rest,
 To gaze with magic-bound distracted eye,
 On the dread powers that sweep along the sky !

* From an article signed 'Chauvet,' in a recent Number of the *Revue Encyclopédique*.

ON THE REVENUES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, PARTICULARLY THOSE COLLECTED AT MADRAS.

IN all measures undertaken for the government of the people of India, it seems ever to have been the first consideration how it would be possible to promote the interests of our own country. This purpose has not merely been pursued by vulgar and ignorant men, by amateur politicians and parliamentary orators : one individual of high character and reputation, to whose authority the welfare of many millions of our Indian fellow-subjects has been delegated, declared before a Committee of the House of Commons, in 1813, that he looked upon the success of our ascendancy in the East as paramount to all other considerations, or, in other words, that a hundred millions of people, the subjects of the same Sovereign as ourselves, were to be ruled with a single view to our own advantage. We make no doubt that the opinion was gratefully received within the chambers of Leadenhall-street, and that it was immediately voted to be the very perfection of human wisdom and philanthropy. But we can tell Sir John Malcolm, (to whom we are alluding,) that, though the expression of such sentiments may appear advantageous to him in certain societies, they are not calculated to make the world in general entertain very exalted notions either of his feelings or of his understanding. But we will not now turn aside to comment on maxims of political philosophy. It is sufficient to remark, that in the anxiety of Indian statesmen to carry this system into practice, and to pour into the treasury of England the wealth plundered from a people they professed to protect, they have completely outwitted themselves. With all their extortionary efforts, with all their promises of surplus revenue, and their Acts of Parliament for the appropriation of it, the India Company never have remitted home the spoil they anticipated ; but they have contrived to encumber themselves and the country with a debt of more than forty millions sterling ! And if, indeed, this were the extent of the injuries inflicted by the Company, it might be sufficient that they should pay the penalty of their folly. But, when we look to those statements relative to India which have appeared during the last few years, and learn the practical effects of their government,—that during a period of half a century, by means of an exorbitant taxation, and a mean and illiberal system of commercial and political restrictions, they have completely checked the progress of human happiness and improvement, we cannot but be sensible that faults have been committed which the authors can never expiate, and which must be left inadequately censured amid the concurrent execrations of mankind.

The East India Company have not only supported an overwhelming fiscal system, but the objects upon which it has fallen

have not always been very happily selected. In the following pages, we propose to consider the principal taxes of India, both with respect to the policy of their imposition, and the mode in which they are levied. For this purpose it will be necessary to make a few preliminary observations.

It is well known that the principal revenue in all Eastern countries has been drawn from the soil in the form of a land-tax. Under different circumstances this tax has been collected in very different ways, which have all been partially retained. The Mogul conquerors of India introduced what is known by the name of the Zemindary System. Under the Indian princes, the Zemindars were simply tax-gatherers, stationary in particular districts, where they were responsible to the Government for the revenue collected. They received a per-centage on that revenue for their recompense. The office of Zemindar was hereditary.

The system introduced by Lord Cornwallis into Bengal and other parts of India, was in some degree different from this. He bestowed on the old Zemindars a proprietary right in the land over which they had before presided; he assessed the land at a certain rate in money; and, in failure of regular payment, he ordered as much of the Zemindary to be sold as equalled the amount of the deficiency.

The Village System was of much higher antiquity. This was a mode of farming out to some individual that portion claimed by Government of the landed produce of single villages, or of a number of villages, always giving a preference to the chief inhabitant, if he were willing to enter into the contract with Government.

The third is the Ryotwary System: it consists in the actual assessment of the tax upon the land of each individual Ryot or cultivator by the agents of Government. This system has been recently introduced by Sir Thomas Munro into the Presidency of Madras.

It is not our intention to enter upon all the details of the *verata questio* relative to the merits of these different methods of raising the land-tax in India: our object is of another nature; but it may be of some utility towards a clear understanding of the subject undertaken to make a few observations upon them. When Lord Cornwallis, who was, without doubt, a very intelligent and benevolent man, brought forward his new Zemindary system, he supported it by arguments such as these: He alleged that the Zemindars, being now the hereditary possessors of the land, would naturally feel a stronger desire to improve it than the revenue officers, who, under a Ryotwary system, come in contact with the cultivators. He hoped by this measure to avoid those scenes of tyranny and vexation which had otherwise been so frequently experienced. He contended that the Zemindar and the Ryot would now have a reciprocal interest in promoting the advantage of each other. But it must here be re-

marked, that, according to the terms of the lease which the Ryot held of the Zemindar, the former was perfectly independent of the latter, so long as the rent was punctually discharged. Now, it is ridiculous to suppose that the landlord could feel any great interest in the improvement of an estate which, whether in a state of prosperity or not, was always to bring him in the same amount of rent ; but it is obvious that the Zemindar would often think he had an interest in ruining his farmer, in order to expel him and introduce another Ryot upon terms more favourable to the property. Still, it is not to be denied that the Zemindar had a certain degree of interest in aiding and supporting his Ryot ; for, while the Ryot remained in prosperity, his rent would be regularly paid, and the Zemindar would be able to meet the demands of Government and his own necessary expenses. But this consequence was too remote for the perception of a prejudiced and ignorant man. It is the peculiar feature of a vulgar mind to prefer the chance of large future advantage to a moderate and actual good. The benefit of the system depended upon the Zemindar *perceiving* it to be his interest to foster the prosperity of his Ryot. True it is, that Lord Cornwallis proposed expedients against tyranny and oppression on the part of the superior ; but they appear to have availed but little : whenever the Zemindar desired it, he has quickly reduced his inferior to ruin.

The Zemindary System has, confessedly, failed in relieving the Ryots from the want and degradation in which they were found, and it has in most cases brought bankruptcy and misery upon the Zemindars. One of the causes of this misadventure was, unquestionably, the ignorance and fatuity of the principal character to whom the trial was intrusted : the system called for intelligence, activity, and prudence ; the Zemindars were generally the descendants of ancient families, indolent, unenlightened, and sensual men, who never hesitated to plunge into acts of idle expenditure, whenever the ceremonies of their country afforded them an opportunity. But the radical evil is of another nature ; it is the grand scourge which has converted the mighty regions of India, with all their advantages of soil and climate, into one frightful scene of moral and physical desolation ; it is the system which sweeps into the Company's exchequer nearly the entire net produce of the land and labour of Hindostan. The fertile province of Rajamundry, from the day of the permanent settlement down to the present hour, has never paid nearly the sum assessed on it.

The Village System has failed, and from causes very similar to the preceding.

The Ryotwary System, which found such strenuous advocates in Lord Teignmouth, Sir John Malcolm, Sir Thomas Monroe, and some others, appears to have urged the population of India into a more precipitate ruin than the other two ; and the change introduced into the Madras territory, under the auspices of Sir Thomas Monro,

very quickly diminished the amount of the public revenue. The system bears on the face of it the strongest evidence of inefficiency ; for it is most fearfully complicated. The agents of Government, under this arrangement, receive the land-tax immediately from the cultivators ; the European collector, by means of a most formidable array of Native assistants, descending in a variety of gradations, obtains the regular assessment without the intervention of a middle-man.

The Zemindary System failed in a great degree, as we have seen, from a deficiency of integrity and intelligence on the part of its agents, who were very few in number. It would hardly require any great acuteness to perceive, that a system which stood in need of honesty, activity, and good sense, on a far more extended scale, must undergo a similar fate. Sir Thomas Monroe's plan had one peculiarity : a Ryot was called upon to make good the deficiencies of his neighbour, to the amount of ten per cent. ! *A.* might be industrious, prudent, and fortunate, but this was all to little purpose : his surplus earnings were liable to be taken from him, to compensate for the folly and indolence of *B.* ! It is really quite impossible to imagine any scheme better calculated to annihilate the springs of industry, or to involve a nation of agriculturists in one common state of beggary and despair.

It would not, however, be quite fair to dismiss the subject of the Ryotwary System, without alluding to some of the advantages which seem to have recommended it ; for, without some mitigating circumstances, it would scarcely be credible that acute and able men could have yielded it their support : or how benevolent men, such as many of the Directors are, could permit the happiness of nations to be hazarded by trying such an experiment. The peculiar charm of the Ryotwary settlement was this, that the place of the thoughtless Zemindars, or the ignorant renters, was supplied by the intelligent officers of Government, who now came in immediate contact with the Ryots. It is to be feared, however, that little was gained in reality by this arrangement : the promotion of the Company's civil servants depended too much on the temporary augmentation of revenue in their districts ; for them to display too great an attention to the interest of the Ryots.

Let us now consider the other taxes of India.

There is in India a tax called *Mohturfah* ; this falls upon miscellaneous objects admitting of no easy classification. The tax generally appears under the head of land revenue, because, besides affecting herdsmen and butchers, it includes in its anomalous embrace a species of ground-rent. There is another tax, known by the name of *Sayer*, which falls upon various kinds of consumable commodities. The salt-tax, the duties on stamps, judicial fines and fees, the post-office and the mint duties, comprise nearly all the remaining sources of the East India Company's landed revenue.

Before we attempt to determine on the policy of these various imposts, it may be useful to say a word or two on the nature of taxation, and to take a cursory view of those principles of the science on which the world has commonly agreed.

The annual produce of every country may be divided into three distinct portions : first, that which is destined to replace the capital annually consumed ; secondly, that which is destined to increase national wealth ; and thirdly, that which is destined to form the income for the personal expenses of each individual.

It is upon the last of these divisions that taxation should fall ; and, by confining itself to this limit, it merely places at the disposal of Government a moiety of that wealth which individuals would otherwise apply to personal expenditure, and which they could more or less easily dispense with ; but, when taxation presses upon this boundary, when individuals have resigned the luxuries and conveniences of life, and Government is still unsatisfied, they must retain the means of providing themselves with necessities, and hand over to the tax-gatherer that portion of annual produce which was destined to improve their estates, or, in other words, to increase the capital of their country. The circumstances of a people thus burthened will not perhaps deteriorate ; but it is obvious that they cannot improve. Should the state require additional contributions, the public can only abandon their capital, that is, the remainder of their property, and enter upon a condition of absolute destitution. The last is indeed a sacrifice to which no people would probably be disposed to submit, and which no Government can safely demand.

It has been observed by Adam Smith, that the following principles of taxation have recommended themselves more or less to the attention of all nations, from their obvious justice and utility : All persons should contribute towards the exigencies of a state, as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities. The taxes imposed should be fixed, and not arbitrary ; the time, the manner, and the extent of each individual's contribution should be clearly laid down, otherwise every one would be placed more or less at the discretion of the tax-gatherer. Every tax should be collected at the time, and in the manner, most convenient to the contributor. And, lastly, taxation should draw from the purses of individuals as little as possible over and above that which it provides for the public treasury : otherwise a tax might prove, at the same time, ruinous to the subject and fruitless to the state : the charge of collection might be so great as to consume the chief part of the produce.

Having premised thus much, let us come to a consideration of the Company's taxes in India. We have before stated, that the land-tax has always been the most prolific source of revenue among Eastern nations. The proceeds of this tax, in the Presidency of Fort St. George alone, are averaged at about 3,500,000*l.* sterling. The inquiry immediately suggests itself, from what source is

this enormous income derived? Is it drawn merely from the funds apportioned to private purposes, or does any share of what should be the national capital enter into its composition? We believe it is only necessary to look abroad upon the people of Hindostan, to observe the perfect absence of every thing like luxury or superfluity among them, and the general stagnation or diminution of capital, to give an unhesitating answer to this momentous question. And such is the result of British ascendancy! Mr. Mill, a writer whom we would always wish to notice with respect, has amused himself with panegyrising the Government of the India Company, and has spoken eloquently of its generous intentions and beneficent conduct; but, among the fond speculations in which we have occasionally indulged, relative to the duties of Government, we had supposed that the paramount office of the rulers was to provide for the *welfare of the people* for whom they undertook to legislate; that it was incumbent upon them, above all other considerations, to promote the moral improvement and social happiness of their subjects; to consult, on every occasion, the extension of their agriculture, their manufactures, and their commerce. We had even deemed that these were the *conditions of sovereign power*, duties from which it could never be disjoined, without rendering the obedience that it claimed a very questionable obligation. But have the India Company observed these conditions? Let the history of their transactions answer.

The tax passing under the name of *Mohturfah* is included in the land revenue, because some of the various objects upon which it falls belong to agriculture.

The revenue collected under this head in the Madras Presidency, is derived principally from those provinces called the Ceded Districts, and amounts to about five lacs of rupees, or 50,000*l*. The *Mohturfah* comprises, besides ground-rents, a tax upon looms, upon herdsmen, and upon butchers. These are the principal objects. To tax looms is to tax the various descriptions of cloth which they produce: of these, the finer sorts are luxuries, and, so far as the tax affects them, it is judiciously applied; for here, the demands of Government are provided for out of the funds for individual expense. Coarse cloths, however, are a necessary of life, and would therefore be very unjustly subjected to taxation in any country; but, oppressed as the people of India are known to be, by an exorbitant system of land revenue, this tax is most pernicious. It is obviously, for the greater part, abstracted from the means of increasing national wealth; but, besides this, there is another very important objection, in no other regulation being observed for collecting it than *mamool*.*

We find by a minute of the Board of Revenue at Madras, Aug. 29, 1814, that the Collector of the northern division of Arcot

* Local custom.

says, 'The tax on trade and professions is acknowledged to be unequal in this district : in some places, it is stated to vary from two to eight per cent.' The Collector of Bellary says, 'The tax varies in its proportions in every district, and almost in every village.' The Collector of Cuddapah says, 'No weaver can possibly know what he has to pay to the sirkar, till the demand comes to be made, for his having exerted himself during the year.' It would be easy to multiply authorities, if such appeared necessary ; but, without proceeding further, we may safely conclude that the *Mohitufah* (which is generally exceptionable) is, when it falls on coarse cloths, in every point of view vexatious, impolitic, and pernicious. It would also appear highly injudicious, by taxing herdsmen and butchers, to oppose any obstacles to the increase of cattle in India. There are in that country immense plains, well calculated for pasture, now lying perfectly idle and unproductive, which might afford a ready means of increasing the capital of the country. Considering it as a tax on animal food, it is to a very large number of men a tax upon the necessities of life, and consequently highly objectionable. So much for the land revenue of India.

The tax second in importance to that imposed upon the soil, is called the *Sayer* : it consists of a sort of toll levied on consumable commodities passing from one part of the country to another. The *Sayer* is collected on articles which sometimes constitute the luxuries and superfluities, sometimes the necessities of life ; the former, as we have previously stated, are the legitimate objects of fiscal enactment ; they are purchased by the wealthy, and the money they bring in to the public treasury is diverted from a proper source. With the necessities of existence the matter is far otherwise ; a tax is there unjust, because it is measured not by property, but by consumption : it falls lightly on the rich, and crushes the needy : it is moreover injurious in India, as it is another means of absorbing those funds which should they accumulate, would offer a reward to industry, and a stimulus to virtue and intelligence. But the *Sayer* is particularly objectionable on account of the prodigious outlay for collection. In the district of Masulipatam, where the charges are stated to be less than in any other province of the Madras Government, the *Sayer* revenue is gathered in at a cost of 30 per cent. ; added to which, from the nature of its collection, it is exposed to the peculation of Native officers, and is consequently exceedingly deficient in some of the first requisites of a politic tax.

But, before quitting the *Sayer*, it may be as well to say a word on the subject of duties levied on grain exported from the Company's territories. A tax is imposed on the transit of grain from Masulipatam, Bellary, Cuddapah, and other districts, into the Nizam's dominions. We presume it will be admitted that no grain, the produce of Masulipatam, will find its way into the market of the Nizam's country, unless the price of it there shall equal the

money it would have fetched in the Masulipatam district, together with the charges of conveyance. It will hardly be supposed that the Ryot, or grain merchant, would be so blind to his own interest as to send grain to a great distance, and then sell it for less than he could have procured for it at home. The tax then must be added to its price when offered for sale in the Nizani's country, or the merchant would be a loser. Let us trace the effect of this. We know that the dearer any article is, the less of it is consumed; these duties, by rendering the grain of higher price, diminish the purchasers, and, consequently, decrease the extent of the market for the produce of our own districts. The tax appears to fall on the inhabitants of another state; but, in reality, it returns upon, and greatly injures, our own cultivators.

It must be obvious to every one, that there are commodities of which the consumption must be pretty nearly the same by every man to whatever rank of society he may belong; to tax such commodities is consequently unjust, for it is a means of compelling the poor man to contribute in the same proportion as the rich towards the exigencies of the state. This is one very general objection to taxes upon the necessities of life; and a tax upon salt, though it appears to have existed in very remote ages, and in most countries, is certainly liable to this objection in the highest degree; but more especially in India, where the vegetable food chiefly used by the Natives renders this condiment indispensable.

Within the Madras territory it brings in about 27 lacs of rupees to the public treasury, or 270,000*l.* sterling.

The remainder of the Company's taxes consist generally of the stamp duties, judicial fines and fees, the post office, and the mint.

We have thus taken a short survey of the taxation of our Indian provinces near Madras. It appears that, though in some respects the public revenue is injudiciously levied, still it is the *degree* rather than the *nature* of the taxation that has impoverished and exhausted this mighty empire, and so completely overthrown the early expectations of the India Company. What would have been the effects of a different system? Let us suppose the landed assessments considerably lowered; the consequence would be an increase of wealth among the Ryots; taxation would no longer abstract from individuals that portion of annual produce destined to augment national wealth, and much larger crops would be gathered from the soil; but, grain being a necessary of life, nearly the same proportion is consumed, except in extreme cases, whether it be comparatively scarce or abundant; and we believe it is a fact well known to all persons engaged in the revenue administration of India, that in the years in which crops are most abundant, it is most difficult to collect from the Ryots the Government taxes. There may appear something paradoxical in this averment, till we investigate the causes of the operation. It is well known that a com-

modity is valuable according to the price it will fetch in the open market. Now, in years of abundant produce, there is considerable competition among the sellers; and consequently any given quantity of grain is of smaller value than in years of scarcity, and nearly an equal portion is sold in both. The Ryot, therefore, suffers, and has difficulty in paying his rent. This evil has, however, a simple remedy: give the cultivator a market for his surplus produce, and his prosperity is ensured. It is true, within the Madras territory much could not be effected in the way of exportation. A considerable trade might be established between Tinnevely and the neighbouring island of Ceylon; but in general the superior quality and cheapness of the grain of Bahar and Orissa would exclude the corn of Madras from foreign markets. But do not throw gratuitous obstacles in the way: abolish those absurd, short-sighted, and iniquitous restrictions, which jealousy and ignorance have imposed upon the people of this Presidency in common with the rest of India. It may be that the present produce of Madras cannot profitably suffer exportation; but, were the impediment a thousand-fold greater than it is, we would only require fair play for the faculties of the Natives,—and sure we are, that they would ere long either enlarge the present channels of commercial enterprise, or strike out some new and unimagined path to national and individual prosperity. Only remove the weight that now oppresses them, let their energies be but open to the stirring call of interest, and presumptuous indeed would be the man who should venture to pronounce on the consequences.

In the mean time the imposts we have pointed out should be withdrawn from the commercial and manufacturing classes; by this means their numbers would increase, and the home consumption of raw produce would extend itself in like proportion. As in the states of Europe and America, so, it would quickly be discovered in India, that demand and supply reciprocally stimulate each other, population always increasing with the means of subsistence: in fact, no disadvantages of peculiar faith or local position, nor even poverty itself, the greatest of all present obstacles, could retard the triumphant progress of civilisation and improvement.

We know that there are many persons in England who are accustomed to consider every portion of the globe that is subject to our authority as being actually in the enjoyment of enviable happiness and distinction. We hope we have shown satisfactorily in what way this blessing should be estimated with respect to India. We look upon the dominion of the East India Company as radically unwise and systematically oppressive; for enlarged and liberal views of legislation are utterly inconsistent with the spirit of monopoly and exclusion.

It has been said that the people of Hindostan, with all their acknowledged hardships, are in a better condition now than under

the best of their Native Princes ; and that, if they have gained nothing else by the transition, they have acquired security of life and property. We do not entirely deny this ; although, when the most is made of this concession, it will be seen that they have very little left that is worth securing. But upon what principle of reason can we retain a distant people in such galling subjection,—treat them upon every occasion as the mere instruments for advancing *our* own fortunes,—shut up to every individual among them all avenues to wealth, to power, to civilisation, and then boast that we have conceded them a just equivalent in the careful administration of their own laws ? It is a mere mockery. When the India Company wrested from a whole nation whatever was most dear to them, and reduced all classes to a state of suffering and degradation ; then, indeed, to be jealous that they did not tear from each other the crumbs gathered at the foot of their table, the unkind pittance that still keeps them from starving, is surely conferring no very weighty obligation ! Yet this we firmly believe is the extent of those blessings which we have bestowed upon India. The Native Princes were, beyond a doubt, despots in their day ; but, after all that can be said, we question if any modification of human society can assign to men a *more* ungrateful lot than hopeless toil and irremediable wretchedness, which is and must be the case while India remains subject to the Company's Government : but this period, we hope, is now fast drawing to a close.

REMEMBRANCE.

I remember—I remember—the hour when first we met,
Nor can I think of that sweet hour, without a soft regret ;
It minds me how my fondest hopes and sweet imaginings
Have all been blighted, and they now are dark and cheerless things.

I remember—I remember—thy first, thy purest kiss,
That made my youthful bosom thrill with ecstasy and bliss :
I reck'd not then that thou would'st steal my bosom's peace away—
I deem'd those blissful feelings aye would round that bosom play.

I remember—I remember—thy warm, thy solemn vow ;
Remember too, the feverish flush that pass'd across thy brow :
'Twas sunset, and the glowing shades shed beauty on the spot,
But now, alas ! the vow you gave is broken and forgot.

I remember—I remember—the last time that we met ;
Remember too my pallid cheeks were with thy false tears wet :
My heart will still remember thee, though thy strong spell is o'er,
And woman's pride will teach that heart to trust thy vows no more.

Manchester, Jan. 7, 1829.

LETTERS FROM THE ÆGEAN.*

IN the Number of 'The Oriental Herald' for January, 1826, we had occasion to speak in terms of high approbation of a former work by Mr. Emerson, on the condition of the Greeks in 1825. Since that period, every circumstance regarding this ill-fated country had tended to confirm the opinion we at that time expressed, of the justice and correctness of the philosophical and political views respecting the Greek question which this meritorious traveller then advanced. His 'Picture of Greece, in 1825,' served effectually to place in their true light, before the British public, the situation and resources of the Greeks, and to tear away the mask beneath which fanaticism or intrigue had, up till that period, concealed, at a culpable risk, the decayed and imbecile condition of the nation which they professed to support. It was, in fact, a principle equally false in itself and insulting to the character of Englishmen, which led his predecessors to the dissemination of error or the suppression of truth, on the supposition that those to whom they made their appeal would be more ready to sympathise with success than to assist misfortune. The contrary has been evinced by the fact, that no efficient services whatever were rendered to the struggling Greeks by their European friends during their entire career of pretended triumph; and it was only when their real misery was published to the world by Mr. Emerson and those who followed him, that effective steps were taken to thwart their enemies, and insure their future independence.

In the work to which we have alluded, Mr. Emerson had embodied a mass of political and statistical details connected with Greece; but, he observes in his present preface, 'on coming to look over his notes, he found that he had still remaining many characteristic sketches of manners and scenery, which, though perhaps amusing in themselves, were properly omitted in a work, whose object was less picturesque than political, and whose details were confined almost exclusively to the Morea and Roumeli.' The sketches referred to form the matter of the 'Letters from the Ægean;' and subjects more attractive, certainly, an author could scarcely hope to have before him. His former volumes were conversant with the cabinet councils of Grecian statesmen, military manœuvres, naval engagements, and all the

'Pomp and circumstances of glorious war:'

the present abound with pictures of sunny isles, ruined temples,

* Letters from the Ægean, by James Emerson, Esq. 2 vols. post 8vo. Colburn. London, 1829.

Oriental Herald, Vol. 20.

dilapidated cities, and dark-blue seas, interspersed with glowing descriptions, and graphic anecdotes, and

‘Moving accidents by flood and field.’

‘Greece, in 1825,’ was written for Downing-street and the Stock Exchange; the ‘Letters from the Ægean’ are for the drawing-room and the sofa. The latter are among the few volumes of travels, with which we are acquainted, that pretend to be merely amusing; and yet they contain a quantity of information not always found in those ponderous tomes whose object is professedly to instruct. It is true that the information is not uniformly of the most important character, and we could have wished to see more depth of observation displayed in some of the details: but, on the whole, it is pleasingly and gracefully communicated; and, if it does not afford a philosophical analysis, it certainly presents a very picturesque portrait of Ottoman life; nor are the author’s descriptions, with, perhaps, some immaterial exceptions, less accurately than vividly expressed.

The route described comprises all the most interesting spots of the Ægean and of the shores of Asia Minor; Sunium, Scio, Smyrna, Ephesus, Laodicea, Philadelphia, Sardis, and Magnesia; together with Patmos, Paros, Delos, and all the principal islands of the Cyclades. Every page is replete with anecdote and information; and, in lieu of dry details, or monotonous topography, every letter contains some national illustration or characteristic anecdote.

The following description of Smyrna is rich and vivid:

‘On coming upon deck we were involuntarily struck with the beauty of the splendid panorama in the midst of which we were placed: behind us was the Gulf of Smyrna by which we had entered, its then turbulent waters now placid as the brow of infancy, and glittering in the beams of the morning sun, like plates of silver on a warrior’s mail, whilst the snowy sails of the Levantine barks, which glided along them, were scarcely to be distinguished from their own dazzling whiteness. On every side around us, the boats, with gilded sterns, peculiar to the Bay, were passing and repassing amidst ships, on the masts of which floated the flags of every trading nation, a crowd of hardy Greeks tugging at the oar, and a stately Turk, with graceful turban and flowing robes, smoking in haughty ease at the stern.

‘The gangways of the frigate were surrounded by shoals of little trafficking barks, laden with all the produce of the country; baskets of blushing peaches, pears, the amber hue of which was streaked with tints like the rose; and heaps of purple grapes flung down in such luxuriant profusion, that their luscious bunches were hanging in the rippling water.

‘Around us were the sunburnt hills of Asia Minor, their sloping and rugged sides, studded with white cottages, and variegated with plantations of olives and fig-trees, which stretched to the rich gar-

dens at their base, washed by the waters of the bay. Before us rested in calm repose "The birth-place of Homer," "The ornament of Asia," "Izmir the lovely," "The crown of Ionia;" and well do its splendid situation and commanding prospects merit those impassioned epithets of its ancient chroniclers.

'At the foot of a steep hill, the summit of which is crowned by the ruins of a castle of the Lower Empire, the city stretches along the sloping beach, its flat-roofed houses mingled with the domes of marble mosques and lofty groups of minarets and muezzin towers; whilst its outskirts are bordered by the waving groves of funeral cypress, which mark the last resting-place of the followers of the Prophet.

'The long line of the Marino is bordered by a train of consular residences, over each of which floats the flag of its respective nation. The quay presented a novel spectacle, crowded with the inhabitants of every quarter of the globe;—the swarthy Nubian and the homeless Arab mingling with the fair-browed sons of Europe and the West, whilst the "phes" * of the Greek, and the crimson bonnet of the Armenian, were grouped with the varied turbans and glittering costumes of the children of Mahomet. The Turk was lounging, with his long chibouque, on the beach; the Drogueman, in his enormous white head-dress and brown jubee, was leaning against the gate of his consulate; and the cry of the itinerant vender of sherbet and iced orgeats on the shore, blended with the capstern song of the British sailor in the offing, or the ballad of the merry Greek, as he gaily trilled in his caique the deeds of Boukovallas and his Kleftis. The scene was altogether Oriental; and our only regret was that we had not dropped into the midst of it at once from Europe, instead of becoming partially familiarised to its objects through the gradual medium of Greece and the islands of the *Ægean*.'

The story of W—— contained in the second letter is extremely interesting and curious; and we regret our inability to give it at length, whilst any curtailment would be prejudicial.

The Greek ladies of Smyrna are sketched *con amore* :

'The daughters of the old gentleman were two of the most beautiful girls I had seen in the Levant: their costume was rather of the Italian than the Greek taste, but combined the elegancies of both; their light silk dresses were made to suit accurately to the figure, instead of flowing loosely and ungracefully as in the Morea. A slipper with a high heel, such as are generally worn in the north

* 'The phes (τὸ φες) is the little red cap worn by the inhabitants of the Levant; the Albanians, and the majority of the Moreots, wear no other head-dress, whilst the Turks conceal it by the ample folds of their turbans.'

of Italy, richly embroidered, and covering only the front of the foot, showed to full advantage a delicately turned ankle, through a stocking of netted silk fine as gossamer; whilst their turbans of transparent gauze, ornamented with a glittering aigrette and a wreath of golden flowers, rather enhanced than shaded the glossy ringlets which flowed over brows fair as polished marble.

‘Their accomplishments too had not been neglected, and I never heard the songs of Greece sound so enchantingly as when breathed by their sweetly-toned voices, accompanied by a guitar, to some of the native airs of Britain, and especially to Mozart’s delicious one of “Life let us cherish,” which seems a universal favourite with the Greeks. Their manners appeared to be a combination of the three classes with whom they had associated,—the grace of the Italian, the sprightly vivacity of the Greek, and the stately tournure of the Ottomans; whilst all three were enhanced and blended by an air of fixed and interesting melancholy.’

The following general description of the scenery of Asia Minor is highly characteristic :

‘There are few spots of earth visited by the traveller calculated to excite emotions more melancholy than those experienced by such as have passed over even the most frequented portions of Asia Minor. Except in the immediate vicinity of its cities, he encounters few traces of life or civilisation; all beyond is “barren and unprofitable;” his path lies across plains tenanted by the stork and the jackal, or over hills whence the eye wanders along valleys blooming in all the luxuriance of neglected nature, or withering in loneliness and sterility. Throughout lands once adorned with the brightest efforts of genius and of art, and rife with the bustle and activity of a crowded population, his footstep will light upon nothing save the speaking monuments of decay, and his eye meet no living forms except those of his companions, or by chance a dim prospect of the weary caravan, that creeps like a centipede across the plain, or winds amidst the mazes of distant hills.

‘There are few scattered hamlets, and no straggling abodes of mankind; danger and apprehension have forced the remnant of its inhabitants to herd together in towns for mutual security, and to leave the deserted country to the bandit and the beast of prey. The wandering passenger pursues his listless route surrounded by privations and difficulties, by fatigue and apprehension, few beaten tracks to guide his course, and few hospitable mansions to shelter his weariness. By night he rests beside his camel in the karavan-serai; and by day he hurries along with no comforts save those which he carries with him, and no companions but his thoughts. But these are sufficient, and they spring up with every breath and at every turning: his very loneliness is sublimity; his only prospect,

beauty ; he reclines upon earth, whose every clod is a sepulchre of greatness, and he is canopied by a sky

“So cloudless, pure, and beautiful,
That God alone is to be seen in heaven.”

We would willingly have given the sketch of Sardis, which is attractive, though too inflatedly written ; but we must, owing to its length, refer our readers to the book itself. The following story of Crevelier is interesting from its similarity in several particulars to that of Lord Byron's *Corsair*.

‘ The little bay in which we had dined at Paxos has been rendered conspicuous in the annals of the Levant by the deeds of two individuals who have associated their names with the scene. It was in a fortress, whose remains are still to be seen, near the shore, that the gallant but unfortunate Venieri defended himself against the arms of the renowned Barbarossa, in the reign of Solymán the Second ; and, in later times, the harbour of Marmora was the favourite resort of Crevelier, the corsair, whose intrepid exploits, during the latter part of the seventeenth century, were, for nearly twenty years, the terror of the Ægean islanders. The name of this singular man is still vividly remembered in the Levant ; but I do not recollect that any English traveller has yet given a sketch of his career. He was a native of the South of France, and his youth, till the age of five-and-twenty, had been spent in trading from Marseilles to the Morea, and the various ports on the coasts of Turkey. Here he had gained the most accurate information of the situation of the Greeks, and the grinding oppression of their Ottoman masters : he saw, too, their evident discontent and repinings, and the inability of the Turks to keep them in proper subjection, owing to the daring presence of the Knights of Malta, who had driven almost every Moslem from the Cyclades.

‘ Crevelier was a man of acute observation, and the most grasping and restless ambition. The memory of the easy dominion obtained by Sanuto, and held by his descendants, was still fresh in the minds of the adventurers of Europe ; and it was only a few years before that the Marquis de Fleuri, a Marseillaise, with a small force, had attempted the capture of Naxos, and was prevented only by the presence of the fleet of the Venetians, who had made it an article of peace with the Porte that they should maintain a squadron in the Ægean for the protection of the Turkish possessions. Crevelier, fired with the same object, employed his superior local information regarding the Greeks to secure his success.

‘ The Mainotes, the modern inhabitants of ancient Sparta, have been to the present hour the most turbulent and rebellious portion of the population of Greece ; nor have the arms of all the Sultans, since Mohammed the Second, succeeded in thoroughly subduing them, or destroying their spirit of impatient independence. It was

by their alliance that the adventurous corsair resolved on attempting the conquest of a portion of the Peloponessus; and, for that purpose, he entered into a treaty with Liberaki, the chief of Maina. By his advice, Crevelier passed up the Gulph of Kalokythia, and, with 500 men, laid siege to a castle upon the shore, which was held by a garrison of Turks. Here he was joined by a party of his allies; but Liberaki, instead of bringing, as he had promised, 5,000 armed followers, appeared before the castle with merely 800 attendants, and even these unprovided with arms or ammunition. Crevelier was not, however, to be daunted by one disappointment, — he united his band with those of the Greeks, and intrepidly commenced the assault.

‘ During five successive days, his efforts to expel the Turks were unavailing; and, although he had succeeded in making several breaches in the wall, and in defeating the garrison in every sally which they attempted, still he was almost as far as ever from attaining possession of the fort. Besides, his allies were rather an incumbrance than an aid to him; they were totally deficient in courage and enthusiasm in an open assault, and Crevelier was on the point of abandoning the attempt, and betaking himself again to sea, when, on the morning of the sixth day, a Maltese galley, manned by a body of the Knights, entered the bay, and cast anchor beside him.

‘ In passing by Zante, they had heard of his expedition into the Morea; and, in pursuance of their oath of eternal hostility to the Turks, they had hurried to his assistance. But, unfortunately, they only arrived in time to witness his defeat. The Mainotes, alarmed at the appearance of the Knights of St. John, and aware that they would not tolerate their superiority as the weakness of the French had forced them to do, betook themselves in a body to their mountains, and abandoned the siege to the strangers. The Turks now gained fresh confidence by the sight of the departing host, and, issuing in a body from the fortress, drove the troops of Crevelier to their ships, and forced the Maltese, after sustaining heavy losses, to re-embark, weigh anchor, and steer from the Gulph.

‘ Hugo now saw that the enterprise on which he had staked his fortunes was thwarted; and, mad with disappointment, he resolved on abandoning his home and his country, and becoming a corsair amidst the seas that had witnessed his defeat. In the course of a very short time he collected round him a fleet of twenty sail, manned by Italians, Greeks, Mainotes, and Slavonians, who had joined his flag, and with these he pursued his course of lawless rapine. No corner of the Ægean was safe from his presence; he swept from shore to shore, and passed from isle to isle, with the gloom of a spirit, and the speed of the lightning. One by one the whole circle of the islands became his tributaries; and, at stated periods, the galleys of Crevelier were seen entering the harbours of the Archipelago to receive his annual imposts, and, on their ready compli-

ance with his demands, returning again in peace to the retreats of their chieftain. His career, however, was unmarked by murder, and his excursions unstained by needless bloodshed. He was, in fact, rather a favourite with the Greeks, nor had he, in any case, proceeded to use violence towards them, save in the solitary instance of the island of Andros.

* 'The natives had insulted his officers and refused to contribute the sums which he demanded; but, in the silence of midnight, the galleys of Hugo cast anchor beneath their city: he landed sword in hand, and, ere morning dawned, had pillaged it from the cliffs to the sea; the houses of the inhabitants were robbed of their wealth, and the warehouses of the merchants were burst open and emptied by the pirates. Crevelier sailed off with a booty sufficient to have enriched his family for generations; nor did he ever restore a single crown, save the property of one French gentleman, which he returned to him at the request of the Marquis de Nointel, the Ambassador to the Porte from the Court of France. For fourteen years he continued to infest the shores of Turkey, nor were the efforts of the Capitan Pasha ever able to discover his haunts or destroy his squadron. His favourite retreat was, however, the island of Paros; and it is said that the fortress near Marmora, and the tales of the islanders relating to Crevelier, gave to Lord Byron the idea of Conrad, and the scene of the Pirate's Isle.

'Amidst all his exploits, his *chef-d'œuvre* was the taking of Petra, one of the principal towns in the island of Metelin, which he accomplished in the year 1676, nor has the unfortunate district ever yet recovered from the effects of his devastating visit. His followers landed on the shore in the evening, and, having marched for the distance of three leagues into the interior, scaled the walls at midnight. The terrified Moslems, awaking from their slumbers, fled in haste to conceal themselves, and abandoned their houses to spoliation and plunder. During three hours, the band of the Corsairs were employed in securing their prey, and at day-light returned to Crevelier, who had remained in the galleys to guard the shores till their arrival. They brought with them a horde of five hundred slaves, and a quantity of plate, rich garments, silken carpets, precious stuffs, gems and money, whose value is stated at a sum almost beyond credibility.

'Hugo was now about to abandon his lawless pursuits for ever, and betake himself to home and retirement; and, as a finishing blow against the detested Ottomans, he resolved on concluding his career by the plunder of a rich caravan, which was expected to pass from Alexandria to Constantinople. His squadron was despatched on the look-out to the various islands in the vicinity of Cyprus, whilst he himself retired, with two other galleys, to the harbour of Stampalia to await their report, before completing his decisive arrangements for attacking the convoy. But here his career was des-

tinged to close : he had on board his vessel, as his valet, a Savoyard, whom he had rescued from slavery and imagined he had attached to him by long years of kindness. One day he had given him a blow in anger ; but his resentment soon died away, and he fancied it was forgotten. The wretch had, however, treasured up the wrong, as a miser guards the talisman of his fortunes, nor was an opportunity long wanting to revenge it.

‘Crevelier, unsuspecting of injury, had often intrusted to the miscreant the key of his *sainte-barbe*, or powder-room ; and, on the day when he was about to sail from Stampalia, the Savoyard had neglected to return it to him. He went below, attached a slow match to one of the massy barrels, and, returning on deck, rowed on shore with one or two of his companions, with a smile on his treacherous lips and lightness at his livid heart. The corsair was seated in his cabin, on the poop, with the two other commanders, when the match communicated. The vessel, bursting into a thousand atoms, was hurled into the air, in the midst of a volcano of flames and blazing timbers ; and, when the terrific explosion had subsided, their bodies, and those of two hundred of their murdered companions, were washed by the agitated waves on the shores of the island.’

How far the above details may warrant Mr. Emerson’s publisher in announcing this as the *original* of ‘The Corsair,’ we are not prepared to say ; but there is unquestionably a striking coincidence in the general character and habits, the retreat and exploits of the two heroes ; and, if we are to consider ‘Lara’ as the continuation of Conrad, the Corsair of romance, as well as this Corsair of history, was a foreigner, and not a Greek. Lord Byron has certainly announced no prototype for his freebooter, though he has quoted some parallels for him ; yet we can hardly suppose that a traveller so intimate with the Levant as his Lordship, could have been ignorant of a story which must be there so current as that of Crevelier.

Throughout the work Mr. Emerson has inserted frequent illustrations of obscure passages as references in Scripture, by ad-ducing the customs and observances still prevalent in the East. In these he has not been uniformly successful : some are, in our opinion, rather far-fetched, and betray an unnecessary display of erudition on the part of the author. Not a few of them are, however, striking and curious ; and, amongst others, the following explanation of the term *Porte*, applied to the Ottoman Cabinet.

‘I do not remember to have any where seen an allusion to the coincidence between this title of the Grand Seignior, or rather the Turkish Government, and the constant application of the term *Gate*, throughout the sacred writings. The Baba Hoomajun, the Sublime *Porte*, is one of the *gates* of the Seraglio, and from it the Ottoman Emperor derives his singular appellation.

‘In the same manner, the word ‘gate’ in its various applications

throughout the Scriptures, signifies *power*, as in the instance when God promises Abraham that his posterity should possess the *gates* of their enemies,' Gen. xxii. v. 17. And, the *gates* of Hell (shall not prevail against the Church,) Matt. xvi. v. 18; the *gates* of Death, (Psalm ix. v. 13); the *gates* of the grave (Isaiah, xxxviii. v. 10); the *gates* of righteousness (Psalm cxviii. v. 19); and various other passages, convey the same import.

'Again, *gate* signifies, in another sense, justice and judicature, or the place of assembly where judgment is pronounced; for example, —the gate of Bethlehem, where judgment was given between Boaz and Naomi's relation, in the matter of Ruth's marriage. (Ruth, iv. v. 1.) And in Lamentations, v. v. 14, it is mentioned thus: 'the elders have ceased from the *gate*,' that is, from frequenting the council-chamber.

'Another, amongst many significations, is a *multitude* or a *family*; thus, when Boaz tells Ruth, (chap. iii. v. 11.) that all the *gates* of his house know she is virtuous; it means literally, the persons of his household.

'Influenced by that unchanging tone of habit and feeling which characterises the Orientals, it is easy to account for the assumption of this poetical and patriarchal epithet by the Sultan; and the passages I have quoted, assigning to it *power*, *justice*, and *multitude*, render it expressive, as well as tasteful and magnificent.'

At the little island of Castelorizo on the coast of Karamania, Mr. Emerson describes a cistern for the collection of rain-water; and, in speaking of the frequency of such contrivances, as well as of fountains in the East, he appends the following ingenious illustration of a passage in John:

'Throughout the East, the custom, so often alluded to in Scripture, of its being the duty of females to go to the wells, seems to have prevailed from a period of the remotest antiquity, and is as prevalent at the present moment as when Rebecca assuaged the thirst of the servant of Abraham, 'at the time of the evening, even at the time when women go out to draw water,*' or when the woman of Samaria met Jesus by the well of Jacob.

'This very edifice, too, and others constructed for a similar purpose, afford a striking illustration of the peculiar force of the passage to which I have last alluded, besides several throughout the New Testament, in which the word 'well' is erroneously translated. 'If thou knewest (said Jesus to the woman) the gift of God, and who it is that saith unto thee, Give me to drink, thou wouldst have asked him, and he would have given unto thee *living water*. The woman saith unto him, Sir, thou hast nothing to draw with, and the *well* (το φρεαρ) is deep; from whence then hast

* Gen. xxiv. 11.

thou that living water? Art thou greater than our father Jacob, who gave us the *well* (το φρεαρ,) and drank thereof himself, his children, and his cattle? Jesus saith unto her, Whosoever drinketh of this water, shall thirst again. But whoso drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him, shall be unto him a *well* (πηγη υδατος) of water springing up into eternal life." (1 John, v. 10—14.)

'Now, in the above passage the words φρεαρ and πηγη have been indiscriminately translated "well;" whereas the latter, which is applied by our Saviour to the "living water," signifies a *fountain*, a constant *spring*, in which sense it is employed in the Epistle by James—"Doth a fountain (πηγη)," saith he, "send forth at the same place sweet water and bitter?" and the former, φρεαρ, which should be translated a *cistern* or *reservoir*, from the Hebrew בֹּאֵר, signifies literally a *pit*, as in Luke xiv. 5. "Which of you shall have an ox or an ass fallen into a *pit*" (εις φρεαρ εμπεσσειται, &c.); and in Revelations, ix. 1, 2. the key of the bottomless pit (ἡ κλεῖς του φρεατος της αβυσσου); and ἠνῶξε το φρεαρ της αβυσσου, he opened the bottomless pit.

'The import of this passage, therefore, is, that the woman of Samaria stood by the *cistern* of Jacob, and hesitated to give Jesus to drink of the stagnant water collected within it, whilst he, had she known to ask it, could have given unto her to drink of the fresh *fountain* that springeth up into endless life.

'I may be mistaken in this interpretation; but the frequency of both wells and reservoirs throughout the East, and the superiority of the one to the other, serve to countenance the conclusion I would draw, and to add fresh force to the import of the sacred text. To him, however, who has never panted beneath the burning sun of Asia, nor trod its scorched and glowing soil, whose eyes have never turned upon its cloudless skies, or shot wistfully along its parched and endless deserts, the frequent mention of water and its important uses in the Bible can come with but little weight; and he alone who has toiled through the privations of India, or writhed beneath the withering sunbeams of the East, can enjoy in their full richness and luxury the sublime allusions of the Scriptures.'

'Passages such as these are very numerous, and form some of the most valuable portions of the book. In addition to these, the work is diversified by several tales and narratives which are illustrative of Oriental life, and some poetical translations of modern Greek songs, which appear to be both literally and gracefully executed. There is a short history of the Dukes of the Archipelago, a race of feudal chieftains who held possession of the Cyclades from the 15th to the 17th century, which possesses considerable novelty and interest. The author has likewise given us a system of geographical happiness for females, in which he attempts to demonstrate that the harshness or affection by which they are treated by their husbands,

is regulated by the latitudes in which they live. We apprehend, however, that this theory is designed less for philosophers than for the ladies.

The chief defect of this work is in the style, which, as the reader will perceive from some of the foregoing extracts, is often much too flowery and poetical. It is most graceful and pleasing when least ambitious. Like the dress of his Orientals, it is too much bedizened and be-gemmed with ornament for sober English taste. The heart of the author, however, is evidently in his subject : and his writings evince much elegant acquirement, shrewd observation, and genuine good feeling. There is throughout the work an air of *bonhomme* and amiability ; and his Oriental enthusiasm has suffused his pages with a sunny brilliancy which, in spite of excess of decoration, harmonizes agreeably with the scenes he describes.

It is, perhaps, to be regretted that the work is so decidedly calculated for the drawing-room instead of the library ; but, at the same time, it forms no unworthy counterpart to Mr Emerson's former production ; and both give good promise, in so young an author, of those talents which we hope one day to see devoted with still higher success to more arduous and important pursuits.

SONNET TO AUTUMN.

TIME of the rushing flood, and dying flower !
 When the changed grove, with russet garments sear,
 Yields its last chaplet for the faded year,
 And desolating tempests thin the bower,
 Making wild music to the wanderer's ear,
 I love thee for thy melancholy power :
 There is a moral on thy faded leaf,
 A sympathy within thy clouded sky,
 Well suited to the softening hour of grief,
 And not ungrateful to the tearful eye,
 Or heart,—which gives the imprisoned thought relief
 In unrestrained complaint when none is by,
 And fancies in thy breeze's solemn tone,
 The answering sigh of Earth responsive to its own,

J. F. H.

ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN INDIA, AND THE QUALIFICATIONS AND NUMBERS OF EUROPEAN JUDGES.

FROM the notice which we have already taken of Mr. Miller's work on 'The Administration of Justice in India,' our readers may have collected the chief and characteristic features of the jurisprudence there established. They will remember that it is not a well digested, well ordered code of consistent and connected constitutions, enacted after careful and mature deliberation on the ancient laws and existing usages of the people, but a system at first formed of various and discordant materials, and since fashioned more on the suggestions of unforeseen but urgent inconvenience than on an enlarged and comprehensive scheme of rational improvement. Regulations thus hastily assembled, some formed on British, others on Eastern principles of law, often vitiated and perverted by forcible adaptation to circumstances with which they but indifferently assort, always more or less impairing the authority of recorded precedents or established custom, could only be made conducive to the due dispensation of justice, by committing an extensive trust of equitable authority to those by whom they were to be administered.

The qualifications, therefore, the education and characters of those who fill judicial offices under the Company, are in every point of view subjects of the highest concern. If there be one branch of their service to which it is the interest of the Directors more than another to attend, it is undoubtedly this. The men who represent them on the bench in India, should not only be expert in the Hindoo and Mohammedan law, but also well versed in the general maxims of natural justice; they should be familiarised by long experience to the application of such maxims in the ordinary business of life, and accustomed to the adjustment of the intricate and unprecedented differences which day after day arise among men in all conditions of society, barbarous or civilised, rude or refined. These are qualifications essential to the adequate discharge of the duties of a judge, whatever be the sphere of his authority. Even where laws are positive, consistent, and clear, where former decisions are carefully recorded, and vigilance and skill incessantly employed to prevent surprise or inadvertence, legal studies alone, however profound, will not enable a man to perform the judicial functions. Suspicious narratives must be scrutinised, ingenious fallacies detected, conflicting testimonies weighed, much must be learnt which is not in written books, nor is the knowledge of law more requisite than the knowledge of mankind. Not less surely is this the case in India, where it has been our policy to exclude Natives from offices of trust and to commit the whole administration of our incongruous and uncertain system of law to the hands of Europeans.

Let any man reflect on the condition in which an Englishman even of mature years and competent information is placed on his first arrival in our Eastern territories. What a prodigious difference must he observe between the religion, customs, manners, prejudices, principles, and dealings of the society which he has left and that to which he is newly introduced ! How often must he find the obvious dictates of morality and justice conflicting with the established usages and consecrated errors of a semi-barbarous people ! How often will his imperfect knowledge of the language, and his utter ignorance of the characters, of those about him, conspire with their univalled cunning and duplicity to betray him into irreparable errors ! To guard altogether against such inconveniences, Europe cannot supply adequate education ; but means might be taken both here and in India to render their occurrence less frequent ; and it is clearly the duty of those who claim despotic power over so many millions of their fellow-subjects, to spare no expense and no exertion to protect them against the perversion and delay of justice, which are the necessary effects of incompetence or ignorance in its ministers.

‘ The present,’ says Mr. Miller, ‘ is not the time for placing half-taught men on the judgment-seat in any part of the world. Brigadiers or major-generals are not much respected now, as Chancellors in the West Indies ; yet they are just as well qualified to fill such stations as a Company’s factor or junior merchant is to be converted from a collector of revenue, which he, perhaps, was the week before, into a Zillah Judge, which he becomes the week following. He ought to be fit for his place when he enters upon it, and not become qualified for it when he is about to leave it. The administration of justice is not an easy task any where, and Hindoostan is not the place where an uneducated European can attempt it most successfully. He must be, to a great degree, a stranger to the language, characters, and habits of the people around him ; he has the astute and often corrupt officers of his court to superintend ; the opinions of Mohammedan and Hindoo lawyers to approve or reject : he has to determine how far the law of the district is affected by the Company’s regulations ; and, if no native law or written regulations exist, he has to settle in what way the principles of natural equity bear upon the dispute between the parties. It is apt to be forgotten that the duties of a judge are, or ought to be, far more difficult under the Company, than they were under the Native Princes. The Company has thought fit to create a regular system of law and procedure, both of which till their time were unknown in India. This law and procedure must become more complicated, as deeds, contracts, and agreements become more numerous and the enforcement of them more certain. All this not only points out the necessity of rendering the Judges a separate body of officers, as they were wisely made by Lord Cornwallis ; but

obviously demands from them qualifications which no adequate means have yet been taken to furnish.'

'The Native population of British India,' says Sir Edward Hyde East, in his first letter to Lord Eldon, 'may amount to about fifty millions, of whom by far the greater part is under the Bengal Presidency. The number of British Judges and Magistrates here to dispense justice to this multitude is about 150, dispersed throughout an immense area. The execution of so arduous a duty by so small a number, being physically impossible, is appalling enough of itself. Think, then, how the duty must necessarily be performed when the greater number of the administrators are scarcely more than boys, having no particular turn or talent for judicial pursuits, and without any judicial education or training whatever. I am afraid to say more upon the subject, even under the protection of your Lordship's confidence.'

Mr. Tytler, who was himself a Judge, describes the way in which those gentlemen enter on the performance of their functions in the following manner:—'Relieved from the trammels of college, no inconsiderable portion of the young men lead a life of comparative indolence and extravagance, as assistants to collectors and commercial residents. The rest, entering the judicial line, are burdened with the cares and invested with the power attending the office of a judge, while as yet they have scarcely one qualification for the situation, except the knowledge of the language.' He afterwards adds—'Under the present arrangement, although the young civilian has attained a competent knowledge both of Persian and Bengalee, yet he often finds himself in a wilderness when he enters the court and commences his first cause. He is, in fact, for a while exposed to the concealed, but continued, ridicule of his inferior officers. It is not likely, indeed, that he should discover this, as the lowest Natives around him possess a thorough command of countenance, united to the most finished politeness.'*

'In Europe,' says General Leith, 'a merchant is a trader, and the judge a man of the law. The establishment of the Company's service has not yet arrived, or is not supposed to have arrived, at that period when these professions come to be separated and assigned to different classes of servants, who in their early studies are to be instructed in those branches of science most suited to the profession for which they are intended. Men are one day employed in the commercial department, the next in the diplomatic line, and afterwards find themselves placed upon the Bench. The consequence is as might be expected; judicial duties are discharged without much intelligence or method. How then can it be a matter of surprise to find that the progress of the courts is tardy, judgments contradictory, and appeals frequent? There is a vulgar preju-

* Tytler on India, vol. i., pref. p. 14. *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 62.

dice that imputes to a regular establishment of courts of justice an occasion of litigation and the prevalence of law-suits. Experience has proved how unjustly this opinion is founded. During the period that a Mayor's court existed in the different Indian capitals of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, the prevalence of litigation was much greater than at present, when men's rights are assured to them by the forms of law, the advantage of a regular bar, and the learning and integrity of well-educated judges.*

“Not only,” says Mr. Miller, “does it seem meet that those young men who are destined for the judicial career should be afforded sufficient means of instruction, but also that there should be some trial of the bent and extent of their capacity by showing what influence the instruction which they have received has had upon them. This examination ought not to be unnecessarily rigorous; but, if it were of such sort as to be undergone at all times and by all persons, the effect of it would be eminently beneficial. The importance of the appointments now in the hands of the Directors, would, it is true, be somewhat reduced; but they would still be abundantly valuable. It is quite sufficient for the person in whom the patronage may be vested to have the privilege of nominating one promising young man to be sent out as a judge, instead of one still abler who might have obtained the appointment if it had been open to general competition. That a certain number of incompetent or thoughtless young men would, by such an ordeal, be deprived of a comfortable provision for life, to the loss and disappointment of themselves and their relations, is true; and this is the very circumstance which demonstrates its utility. Severity, in rejecting a young man unfit to be a judge, is mercy towards those over whose persons and properties he aspires to sit in judgment.

“This is not meant to convey any general reflection on the ability of the judges in India. An inspection of the two volumes of Reports and Memorials, made by the judicial servants of the Company, and printed by the Court of Directors, and to which such frequent reference is made in these pages, proves a certain proportion of them to possess a strength of judgment, and an aptitude for judicial business and arrangements, which would have done honour to any age or country. But the same volumes show that they are not all entitled to this high commendation; and none of those whose productions are there to be seen are likely to be among the most incompetent in the department to which they belong. I rely upon the acknowledged principle, which I believe the amplest indication of particulars that could be made in this case would only confirm, that men will always be pressed into situations for which their talents are unfit, unless diligent precaution be taken to exclude them. That none but young men of first-rate understanding.

shall ever be employed in the administration of justice in India, it would be idle to expect, but it surely is not unreasonable to provide that they should exhibit proofs of their judicial qualifications, both later in life and more decisive in themselves than those which any examination now undergone at Haileybury or in India can afford. Whether the Directors are prepared for such a change or not, the time seems to be fast approaching when no alternative will be left them, but either that of selecting their judges from a list of regularly educated lawyers proposed to them by the officers of the Crown, or of bestowing more attention on the natural and acquired endowments of those of their own appointment.*

Taking leave of the qualifications of the Company's European judges, let us now pass on to a consideration of their numbers. At present, there are between seventy and eighty separate courts, between 110 and 120 European judges, and between sixty and seventy European Registrars; which last, besides discharging the duties of Registrars, occasionally perform that of judges also. It thus appears, that upon 200 Europeans, or thereabouts, all important causes devolve, which arise among a population of about ninety millions of inhabitants, scattered over a surface of upwards of 1,500 miles in length and about as much in breadth, and exhibiting endless diversities of religion, manners, habits, and institutions. The jurisdiction of each Zillah Judge throughout the Presidency of Madras, appears to contain on an average from 250,000 to 300,000 souls.† Each of the Zillahs in Bengal contains from 800,000 to 1,200,000. That of Rungpore is said to contain the enormous amount of two millions and a half. No reasoning or explanation can either enfeeble or fortify the inference to be drawn from the simple statement of these particulars. Whatever a judge's capacity and zeal may be, it is impossible he can accomplish what is here demanded of him. Making all allowance for the simplicity which pervades the transactions of Eastern society, and the general poverty of its population, if the Zillah courts fail to be choked up, it can only be because the suitors are absolutely debarred by expense and distance from resorting to them. Surely such an order of things is neither calculated to secure the honesty and contentment of the Company's subjects, nor the prosperity and stability of their Government. Why then, it may be said, is not the number of the European courts augmented? Undoubtedly it ought, provided the chief part of the judicial business in India is to be conducted by European agency, and upon as extensive a scale as may be necessary for the adequate dispensation of justice. But European agency is not economical. The climate demands many indulgences, and vanity and fashion have superadded others, until the resources of

* Miller, p. 63.

† Judicial Selections, vol. ii., p. 153. Miller, p. 67.

the Company, abundant as they are, can scarcely defray the cost of their original establishment. Mr. Secretary Dowdeswell declares that the salary of each Provincial judge ought to be, at least, thirty-five thousand rupees, or about 3,500*l.*, and that of each of the Zillah judges is now about 2,500*l.*

The whole judicial expense of the three Presidencies is enormous. The charges of that of Madras, exclusive of prisoners and the police, amounted, in the year 1811-12, to no less than 348,262*l.*,* and that of Bengal, in the year 1809-10, rose to the extraordinary sum of 870,000*l.* Instead of increasing the number of European courts, no fewer than nine Zillah courts were reduced within the Presidency of Madras between the 9th of February, 1821†, and the 7th of March, 1823. Of this reduction, it is true, the Court of Directors thought proper to express their disapprobation; but, down to the date of the very last printed judicial letter which was sent by the Directors to Bengal, they express their inability to make any addition to the number of their European law-officers;† and, when it is considered that to discharge the duties now imposed on the judges, their numbers ought to be at once trebled or quadrupled, it is obvious that all expectation of such reinforcement is absolutely hopeless. This, however, is no answer to the complaint against the present system of administering justice in India. The Government is not released from its obligation to provide justice; and, if it cannot afford Europeans, it is bound to call in speedy and effectual assistance from other quarters.

After these extracts from 'The Judicial and Revenue Selections,' and from Mr. Miller, we may be permitted to pause, and to inquire what pretence there is for the assertion so frequently hazarded by the servants of the Company, that its Government has been conducive to the welfare and happiness of the people? On the evidence of their own servants, summed up calmly and impartially by Mr. Miller, they are convicted of wilful, deliberate abuse of the highest trust committed by Parliament to their care, by placing beardless and inexperienced boys upon the seat of justice! Yielding to the persuasions of that corrupt influence which is the mainspring of their whole system, they have alienated the affections of the people from the British name, and taught them to consider the very courts which were established for their protection as engines of plunder and oppression.

Not content with raising ignorance and incompetence to the bench, their miserable parsimony has suggested to them a diminution in the number of the judges, in the teeth of their own admission that they were not sufficiently numerous to dispose of the existing arrears. The administration of the laws is one of those

* Papers laid before the House of Commons. 1819.

† 'Judicial and Revenue Selections.' Vol. iv. p. 35.

duties of which Lord Grenville said, that 'they attach on Government, in all its forms, are the price and condition of obedience, sacred obligations from which no sovereign power can ever be released, due from all who exact to all who pay allegiance.' If the Company were to be tried by this principle of reciprocal obligation, how long would their dominion continue? Not one year, we fearlessly assert. England has destroyed the trade and agriculture of India; it has reduced the people to a state of miserable bondage, unparalleled in the annals of the world; England has introduced no arts or institutions; England has established no manufactures, erected no churches, no hospitals, no schools; England has built no bridges, made no high roads, cut no navigations, dug out no reservoirs. Every other conqueror of every other description has left some monument of state or beneficence behind him. Were we to be driven out of India this day, nothing would remain to tell that it had been possessed, during the inglorious period of our dominion, by any thing better than the *ouran outang* or the tiger.*

THE SONG OF THE LAST BARD.†

THE sun is blotted from the sky,
 The moon hath lost her brilliancy,
 Its trackless way the wandering star
 Speeds in terror from afar,
 Roving in the realms of space,
 To seek his once-bright dwelling place.
 Manliness and strength have perished,
 True love long observed and cherished;
 Wife and husband, sister, brother,
 Father fond, adoring mother,
 All the good that man could boast,
 All he loved and honoured most,
 All have perished, all are gone,—
 The minstrel's art remains alone;
 Nor want nor pain subdue the fire
 That doth the minstrel's breast inspire.
 It looketh down on joy and sorrow,
 Trusting in a happier morrow;
 Ever beauteous, ever bright,
 It cheers the deepest gloom of night,
 And sheds a brighter, lovelier ray,
 Upon the cloudless summer day.—
 But it is past, my lay is sung,
 My palsied lute is all unstrung,
 And this last spark of heavenly flame,
 Must seek the spheres from which it came.

* Vide Burke's Speech on Mr. Fox's East India Bill.

† From 'The Opening of the Sixth Seal, and other Poems.'

SOME PARTICULARS RESPECTING THE DEATH OF THE LATE EMPEROR ALEXANDER.

[The following statement, which we have received from a very respectable quarter, will prove interesting, we conceive, to many readers, from its tending to elucidate a recent political event of no slight importance—an event which, at one time at least, from the extraordinary circumstances which immediately followed it, seemed to be involved in a considerable degree of doubt and mystery.]

I HAVE been much surprised to find an opinion very generally prevalent in England, that the late Emperor Alexander was murdered. Much as his death might have been desired by the abettors of an extensive conspiracy throughout Russia,—though it is well ascertained that his assassination was actually decided upon, the volunteer assassin appointed, and the day fixed for his destruction,—yet the circumstances of his death were so natural, and the manner of it, even supposing him to have been poisoned, so different from that contemplated by the conspirators, that not a suspicion arose in Russia of any unfairness in his end. It may be supposed, perhaps, that no one would dare to express his thoughts on the subject in a country every where pervaded by a system of espionage; but the fact is, that, out of Petersburg, and perhaps Moscow, opinions are in Russia most daringly and incautiously expressed.

I was residing, when the Emperor died, at Odessa, and had the means of knowing, from individuals residing at Taganrog, most of the circumstances attending his death, and which were indeed very simple. Alexander's strength was declining when he left Petersburg for the south of Russia. It is supposed that he left the capital on account of some important intelligence being conveyed to the Government, concerning the conspiracy which broke out on the accession of Nicholas. That such a conspiracy existed, had been known to the Emperor for some time before. He set out for the Crimea contrary to the advice of his physicians, who represented to him the risk he incurred of catching the fever, which almost invariably attacks visitors unaccustomed to the climate, at the season when he determined to take the journey. He nevertheless persisted in visiting this province; and the consequence was, that the fever attacked him a few days after his arrival at Taganrog, and finished his existence in, I believe, about two weeks. This was, therefore, all in the natural course of events.

Among several similar instances of death occasioned in the same way, was one which came under my own observation about the very time when Alexander died. A young Englishman, secretary to a Russian nobleman, who arrived at Odessa from the Crimea, sickened in a few days after, and died in a fortnight of the Crimean fever, in spite of the best medical assistance that could be found at Odessa,—which, by the by, is indifferent enough.

Alexander for some time refused to take medicine, and only, when

it was too late, yielded to the importunities of the Empress, and of his own personal physician, Sir James Wylie, who induced him to swallow some unavailing draughts. The Empress was his nurse, and Sir James Wylie his physician: they watched him to the last, and certainly *they* could neither wish for, nor have any interest in, his death. The melancholy end of the Empress, a few weeks after, was hastened by grief and fatigue: she died at an obscure place, on her road to Petersburg, whither she was going to attend the funeral of her husband; and, as for Sir James Wylie, he certainly lost much of his influence and power at Alexander's decease, and yields now in importance to another Englishman who is Court physician.

For a fortnight after Alexander's death, there was no official publication of the circumstance. The newspapers were totally silent. We knew, indeed, of the Emperor's decease from hearsay, and the theatres were directed to be closed by the authorities, but no reason was given for the order. This was the only official hint that was afforded to the gaping public. We knew we had lost *one* Emperor, but we could form no conjecture who was to succeed him; and at Odessa, a party of *quid-nunc* peasants were clapped into prison for speculating in the streets upon the probabilities of who was actually head of the state—Constantine or Nicholas. Such are the barbarous despotic fetters which still control the deeds and words of the Russians. Then came the farce of proclaiming Constantine Emperor, and making the whole nation swear fidelity to the sovereign of a week. Nicholas played first mountebank, and swore the first oath of subjection to his brother's rule. This was called setting a good example. Then came Constantine's refusal of the crown; though, to my thinking, he was very loth to let go his grasp of it. But he was at Warsaw, and could not help himself. The farce concluded with the tragedy attending the refusal of certain regiments to swear the same oath of allegiance to Nicholas, which, a week before, they had sworn for Constantine. These non-juring savages* were signally punished for their obstinacy; some thousands were killed on the Isaac's Place, at Petersburg. I know this from an eye-witness, although the official statement limited the number of the slain to five hundred. The night succeeding that day of blood was employed in getting rid of the corpses, which were literally heaped upon the Isaac's Place. They were removed by cart-loads to the outside of the town, and thrown into pits hastily prepared for their reception.

* I call them savages, for they were, indeed, with the exception of the ill-calculating and irresolute ringleaders, brutally ignorant. There was a cry raised, on the day of the insurrection, of 'Constantine and the Constitution for ever!' Several of the crowd inquired what Constitution meant; they had never heard of such a person or thing. They were informed by others, more enlightened, that Constitution was Constantine's wife, and they immediately joined in the conjugal cry!

CLAPPERTON'S SECOND EXPEDITION INTO THE INTERIOR OF AFRICA.*

CAPTAIN CLAPPERTON made his first journey into the interior of Africa in 1823 and 1824. A few months after his return to England in 1825, he set out on this Second Expedition, and proceeded by sea to Badagry on the Bight of Benin, under the 3d degree of east longitude. He was accompanied by Dr. Dickson, Dr. Morrison, Captain Pearce, and an English servant, Richard Lander. Dr. Dickson intending to travel to Soccatoo by a western route, separated from the rest of the party, and went to Dahomey, from whence he wrote to the coast announcing his arrival, but was never afterwards heard of. Dr. Morrison and Captain Pearce fell victims to fevers in the first stage of the journey; and none but Captain Clapperton and his servant Lander, with their African guides and interpreters, reached what may properly be called the interior of the country. The Captain left Badagry on the 7th December, 1825, travelling about 600 miles north-eastward (without including the sinuosities of the road) to Kano, where he first touched the line of his former route, and lodged in the house he had occupied in 1824. Thence he proceeded 250 miles westward to Soccatoo, the residence of the Sultan Bello, which he had also visited in the former expedition, and where his active and intrepid spirit was destined to close its career. The pestilential influence of the climate, aided by disappointment arising from the suspicious and unfriendly conduct of the Sultan, undermined the strength of a hardy constitution and a powerful frame, and he died in the neighbourhood of the capital we have named on the 13th of April, 1827, sixteen months after his departure from Badagry. His servant Lander, with no common share of courage and address, found his way back to the coast, bearing with him his papers, a trunk containing his clothes, and various other articles. His Journal, with a register of meteorological observations, a short narrative of Lander's return, and a few other documents, form the body of the present work. Though he has himself perished, therefore, the result of his labours has not been lost; for his Journal contains a record of everything he saw, and every thing that befel him, to within a few weeks of his death. It consists of the Notes he took from day to day, intermixed with some general observations on the state of the country, and the arts, manners, and character of the people. It

* Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa, from the Bight of Benin to Soccatoo, by the late Commander Clapperton, of the Royal Navy. To which is added the Journal of Richard Lander, from Kano to the Sea Coast, partly by a more Eastern Route. London, 1829, 4to.

will not be very interesting to general readers, and yet we have received more pleasure from its perusal than the apologetical language of the editor in the preface led us to expect. The discoveries made are not equal in value to those made in the former journey; but still they are of much importance.

Central Africa presents two leading objects of research, the one belonging to physical, and the other to political geography. The first is to discover the course and termination of the Niger, which has long been a subject of dispute and speculation; the second to ascertain the number, condition, and situation of the different states, which occupy the country lying on the north side of that chain of mountains which was supposed to pass quite across the continent from east to west, about the 8th or 10th parallel.

To begin with the subject of physical geography—the new facts which this volume supplies are of considerable value. In the first place, though Captain Clapperton's observations have established the existence of a chain of mountains in the situation alluded to, they have shown us that it is much lower than was imagined, and about 150 miles nearer the coast. Our traveller carried a barometer with him, and from the register of his daily observations, we obtain the most satisfactory ideas respecting the elevation of the country as far as Kano in 12° of north latitude. At the point where he crossed the chain, (4° east longitude,) its south side is about 100 miles from the coast, and its breadth is about eighty miles. In the pass or valley which led through the chain, the average height of the barometer was about 28.7, or one inch lower than at Badagry on the coast. The height of the pass may, therefore, be assumed to be about 900 feet above the sea, and as Clapperton estimates that the mountains rose generally from 400 to 800 feet above the road, the entire height of the chain at this place must be about 1,700 feet. This is a much inferior elevation to that of the chief mountain ridges of Southern Africa. Table Mountain rises about 3,500 feet above the level of the bay which laves its base; and some of the peaks in the interior of the Cape Colony are computed to be at least double that height. We have reason to believe, too, that this small elevation of the mountains of Central Africa is not peculiar to the part of the chain where our traveller crossed it; for on the former journey Major Denham saw mountains in the same parallel, but 700 miles farther east, which he estimated to rise only 1,200 feet above their base, and that base, apparently, was not high. The scenery of the mountains is beautiful; they are generally wooded, and the valleys are fertile, thickly inhabited, and diligently cultivated. In the torrid zone, mountains of moderate height are invariably the most healthy and desirable places of residence. They, besides, afford better means of defence than level open districts; and hence, where men require protection both from a scorching sun, and the lawless habits of their neighbours, the

mountains will generally be found to be more populous than the plains. We have little doubt that the long ridge alluded to, the *Gibbel Kumrah*, as they were formerly denominated, support a greater number of inhabitants than any equal portion of surface in Africa.

The following extracts afford us a lively and interesting view of the mountain scenery of Central Africa, and a pleasant glimpse also of its good-humoured and hospitable inhabitants :

‘The approach to the town of Laboo appeared by the moonlight quite enchanting, being through an avenue of tall majestic trees, with fetich houses placed here and there, and a solitary light burning by each.’

Further on he observes :

‘Our road lay through winding and beautiful valleys formed by rugged and gigantic blocks of granite, which in some places rose to the height of six or seven hundred feet above the valleys in which we travelled. Sometimes the valley is not a hundred yards broad, at others it may widen out to half a mile ; in one place we had to travel over a wide mountain plain. The soil is rich, but shallow, except alongside the fine streams of water which run through the valleys, where large tall trees were growing ; the sides of the mountains are bare except in the crevices, which are filled with stunted trees and shrubs. The valleys are well cultivated, and planted with corn, yams, &c.’

‘The country from Erawa to Chaki was well planted and thickly inhabited, till we entered the last-mentioned mountains, which were more broken than those we had hitherto passed, and appeared as if some great convulsion of nature had thrown the immense masses of granite into wild and terrific confusion. The road through this mountain pass was grand and imposing, sometimes rising almost perpendicularly, and then descending in the midst of rocks into deep dells ; then winding beautifully round the side of a steep hill, the rocks above overhanging us in fearful uncertainty. In every cleft of the hills, wherever there appeared the least soil, were cottages, surrounded by small plantations of millet, yams, or plantains, giving a beautiful variety to the rude scenery. The road continued rising, hill above hill, for at least two miles, until our arrival at the large and populous town of Chaki, situated on the top of the very highest hill. On every hand, on the hills, on the rocks, and crowding on the road, the inhabitants were assembled in thousands ; the women welcoming us with holding up their hands, and chanting choral songs, and the men with the usual salutations and every demonstration of joy. The caboceer was seated on the outside of his house, surrounded by his ladies, his singing men and singing women, his drums, fifes, and gong-gongs.’

. We find from the barometrical observations, that the surface of

the country northward never descended below the level of the valleys in the chain, but rather rose as he advanced inward. On the banks of the Quorra, (Niger,) and at Katunga, in its vicinity, the observations indicate a height of 1,100 or 1,200 feet above the sea; and at Guari, 200; and at Kano, 300 miles beyond the river, the height seems to be from 1,500 to 1,600 feet. The interior of Africa, therefore, from the Gibbel Kumrah to the neighbourhood of Tripoli, may be considered as a plateau, elevated from 1,000 to 2,000 feet above the ocean.

But what about the Niger? Is the problem as to its termination solved? We answer, No! though this journey has greatly strengthened the opinion of those who assign it a southward course to the Bight of Benin. Mr. Clapperton has traced it to Funda, in the latitude of $8^{\circ} 20'$, within 220 miles of the coast. Here it is only 70 miles from a river, falling into the Gulf of Guinea, and marked in our older maps as the river Benin. The two point so exactly in the same direction, that if either were prolonged, it would meet the other. Is not the probability great, then, that they are the same river? It is true, as the editor of the *Travels* observes, that the intervening space of seventy miles is occupied by mountains; but if we may trust the map, the river Benin has been traced from the sea almost across the chain; and according to Clapperton's observations with the barometer, the bed of the Quorra or Niger at Comie, where he crossed it, was nearly 1,200 feet above the sea, or 300 feet higher than the road by which he crossed the mountains. It did not, therefore, need a valley quite so low as that by which he travelled, to find its way to the Bight of Benin. We know, too, that the waters in the interior of a country generally, or rather universally, seek their way to the ocean through the *lowest part* of the barrier that confines them. We think, then, it will puzzle the editor to discover why as low a valley across the chain should not be found in the longitude of 7° deg. as in that of 4° deg.; and why, since a valley existed, opening to the coast 200 or 300 feet lower than the river's bed in the interior, the diluvial currents of early times which cleared out the present river courses, did not choose this valley rather than proceed eastward to the Lake Tchad, or the Nile. Every thing, in short, is in favour of the course to the sea, except the vague accounts delivered down by the ancient geographers; for Strabo, Pliny, Mela, Ptolemy, and, we believe, Edrisi and Leo, all describe the Gir and the Niger as either losing themselves in the interior, or pursuing their course to the Nile.

Supposing the Quorra to be the Niger, and to join the sea at Benin, it is amusing to observe how it has shrunk in its dimensions, when we consider it in reference to the notions which the ancients entertained. Its whole course, as now known, is about 1,800 miles in length, and the distance between its spring and its estuary is but 1,000 miles. Now, the old Mauritanian king, Juba, who was quoted

as an authority by the Roman writers, held that it rose in the northern parts of Morocco, within 300 miles of the Straits of Gibraltar; that it formed a lake named Nilis; that, after leaving this lake, it sank under ground, then re-appeared, then sank a second time, and crossed the desert by a subterranean course of twenty days' journey. On emerging, it first divided Africa from Ethiopia, then flowed through a part of the latter country abounding in forests and wild beasts, and finally became the Astapus, or western branch of the Nile. Thus, according to Juba, it flowed round nearly all that was then known of the African continent, and had a course of 5,000 miles in length. The later writers abridged its length considerably; Ptolemy especially, whose notices respecting the Gir and the Niger have served as the foundation of modern maps down to the present day. It should be mentioned, to Juba's credit, that his wild hypothesis was deduced, with some sagacity, from facts in natural history. The Mauritanian river, which he regarded as the source of the Nile, had a periodical rise at the same time with the latter; like it, had cataracts, bred the same species of fish, and, in particular, nourished the crocodile, which was then believed to be peculiar to the river of Egypt.

The political state of the districts through which Captain Clapperton passed is extremely similar to that of the countries he visited on his former journey. From the sea-coast to the great desert, the territory is divided into negro kingdoms from 100 to 200 miles in diameter, which are ruled by despots, who keep large seraglios, and make *slaving* expeditions into each other's territories. The people are good-humoured, kind, and honest, fond of music and dancing, and, in fact, great children. When a king or chief got a present of a sword or a shawl from Clapperton, he would leap, run, and caper, like an overjoyed schoolboy. Their honesty is attested by the security with which our unprotected traveller was able to carry with him, over a space of one thousand miles, so many articles which must have appeared desirable to them. The country is well cultivated, but the greater part of the labour is performed by the women. Doura or guinea corn, millet, yams, maize, indigo, *potatoes*, and in some places rice, are produced in considerable quantities. The arts in which they are most expert are, dyeing, weaving, and the manufacture of pottery. The loom and shuttle are like ours, but the warp is only about four inches broad. Their houses are round huts, built of sun-dried bricks, and roofed with thatch; and the mansion of a great man consists merely of six or eight such huts, joined by walls, so as to inclose an area. Large cities, containing from 5,000 to 50,000 inhabitants, are numerous, and are always surrounded with brick walls about twenty feet high. In one case, Clapperton found a city protected by natural ramparts of a peculiar kind, formed by a creeping, briar-like evergreen, which first climbs the trees, and then descends to the ground like curtains, and constitutes a thick

and matted fence, impenetrable to every thing but a snake. The warlike arms used are bows and arrows, swords, spears, and shields, and a very few muskets, Sultan Belk having only forty muskets in his army of 50,000 men. The religion of the people is partly Paganism and partly a loose Mohammedanism, and, as might be expected, the professors of the latter are the most intolerant. They are addicted to gaming, and both men and women intoxicate themselves with palm wine, and another fermented drink, called bouza. The slaves are more numerous than the free population, but we do not credit the statement of an inhabitant of Kano, that the proportion is as thirty to one! These Africans had the greater merit in treating our traveller kindly, as they believe that the white men eat human flesh. The hours of labour are short, and methods are used to give toil the character of a frolic, as Cobbett expresses it. At one place, Clapperton found bands of male and female slaves, who were carrying water to masons, singing in chorus, and attended by persons playing on flutes and drums.

Our traveller visited the place where Mungo Park lost his life in a fray with the natives, of which he got many circumstantial accounts, agreeing generally in the details. It was at Boussa, on the Niger, under the tenth parallel. It is melancholy to think that this adventurous traveller, after performing a perilous journey of two thousand miles, perished when his object was so nearly attained, for, at Boussa, he was only three hundred miles from the sea-coast in the Gulf of Guinea. Captain Clapperton made eager inquiry after his papers, but could not recover them. Horneman, another intelligent traveller, who had performed a still longer journey, from Egypt, perished near the same spot.

In 'The Quarterly Review,' just published, we find that the writer of the article on this work (Mr. Barrow, we presume) still thinks that the Quorra, instead of flowing southward to the Bight of Benin, turns east and joins the Shary, which falls into the Lake Tchad; and he reinforces this conclusion by the high authority of Major Rennell. His arguments, which rest entirely on the testimony of Africans, have produced no change in our opinion. But controversy will soon be at an end, for a short run of 250 miles along the river Benin to Funda will settle the question; and our new settlement at Fernando Po will afford great facilities for performing such a journey.

In the foregoing sketch, we have availed ourselves of the aid of a very intelligent writer in 'The Scotsman,' whose judicious observations are well deserving of a more permanent channel of circulation than the columns of a provincial newspaper. We conclude with the traveller's curious account of a dramatic entertainment which he witnessed while on a visit to the King of Youriba:

'It is the custom, during the time that the caboceers from the different towns remain on their visit to the king, to act plays or

pantomimes, or whatever they may be called. I shall attempt a description of the one I saw to-day. The place chosen for this pastime is the king's park, fronting the principal door where his majesty usually sits. A fetish house occupies the left side; to the south are two very romantic and large blocks of granite, by the side of which is an old withered tree. On the east are some beautiful shady trees; and on the north his majesty's house, from whence he views the scene. In the centre are two beautiful clumps of trees; in one of which is a tall fan-palm, overlooking the whole area, a space that may include some seven or eight hundred yards square. Under these clumps of trees were seated the actors, dressed in large sacks, covering every part of the body; the head most fantastically decorated with strips of rags, damask silk, and cotton, of as many glaring colours as it was possible. The king's servants attended to keep the peace, and to prevent the crowd from breaking into the square in which the actors were assembled. Musicians also attended with drums, horns, and whistles, which were beaten and blown without intermission.

The first act consisted of dancing and tumbling in sacks, which they performed to admiration, considering they could not see, and had not the free use of their feet and hands. The second act consisted in catching the boa constrictor: first, one of the sack-men came in front and knelt down on his hands and feet; then came out a tall majestic figure, having on a head-dress and masque which baffles all description: it was of a black glossy colour, sometimes like a lion couchant over the crest of a helmet; at another like a black head with a large wig: at every turn he made it change its appearance. This figure held in its right hand a sword, and by its superior dress and motions appeared to be the director of the scene, for not a word was spoken by the actors. The manager, as I shall call the tall figure, then came up to the man who was lying in the sack; another sack-dancer was brought in his sack, who by a wave of the sword was laid down at the other's head or feet; he having unsown the end of both sacks, the two crawled into one. There was now great waving of the manager's sword; indeed I thought that heads were going to be taken off, as all the actors were assembled round the party lying down; but in a few minutes they all cleared away except the manager, who gave two or three flourishes with his sword, when the representation of the boa constrictor began. The animal put its head out of the bag in which it was contained, attempting to bite the manager; but at a wave of the sword it threw its head in another direction to avert the blow; it then began gradually to creep out of the bag, and went through the motions of a snake in a very natural manner, though it appeared to be rather full in the belly; opening and shutting its mouth, which I suspect was the performer's two hands, in the most natural manner imaginable. The length of the creature was spun out to about fourteen feet; and the colour and action were well repre-

sented by a covering of painted cloth, imitating that of the boa. After following the manager round the park for some time, and attempting to bite him, which he averted by a wave of the sword, a sign was made for the body of actors to come up; when the manager approaching the tail, made flourishes with his sword as if hacking at that part of the body. The snake gasped, twisted up, and seemed as if in great torture; and when nearly dead, it was shouldered by the masked actors, still gasping and making attempts to bite, but was carried off in triumph to the fetish house.

'The third act consisted of the white devil. The actors having retired to some distance in the back ground, one of them was left in the centre, whose sack falling gradually down, exposed a white head, at which all the crowd gave a shout, that rent the air; they appeared, indeed, to enjoy the sight, as the perfection of the actor's art. The whole body was at last cleared of the incumbrance of the sack, when it exhibited the appearance of a human figure cast in white wax, of the middle size, miserably thin, and starved with cold. It frequently went through the motion of taking snuff, and rubbing its hands; when it walked, it was with the most awkward gait, treading as the most tender-footed white man would do in walking bare-footed, for the first time, over new frozen ground. The spectators often appealed to us, as to the excellence of the performance, and entreated that I would look and be attentive to what was going on. I pretended to be fully as much pleased with this caricature of a white man as they could be, and certainly the actor barlesqued the part to admiration. This being concluded, the performers all retired to the fetish house. Between each act, we had choral songs by the king's women, in which the assembled crowd joined their voices.'—pp. 53-56.

CAUSES OF CRIME IN INDIA, AND SUGGESTIONS FOR THEIR PREVENTION.

MANY of the greatest crimes in India may be traced to the following causes, viz. gaming, drinking; and a regular system of highway robbery, patronised and protected by the Zemindars. Bloodshed is also sometimes occasioned by accidental quarrels, arising from disputes about landed property; but, as the regulations of Government become better understood, and the rights of individuals are more clearly ascertained, the crimes arising from the latter cause will gradually cease.

Gaming and drinking are vices which chiefly prevail in large and populous towns, to which those who are too idle and too lazy to earn a livelihood by honest industry, resort from the country round, in hopes of gaining a subsistence by easier means. Gaming is their first resource, and this vice leads to drinking spirits, to the use of

intoxicating drugs, to debauchery of other kinds, particularly with women, and ultimately to theft, robbery, and murder.

There is another description of offenders who are born and brought up in large towns, and who at an early age become addicted to drinking and the use of intoxicating drugs, attach themselves to prostitutes, and are led into expenses beyond their means. To enable them to support this extravagant course of debauchery, they take to theft and robbery, and frequently associate in parties or gangs, of ten, twelve, or fifteen, and carry on their depredations in concert. These parties or gangs of robbers usually contrive to obtain the secret protection of some individual belonging to the police, who, in return for being admitted to share largely in their plunder, assists in preventing their apprehension, and in screening them from detection and punishment.

To prevent the perpetration of offences in large and populous towns and their vicinity, it appears to be necessary, first, to prohibit gaming of every description most strictly; secondly, to prohibit the sale of spirits and intoxicating drugs of all kinds, under severe and heavy penalties. These prohibitions, with a strict and vigilant superintendence of the police, it is hoped, would soon put a stop, in a great degree, to offences which originate in gaming, drinking, and debauchery.

If the Daroghas and other Natives employed in the police department, were to be selected from the Native officers and sepoys transferred to the invalid establishment from the military branch of the service, it is probable that the duties of that department would be faithfully conducted, and with more vigilance and effect than at present. These men, bred up in habits of subordination and obedience, would execute such orders as they received from the magistrate with more promptitude, exactness, and energy, than any other description of people that could be employed. They have a character, as old soldiers of approved fidelity, to maintain with a high degree of professional pride; and if any description of Natives are to be trusted, (as we think they ought to be,) these men surely have good claims upon our confidence. The situation to them would be comfortable, as they would enjoy the half-pay of their rank in addition to the police pay. The adoption of this measure would strengthen and confirm the attachment and fidelity of the military class of Native subjects to Government, by opening a new source of advantage and benefit to those who were no longer capable of performing the active duties of their profession, as well as release Government of a part of the heavy burthen arising from the invalid establishment.

The other class of people who disturb the peace of the country, under the countenance and protection of the Zemindars, took their rise at an early period in the history of Hindoostan; for we find in the regulations of the Mogul Government, framed by the great Akbar, that the Zemindars were held strictly responsible for all

thefts and robberies committed within their zemindaries. Since the fall of the Mogul empire, almost every chief and every Zemindar of any consequence, has, according to his means and opportunity, maintained in his service parties of armed men for the purpose of robbing and plundering on the highways, and shared with them in the spoils agreeably to fixed regulations. The Mahratta chiefs had, till a recent period, their Pindaries, their Grassuas, and their Bills; and the late Hyder Ally and Tippoo Sultan had their Looties to let loose on the neighbouring countries to rob and plunder them; while the Zemindars of the Dooab had their Mohwatties and other descriptions of thieves in their service, for robbing and plundering on the roads; nor has this system of brigandage entirely ceased, although they are now obliged to practise it with more caution and circumspection than formerly.

To eradicate the offences arising from this cause, it would be necessary, in the first instance, to reduce the power of some half independent Zemindars in the Dooab, to a level with the other Zemindars and inhabitants of the country, and render them subservient to the laws and regulations of Government, in like manner as all other subjects; for, until this is done, thieves and robbers will always find shelter in their forts, till they have an opportunity of effecting their escape beyond the frontier, and, when the business blows over and is forgotten, will return to commit again fresh depredations.

The principal places which at present afford shelter to thieves and robbers, are Hattras, Moorsan, Ayah, and Sudhanna. When these and some other places in the Dooab are properly subjected to the authority of the magistrate, a regulation rendering responsible the Zemindars for the full value of all property robbed or stolen within their zemindaries, conformably to the Mogul institutions, if strictly enforced, would most effectually put a stop to all offences of this nature.

To those imperfectly acquainted with the manners and customs of the people this regulation may appear hard; but such, in reality, is not the case. Those who rob on the highways are generally well known, and have accomplices in almost every village in the quarter where they are in the habit of committing their depredations, with whom they deposit the spoil in case of a pursuit; in which event the Zemindar usually takes the lion's share. It being his interest, then, to countenance robbery, as long as there is no responsibility attached to him, he will, of course, continue it; but make him responsible and you change his situation entirely, as it then becomes his interest to prevent robbery and detect the robbers; and, as no stranger can enter any village belonging to his zemindary without his knowledge, the apprehension of suspected persons, who could not give a distinct and satisfactory account of themselves, would at once put a stop to robberies of every description.

STATE OF SLAVERY IN THE MAURITIUS.

IN the last Number of 'The Oriental Herald,' we offered some remarks on the conduct of the Jamaica Planters, in contumaciously refusing to adopt, in their Slave Code, the ameliorations recommended by his Majesty's Government and by the voice of the British nation.* We turn now to the eastward to survey the state of Slavery in the Mauritius,—that beautiful island of the Indian Ocean, with the name of which we were wont, in our younger years, to associate so many pleasing and romantic ideas, from its being the scene of St. Pierre's pathetic tale of 'Paul and Virginia;—but which, now that the illusions of fiction are withdrawn, seems destined to be in future chiefly remembered from its having been the foul and abhorred scene of a long series of almost incredible cruelties, and of cold-blooded, grinding oppressions, inflicted by the white inhabitants upon multitudes of innocent Africans, torn from their native country by every mode of treachery and violence, and literally *worked to death* under the lash, to glut the sordid avarice of their inhuman taskmasters. If this be strong language, it is but too well warranted by the facts of the case, which we now proceed to submit to our readers: And first, a few words as to the state of the law.

The slave laws of the Mauritius have recently been rendered accessible by being called for in the House of Commons, and ordered to be printed in July, 1828. They are contained in the Parliamentary document, No. 526, of last session; and it appears that until last year the whole slave code of this colony was comprised in an edict of the King of France, issued in 1723, and revived and modified by a decree of the local government of September, 1767. Of this code it is sufficient here to remark that, like similar slave

* Since we printed the article referred to, we have learned that the Jamaica Legislature, which met for its annual deliberations in the month of November last, was called upon to re-consider the new consolidated slave law, with a view to modify those objectionable enactments for which it received his Majesty's disallowance. It was, however, re-passed without a single alteration; and when sent back from the Council, with amendments embracing the modifications urged by Government, was still, in defiance of the wishes of Ministers, pertinaciously re-enacted in the identical words in which it was originally passed. Eventually the Council yielded to the obstinacy of the House of Assembly; but the Governor, from a sense of what was due, not only to the claims of justice and humanity, but to the authority under which he acted, rejected the bill. The case of *contumacy*, therefore, for which the Parliament, according to Mr. Canning's proposal, was to wait, before it should resort to the last remedy,—that of exercising its paramount jurisdiction over the Colonial Legislatures,—is surely at length sufficiently demonstrated by the incurable obstinacy and presumption of the slave-holders.

laws of most other European colonies, it was, as a whole, extremely severe and oppressive; and while it armed the master with absolute power over the slave, afforded to the slave no effectual protection, scarcely even the shadow of protection, against its abuse.* Such was the character of the Mauritius slave law at the time when the island came into the possession of England. From that time to the end of 1826, a period of sixteen years, with a single exception, no modification of it took place. This single exception consisted in an ordinance issued by Sir Lowry Cole, on the 13th of December, 1826, to regulate the weight of the chains which masters are authorised by the existing laws to fasten upon their slaves at their own discretion. But we shall find an opportunity hereafter to revert more particularly to what has been effected, or *professed* to have been effected, by the several English Governors of the Mauritius towards the amelioration of the old French code. Our present object is to examine the *practical operation* of the slave system in this colony,—where, in point of fact, all laws, divine or human, which had any tendency to restrain the despotic power or criminal passions of the slave-owners, or to interpose the shield of justice or the voice of mercy in defence of their wretched bondmen, have been audaciously set at nought.

Most of our readers who have attended to the debates in Parliament on the subject of our slave colonies, will recollect that the state of slavery at the Mauritius has been, during the last two or three years, repeatedly alluded to in terms of severe reprobation, especially by Mr. Fowell Buxton, the eloquent and intrepid successor of Mr. Wilberforce in the House of Commons as the champion of the abolition cause. The unfortunate condition, however, of the slaves in this colony has been hitherto considered by the public in general, as a point of secondary importance to that of the effectual suppression of the illicit slave traffic, which, during the whole course of Sir Robert Farquhar's administration, is now known to have existed to an enormous and most destructive extent, and which, in spite of the more energetic exertions of his successors, has not yet, it is suspected, been utterly put down. But it now appears that the Anti-Slavery Society, at the same time that they were exposing to merited opprobrium the shameful and felonious infractions of the Abolition Act, were also collecting a mass of most important evidence illustrative of the deplorable condition of the slaves in this remote, and (so far as humanity is concerned) most scandalously neglected colony. This mass of information, obtained, as we are informed, by the careful examination of not fewer than *three hundred witnesses*, independently of a large portion of official and documen-

* This code may be found fully detailed in the Parliamentary Paper above referred to, (No. 526, of 1828); a correct abstract of it is also contained in 'The Anti-Slavery Reporter,' No. 42.

tary evidence to the same effect, has been printed and circulated by the Society within the last two months, in a very condensed, but clear and perspicuous, form ; and, as we consider the subject worthy of the most serious attention of every man who has at heart the honour of our country, the character of our beneficent religion, or the cause of our common humanity, we now proceed to incorporate the greater part of this appalling statement into our pages, believing that it is not likely to meet the eye of the majority of our readers, especially in the colonies, in such a complete shape through any other channel.

‘ *Progress of Population in the Mauritius.*

‘ We shall begin with an attempt, though it must of necessity be an imperfect one, to ascertain the probable extent of the destruction of human life which has been regularly proceeding in this colony. We might here produce the testimony of numerous living witnesses ; but this, though strong and decisive, would necessarily be too vague for our purpose. At present, therefore, we shall confine ourselves to the less disputable evidence of statistical returns.

‘ By a report from Sir Robert Barclay, the collector of the internal taxes. dated November 29. 1823, it appears that the slave population of the district of Port Louis amounted, in 1822, to 7,456 males and 3,609 females ; in all, 11,125.* By a return of the interments of slaves occurring in the same district, during the years 1815 to 1820 inclusive, the number of deaths amounted to 6,565, being nearly at the rate of one death yearly in every ten or eleven persons, or about ten per cent. of deaths per annum ; the ordinary mortality of Europe being not more than an average, on all ages, of from two to three per cent. per annum.

‘ Now it has never been asserted, that there is any thing unfavourable to negro life in the *climate* of the Mauritius generally, or of the Port Louis district in particular. The contrary, indeed, may be proved by the returns of the whole free black and coloured population of the island during nearly the same period, viz. from 1816 to 1821 inclusive. The average of the population of this class for those years was 11,06† The annual average mortality during the same six years was 295, being one in 37 or 38, or about 2 2-3ds per cent.

‘ On nearly the same number of slaves, however, in the district of Port Louis, the annual rate of mortality was 1094, being little less than four times that of the free population of the colony. And, supposing the same rate of mortality to extend over the whole slave population of the island, we shall have, as the result, not less than

* Parliamentary Papers of May 30, 1825, No. 361.

† See Parliamentary Papers of March 4, 1823. No. 89, p. 127.

about 7,000 deaths annually, or about 126,000 deaths in the eighteen years we have possessed the island; a mortality nearly equal to killing off the whole of the slaves existing at any one time twice told; a number equal to which must have been supplied by means of importations, and by the consequent accumulation of the well-known atrocities from which alone such importations could be obtained.

‘A farther proof of the dreadful extent of the mortality prevailing among the slaves in this colony, may be drawn from the case of the estate of Bel Ombre, belonging to Mr. Telfair, the private Secretary of Sir Robert Farquhar, and the humane treatment of the slaves on which estate Sir Robert, who was himself a constant visitor upon it, highly extolled in the House of Commons, representing it as a pattern for good management, and one of the best regulated in the island. Now, even on this well-regulated estate, the *decrease* appears, from authentic documents, to have amounted annually to about 12 per cent. The return for 1819 gives 64 deaths and 12 births on a population of 378, being an actual decrease of 52, or $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; and the return of 1825 gives 55 deaths and 16 births on a population of 372, being an actual decrease of 39, or $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; or, on an average of the two periods, a decrease of 12 per cent.* The *mortality* in the first year was as high as 17 per cent., and in the second as high as 15 per cent., being an average of 16 per cent.

‘Now, if this was the mortality on one of the best regulated estates, what must it have been throughout the whole island? And what must have been the continued extent of importations indispensably required to maintain, as has been done in the face of this decrease, a population numerically almost undiminished? But, even if we were to deduct from this fair but frightful estimate a fourth, or a third, or even a half, enough will remain to prove the terrible effects of that system of coercion and privation, by which the slaves are in this colony worked and starved to death; and the unspeakable atrocity of those wholesale murders which this country continues to tolerate, but which no man, who has not the heart of a demon, can even think of without emotions of indignation and horror.

‘And it was in the face of many of these facts, then accumulated at the Colonial office, and in despite of the loudest protestations and remonstrances, on the part of those who believed, but were not then in a capacity absolutely to prove, the enormities since brought to light, that Government proposed, and Parliament consented, to give, by fiscal encouragement and protection, an increased impulse to the cruel and sanguinary cupidity of the planters, or rather

* Parliamentary Papers of May 1, 1827, No. 285, pp. 34—39.

pirates of the Mauritius. Is not this a national crime of the very deepest dye ?

‘The whole community have of late had their feelings violently and universally excited by a series of acts of cold, calculating, deliberate, and bloody-minded ferocity, which have been judicially brought to light at Edinburgh ; and no man, who has a single spark of humanity in his frame, can view them in all their dimensions of iniquity without a thrill of horror. But if, even to these appalling discoveries, we were to add the deeds of Corder and Thurtell, and of the murderers of Marr and Williamson, combining with them all the murders which, during the last twenty years, have called down the vengeance of British law on their perpetrators ; we doubt whether this collective mass of crime would be found greater than the regular, business-like, daily march, for a like period, of that system, which, on many estates as *well-ordered* as Bel Ombre, steadily proceeds, for ends equally sordid, in so torturing and murdering, inch by inch, the cultivators of their soil, as that one in ten shall be regularly slaughtered, every year, to glut the cupidity of their savage owners. Wherein do the unflinching and resolute administrators of such a system morally differ from the smooth-tongued and remorseless villain who, in Edinburgh, is now about to suffer the penalty of the law ? They differ only, as it appears to us, in the deeper malignity and more heartless barbarity of their conduct. And yet, under all the circumstances of the case, are not their crimes *ours* ? Are *we* not partakers in their guilt ?*

* While this sheet is passing through the press, another ‘Reporter’ issued by the Anti-Slavery Society for the present month, (February,) has reached us, containing further proofs of the enormous destruction of human life in this colony, and of the continuance, to a very recent date, of large importations of new slaves. These additional proofs are derived from an examination of the official returns, printed by order of Parliament, of the population of the island during the six years elapsing from the 1st of January, 1821, to the close of 1826. The following are the results as given in the summary issued by the Society : •

‘The free black, and coloured population of the Mauritius is stated as follows : 1st of January, 1821, 6,121 males, 6,939 females, in all, 13,060 ; 1st of January, 1826, 7,155 males, 7,970 females, in all, 15,125 ; showing an increase of 2,065 ; from which, if 444, the number of manumissions in that time, be deducted, it leaves an increase of 1,621 by natural means, being at the rate of upwards of two per cent. per annum. The births, however, in those years are given as 3,450, the deaths as only 1,460, leaving an excess of births over deaths of 1,990, which, if correct, would exhibit a still higher rate of increase, amounting to two two-thirds per cent. per annum. •

‘There is also an enumeration of the slave population, for the six years in question, which betrays some very strange facts. The total amounts of the successive years, beginning with 1821, are, as follows : 66,162 ; 63,099 ; 63,076 ; 65,037 ; 63,432 ; 62,588. If any dependence could be placed on these returns, and if we could assume that there had

But it is time to come to particulars. We have dwelt hitherto in generals. Our first illustration shall be taken from the estate already mentioned—Bel Ombre. We have now before us, some lengthened details respecting Mauritius slavery in general, and this plantation in particular, of which we shall merely give the outline. The period to which they refer is the years 1821 and 1822.

General Treatment of Slaves in the Mauritius.

‘Over night his food was usually delivered out to each slave for the following day. It commonly consisted of three pieces of baked manioc (cassada) of the size and appearance of muffins, and which, in the Mauritius, go by the name of “Manioc Cakes.” This food

been no importations, the irregularities would still be very extraordinary. On this point light may be thrown hereafter. In the details of the above enumeration, however, we have, as it appears to us, clear and irrefragable presumptions of a frightful waste of human life, and of the continuance of large importations. In 1821 the males amounted to 58,634, the females only to 7,528; in 1822 the males were 55,878, the females 7,221; in 1823 the males were 57,134, the females 7,903; in 1825 the males were 50,788, the females 12,644; in 1826 the males were 53,682, the females 8,906.

‘Now, in 1815, by actual registry, the numbers were 56,684 males, and 30,668 females, being a little less than two males to one female; but in 1821 the proportion was eight males to one female, varying little in the following years from this proportion, except in 1825, when, all at once, we have an increase of 5,249 females, which number is as suddenly decreased in 1826 by 3,738. In no possible way, we apprehend, can these singular and anomalous appearances be accounted for, but on the hypothesis of an immense mortality and an immense importation. If the 30,668 females of 1815 were really reduced to 7,528 in 1821, the mortality, independent of births, and even supposing no women to have been imported, must have amounted to 23,140 females in those six years; and supposing a proportionate number of deaths to have taken place among the 56,684 males, it would have amounted to about 42,000, making a total mortality of upwards of 65,000 human beings in six years. We admit there may be some fallacy in these returns, which we had not seen when the last Report was published. Still it is for those who have furnished such appalling data to give us the key to them, and to tell us how the sudden increase of women in 1825, and the other phenomena, are to be explained. We look with much anxiety to the steps which Government shall take respecting the Mauritius. We may regard it as certain that under the anomalies we have pointed out, a mass of horrors, of which this country has, as yet, no conception, will be found hidden. And yet it was to this colony, this Mauritius, this human slaughter-house, that in that very year of 1825, the Government and Parliament of England persisted, in spite of every remonstrance, by relieving the sugar of the Mauritius from the protecting duty which they continued to levy on the free-grown sugar of India, to give a new stimulus to the growth of sugar in that colony, and to that multiplication of murders in which it could not fail to issue. The case must be searched into. It is a case of blood.

is described not only as unpalatable, and also unsatisfying in its nature, but as extremely insufficient in quantity, more especially when the continuity and intensity of the labour exacted from the slaves is considered ; the day's allowance being often barely enough for a single good meal. It was prepared beforehand in order to save the time which it would require to prepare it if it were given to the slaves in its raw state, and because it became less necessary to allow them a cessation of labour in order to their eating it. It might be eaten while they continued at work. This wretched and scanty aliment was eked out by drinking large quantities of water, which distended their stomachs, and by eagerly devouring, at the risk of punishment, every species of disgusting offal and carrion which came in their way ; and it was considered as the fruitful source, combined with their hard labour, of those dysenteries which were constantly sweeping so many of them into a premature grave.

‘ The daily labour exacted from them extended to from sixteen to nineteen hours in the day, even out of crop. No time was allowed them for breakfast,* the eating of a manioc cake requiring no respite from work. For dinner the slaves had nominally two hours allowed them ; but, in this time, they had to cut a bundle of grass or wood for the master, which, on leaving off work at night, they had to deliver at his house. This wood or grass was frequently difficult to be obtained ; and a large proportion of the two hours was, therefore, often spent in obtaining it, so that the period of repose was liable to be abridged by half an hour, or even an hour or more.

‘ On most estates, the slaves were summoned to their work in the morning, by the cracking of the drivers' whips ; but, on some of the larger estates, they were previously roused by a great bell. On Bel Ombre estate, the bell was generally rung at three in the morning, sometimes earlier, but seldom later ; and they continued to work, without any interval for breakfast, and with only the interval already described for dinner, until so late in the evening as eight o'clock, and, on light nights, even an hour or two later.

‘ While the slaves were at work, they were followed by drivers, and were continually receiving blows and lashes, and were even occasionally taken out from the line and punished with twenty or thirty lashes, and then sent back to work. But these occasional inflictions were scarcely regarded in the light of punishment, but merely of discipline. The regular punishments were reserved, on Bel Ombre, (a practice, however, differing from that of many other estates,) for Sunday, a day which, there, never failed to be ushered in with severe floggings. The offenders of the week were reserved in chains (in which they were made to work) for that day ; and they

* On some estates, the practice differed on this point.

were often numerous, generally about thirty, and amounting, on one occasion, to about fifty.

‘ There was no difference in the way of punishing male and female slaves ; but there were two different modes resorted to of punishing both. One was by erecting a frame-work of three poles in a triangular form, with a bar across, and fastening the hands of the sufferer by a rope to the place where the three poles were united, his or her body resting against the cross-bar. The other was by placing the sufferer prone on the face on the ground, or on a ladder, his or her hands, if on the ground, being held extended by four other slaves, or firmly fastened to the ladder, as the case might be. Being thus placed, and the body being bared, the sufferer was flogged on the posteriors, either by one driver, or, in cases deemed more heinous, by two, one stationed on each side ; and, if the driver failed in inflicting the punishment to the satisfaction of the master, he was liable himself to be made to change places with the offender. The instrument with which the punishment of flogging was inflicted, consisted either of a whip or of the split rattan ; and opinions greatly differ as to which of these was the most cruel. The whip varied in size. Its handle was of wood, from two to three feet in length, and from an inch and a half to two inches in diameter ; and the thong was from six to eight feet in length, and, at the thickest part, from one-and-a-half to two-and-a-half inches in diameter, tapering towards the lash or cutting part. The rattan was a cane of about five feet long, split into two or three parts from one extremity to within a foot or eighteen inches of the other ; the unsplit part serving as a handle, and the rest forming a tremendously powerful cat of two or three tails. Either instrument would make incisions into the flesh, and lacerate it at every blow ; and the sharp edge of the split rattan would sometimes divide the flesh like a knife. Military floggings, numbers of soldiers testified, were *nothing* to these.

‘ There appeared, in practice, to be no limit to the number of lashes inflicted on offenders but the discretion of the master or manager. Seldom less than fifty, and often a hundred or many more lashes, were given in the way of regular punishment ; and, by this extent of infliction, the parts, generally the posteriors, were always reduced to one bloody mass of lacerated flesh ; and to this was often added the further excruciating torture of the application of lime juice, or salt and pepper, on the pretence of keeping the wounds from festering. The punishment of a collar and a chain was often superadded, and also of confinement in the stocks for an indefinite period, during the intervals of labour, as well as during the night. The collar was rigged on, and, with the chain, often worn for months. The use of the collar and chain was so common that it ceased to excite observation, except when the collar was adorned, as it often was, with three or four projecting prongs, the object of which was to render it difficult for the bearer to make his way, in case of absconding,

either through the cane pieces, or through the bushes or woods which cover the uncultivated parts of the island. A further effect of these prongs was to render it impossible for the wearer to extend himself at full length on the ground, for the purpose of repose. The slaves so chained were, for the most part, confined in the stocks at night. Sometimes a heavy weight was attached to the chain, and sometimes they were chained two and three together.

• ‘All these various punishments might be inflicted, at the sole will of the master or manager, on men, women, and children alike, for any offence he might choose to deem deserving of it. But the most usual occasions of the heavier punishments were either the thefts, to which the slaves were driven by hunger, or the flight into the woods, to which they were driven by the excess of labour, or the dread of anticipated punishment.

‘As to clothing, the field slaves in general had very little,* the men none beyond a band round the waist, and the women very little more, except what they sometimes obtained by prostitution; the drivers and headmen alone formed an exception. They had no bedding, not even a mat given them, much less a rug or a blanket, to repose upon at night. They commonly lay down to sleep on the bare and often wet ground. Their huts were usually of the meanest and most miserable description, pervious to the weather, and so small as scarcely to afford space for the seven or eight human beings who were frequently crowded into each, to extend themselves at full length on the floor.

‘In the time of crop the slaves retired from the field somewhat earlier than at other times, in order to take their turn of labour during the night in the manufacture of sugar. If they fell asleep during their spell of night labour, they were liable to be severely flogged; but sometimes, so irresistible was their drowsiness, that their hands were apt to be drawn into the mill along with the canes, and completely crushed and mangled.†

‘Marriage was unknown among the slaves; but the most open prostitution prevailed universally among the females. Ladies, so called, often hired out their negroes to the soldiers, by the month, for this purpose.

‘The slaves were generally excluded from all moral or religious instruction; and to teach plantation slaves to read was almost unexampled. Indeed, this might be said of the whole slave population.

* The most we hear of was two yards of very coarse calico in the year.

† It is a curious confirmation of this statement, that in the list of the slaves at Bel Ombre for the year 1819, printed by the House of Commons, on the 1st of May, 1827, No. 285, we find three of the slaves described as ‘*estropies des deux mains*,’ ‘mutilated in both hands.’

'The above account would apply, with slight occasional variations, to the estates in general throughout the island, as well as to Bel Ombre. On some the slaves might be better off in one or more particulars, and on some they might be worse off. But the sketch now given may be considered as a fair representation of what was the ordinary, every-day treatment of the slaves on those estates which Sir R. Farquhar might designate as well regulated. This treatment, however, was wholly independent of those more exemplary inflictions of punishment which occurred from time to time, and which, though not productive of so great an aggregate of misery as flowed from the calm, steady, regular course of plantation discipline, yet concentrated into a brief and narrow space a greater portion of the most revolting horrors of the system.'

Cases of Cruelty.

Of cases of individual cruelty and atrocity, the Society have given a considerable number, which, however, they state to be a selection merely from the mass of materials in their possession. Most of them are stated upon the authority of persons who witnessed the facts they relate. The majority of these witnesses are said to be persons of humble station, private soldiers and their wives, who had been stationed among the plantations in the interior of the island; but others, as we have heard, are civil and military officers, some of them of distinguished rank, and all of them of undoubted intelligence and unquestionable honour. Of the cases thus detailed, and of those also which are derived from the official records of the Colonial Courts of Justice, we shall omit several, partly for want of room to comprise the whole in a single Number of 'The Oriental Herald,' but chiefly on account of some of them (even of those abstracted from official documents) containing details too horrible and revolting for a miscellaneous publication such as ours: in several of those that follow, we have likewise omitted some of the most shocking particulars, though our readers, we doubt not, will still find them sufficiently appalling.

'We again take Bel Ombre as our first and one of our most striking illustrations. An eye-witness, who resided on that estate for six months in 1821, saw two young women punished for the crime of running away. They were both advanced in their pregnancy, and were both ordered to receive the same punishment, although one of them had been a fugitive only for one month, and the other had been two years in the woods. The former entreated that her punishment might be delayed, at least till she was delivered, that her child might not suffer as well as herself. The overseer said, that, as she was so knowing as to make such a request, she should be made to suffer the more on that account. The punishment of this unhappy girl then began, and our informant was resolved to see the end of it; but after 160 lashes had been inflicted, the

shrieks of the sufferer became so piercing that it was impossible any longer to endure the spectacle. On returning, however, some time after to the spot, our informant learnt that both this and the other girl had gone through the whole of the punishment assigned them. They had afterwards collars with projecting spikes fastened round their necks, these collars being attached to each other by an iron chain.

• ‘Another individual who resided at Bel Ombre for some time, during the years 1820 and 1821, confirms most of the general statements made above, and particularly the fact that the regular punishments were usually administered at Bel Ombre on Sundays. This informant often counted the lashes, and never knew any of the offenders to receive less than one hundred, excepting two youths, who received about seventy each. It was common to rub salt and pepper into the wounds, which it was alleged would prevent them from festering, and enable the sufferers the sooner both to return to labour, and to bear a repetition of punishment, if it should be thought right to inflict it. The pain of this application is described as excruciating.

• The same person states that, in the month of July, 1820, being on a plantation, he saw two slaves brought out to be punished. They were placed flat on their bellies, extended on a wooden beam, to which they were fastened, while two men held their hands and two their legs, and a driver, who struck alternately, was placed on each side of the sufferer. The whips employed were unusually heavy, and 120 lashes were inflicted on each. On the following Wednesday, having occasion to go to the room used as an hospital, he saw laid out the dead bodies of the same two slaves. The wounds were putrid, and sent forth a rank smell; and he afterwards saw them both carried out, tied up in mats, to the burial-ground.

• Our informants in the above cases of cruelty have expressed their readiness to appear as witnesses of their truth, either in a court of justice, or before a magistrate, or before a Committee of the House of Commons, whenever they shall be called upon to do so.

• But it will perhaps be said, that such atrocities as these could never have been permitted, but must have met with condign punishment, had they been made known to the local authorities at the time. The statements we are now about to submit to our readers will probably convince them that such a course would have led to no beneficial results as respected the slaves, seeing how often it issued in impunity to the guilty, in inconvenience to those who attempted to bring them to punishment, and in aggravated misery to the sufferer. The instances are drawn from the official records of the colony.

The Case of the Negro Girl Virginie.

'The *procès verbal* in this case, signed by V. Delafaye, officer of police, states that this girl, the property of one Ollier, otherwise called Laillette, a Creole, of the age of fourteen years, was found creeping on all-fours in the streets of the town of Port Louis, by the police patrol, and brought to the police-office, on Thursday, the 11th of October, 1821. She had fetters on both her feet, and was dragging after her a chain and a weight of about fifty pounds; the whole of the irons she bore weighing about seventy pounds French, or seventy-six pounds English. These chains had been put upon her on the preceding Saturday, by her master, because she had deserted his house on account of ill-treatment; and she exhibited her body to the police, which was found martyred (*"martyrisée"*) with the blows of a rattan. When taken up in the streets, she was again attempting to escape from the house of her master, to implore assistance from any who might afford it.

'M. Lavergne, a surgeon, the officer of health, having been called on by the police, certified that he had examined this girl's body, and on either side of the posteriors he observed two wounds in particular, which seemed to have been inflicted with some blunt instrument, and in a great degree to have been the cause of the fever which was then upon her. Besides this, he testified that she had massive iron rings on both her ankles, and moreover dragged after her a heavy chain, which of itself was fifty pounds, (fifty-four pounds English,) and was attached to the rings. The irons were removed, and the girl sent to the hospital.

'The next step in the process was a reference of the case, on the following day, to the Attorney-General, M. Virieux, who forthwith submitted it to the Court of First Instance, which on the very same day pronounced judgment upon it. 'The judgment of one of the judges, M. Portalis, is in the following words:

"Having seen the *procès verbal* in police, and the report of Lavergne, and having considered that the said Ollier, or Laillette, in inflicting the punishment of flogging on his slave girl Virginie, *has only done that allowed by law*, and having considered likewise that the weight of chain is not excessive,* since it has not hindered the slave girl escaping again from her master's house, we order that the said girl Virginie shall be returned to her master with the chains she bore."

'This is followed by the further judgment of the president of the Court, J. L. Lefebvre, dated the same day, the 12th of October, 1821, as follows:

"Having examined the case, and considered that, although

* About five times the weight of the heaviest chains with which felons are double-ironed in England.

Ollier, or Laillette, the proprietor of the girl Virginie, has only inflicted the punishments which belong to the authority of masters, in flogging and chaining the said Virginie, who had been guilty of running away, yet, according to the police report, it is implied there had been excess:—we order that the said Virginie, placed in the hospital at her master's expense, shall be given back to him, along with the chains to which she had been attached; and that he be charged to treat her as a father, (*en père de famille*.)"

'The sentence, justifying the conduct of her master, and impugning that of the police, was forthwith reported, with all the previous proceedings, to Sir R. Farquhar, then the Governor.'

'The Case of the Negro Man Azor.'

'The *procès verbal* in this case, signed by D. Virieux, first assistant of police, states, that Azor, belonging to Madame Michel, had, on a Sunday, without leave from his mistress, gone to see a fête called Yamée (annually observed by such slaves as were natives of India); that on Monday morning he had returned to his mistress, who put him in chains; but that at four o'clock he had escaped, and came to the police-office, to complain of having been chained unjustly, and to request that he might be relieved from them. The chains (which, it appeared, weighed thirty and a quarter pounds English) were taken off by order of the chief commissary of police.

'Azor's case having been submitted to the Court of First Instance, by the Attorney-General, Virieux, on the 9th of October, 1821, the judgment of that Court was given; and first that of M. Portalis: "Having considered," he says, "*the procès verbal, &c.*, and the weight of chains, including the collar and fetter, put upon Azor, twenty-eight pounds,* (French,) and having also considered that Azor has not been corrected by his mistress, and that he has no complaint to make of her, but that, in punishing him for having absented himself from his work, she had limited that punishment to putting upon him chains, of which the weight was not excessive, that punishment being authorised by the law;—and since no one has a right to use the liberty of taking off from a negro the chains which his master may put upon him, without the order of the proper authority, I require that Azor be forthwith sent back to his mistress, with the chains which have been taken off him; and that the police be forbidden to allow itself to relieve a black from his chains, until the same be ordered by the competent authority."

'The president of the Court, Lefebvre, concurred in the sentence

* The largest weight allowed by Sir Lowry Cole's new law, (passed Dec. 13, 1826,) was six pounds; and ten pounds is the *usual* weight of double irons in England for felons, the very highest being fourteen pounds.

of his associate, adding, that "the punishment of the domestic chain belongs to masters, agreeably to the colonial laws and regulations; and no one has a right to interfere in this domestic discipline, so long as there is no excess, which there is not in this case; and that it concerns the public order that masters should not be hindered in the exercise of this right of discipline. We order," he adds, "that Azor be replaced in the chains to which he had been subjected by his mistress, and sent back to her domicile and discipline, she being enjoined to treat him with parental care,* (*en bon père de famille.*)"

‘ *The Case of the Negro Man Pedro.*

This man, a slave, belonging to a Mr. Christin, a planter of the district of Moka, presented himself on the 7th of January, 1818, to General Hall, at his residence of Reduit. He had been suspected by his master of having given information of some new slaves that had been smuggled into his plantation, and he now related various particulars of cruel treatment which he had been made to undergo. Happening accidentally to tread on a young duckling, and crush it to death, he had been tied up and punished with 100 lashes. His master had also suspended him for a time with a rope by the neck, letting him down before he was quite dead, though nearly strangled. His food was insufficient and of bad quality, being a pound and a half of sweet potatoes a day, an allowance totally inadequate to the sustentation of one who had to work hard like him, and who had no respite from labour on Sundays or other days. Pedro's statement was corroborated by his personal appearance. He seemed hardly to have strength to tell his tale; round his neck the mark of a cord was visible; and his body, from his shoulders to his legs, was all over wounds and sores.

A surgeon, M. Bertin, who was made to examine Pedro on the same day on which he presented himself, bore the following testimony to his state at that time. He found Pedro lying at length on the floor, complaining of a great pain in the lower extremities of his belly, without, however, having in that part any external marks of violence; but M. Bertin found two remarkable sores, which he describes, on the buttocks, and many contusions and erosions, and slighter rents of the skin on other parts of the body, from the nape of the neck downwards. And M. Lavergne, the surgeon of the police, who saw him on the 8th, stated in a legal *procès verbal*, that

* We know not whether this lady be the same Madame Michel living at the Grand River of Port Louis, of whom one of our informants testifies that he once saw, at her residence, seven negroes with their necks fastened in a kind of wooden pillory, while their feet and toes just touched the ground; and that in this perpendicular position, nearly suspended by the neck, they were kept for several nights, being at the same time made to work during the day as usual.

he recognised the marks of strong pressure round the neck, as though by a strong cord; and that there were two serious wounds of considerable depth, and of about four inches broad, on the buttocks, and two others in the middle of the thigh; adding, that it was urgent to send him to the hospital to avoid a locked jaw.

‘Both these statements, of which only the substance is here given, were extracted from the minutes of the Court, before which the case afterwards was brought, countersigned by Mr. Husson the registrar.

‘Nothing was produced to rebut this evidence, excepting the exculpatory statements of Mr. Christin himself, and his son, the purport of which was, that the pressure round the neck arose from an iron collar, and that only twenty-five lashes had been inflicted on Pedro. On being further questioned, the elder Christin was forced to admit that he had given *two* twenty-fives nearly together; but he gave no farther explanation respecting the pressure round the neck, which could only be adequately accounted for in the way Pedro had explained it.

‘The sentence pronounced in this case by M. Lefebvre, the President of the Court, on the 26th of January, 1818, was, that Mr. Christin, on paying the medical expenses of Pedro’s treatment in the hospital, should be discharged, and enjoined, in future, to use greater moderation and humanity towards him.

‘The sentence does not expressly order Pedro to be returned into his power; but, as the contrary was not ordered, such must have been the inevitable effect of it.

‘The Case of Antoine, a Male Slave.

‘This slave was the property of a widow lady, a Madame Ozugaree. Her son, named Desiré Ozugheree, a young man of about twenty years of age, was accused of having loaded a gun with shot, and placing Antoine a few yards from him, fired at him, but from his being a bad marksman did him no material harm. The case, having been referred to the Attorney-General for prosecution, was tried before the Court of First Instance on the 8th of June, 1818. The Attorney-General, M. Pepin, in a report which he officially made of the trial, in a letter of the 25th of June following, coolly remarked, “that young Ozugheree was not right in firing off a gun at this slave; for, although it did not occasion any wounds, yet the consequence might have been fatal.” He goes on to state, that he, the Attorney-General, though the gun had been loaded with shot, yet taking into his consideration the absence of all criminal intention on the part of Ozugheree, and the state of indisciplinability of the black, (a fact which appears to have stood on the bare assertion of the accused, and was not in proof,) had only required of the Court, “that Desiré Ozugheree should be strictly

charged not to carry himself again to such lengths, under pain of a greater punishment, and that Antoine should be given back to Madame Ozughrée."

"The sentence of the Court, signed by its President, Lefebvre, followed the lenient suggestions of the Attorney-General, and was in the following extraordinary terms : " Considering that Ozughrée had no criminal intention, and that he has even reproached himself that the act had no unfortunate result for Antoine, who was in a state of indiscipline ;* and rendering justice to the conclusions of the Attorney-General :—we forbid to M. Desiré Ozughrée to be guilty of a repetition of such conduct, and require him to employ means of repression to his blacks in conformity with the laws ; and we therefore order that Antoine shall be given back to his mistress, charging her to treat him properly in the manner of a father of a family."

"Thus was disposed of this wilful and wanton outrage, which, in England, under Lord Ellenborough's Act, might have cost Ozughrée his life.

'Case of Le Cotte, a Man Slave.

"This man was the slave of a person named Noel Bastel, in the district of Moka. Having absconded on account, as he alleged, of hard treatment, he was seized, and Bastel, with his own hand, inflicted upon him between 200 and 300 lashes, and then cut off his right ear, which it was further affirmed he forced him to eat and swallow. The only point in this case which was disputed, was the eating of the ear. The fact was strenuously affirmed by the slave. But Bastel, who admitted the lashes, and the cutting off of the ear, affirmed nevertheless, that what he had given the man to eat, telling him it was his ear, was not in reality his ear, but a bit of leather from the sole of his own shoe, which he had substituted. He did not, however, deny that he had led the man to believe that it was his own ear, (who, by the way, could hardly have mistaken it,) and such was also the belief of the other slaves who were spectators of the transaction. In point of turpitude it was not very material which version of the story was the true one. It was further in proof, that, after all this had been inflicted on Le Cotte, he was put in chains by his master.

"The case was tried before the Court of First Instance. All that the substitute of the Attorney-General demanded in his conclusion, was, that Bastel should be deprived of the means of committing similar acts, by rendering him incapable of holding any slave property for the future ; and in the propriety of this sentence, one of the

* Did not this very circumstance undeniably prove that he had a criminal intention ? He regretted he had not killed or wounded Antoine.

judges concurred. But he was overruled by the other judges,* and the judgment was merely, that the sufferer, Le Cotte, should be confiscated to the Government.

' The Case of Edward, a Man Slave.

' This man, who had been very recently imported, was, on the 11th of October, 1818, severely punished by his mistress named Marianne. Being found in the streets by the police, he was, on the 16th, sent to the hospital, and on the 22d he died of a locked jaw. A surgeon, describing his state on the day he died, says, " He cannot remain in a recumbent posture, but stands in a half-bent position, leaning forward; he appears much reduced in strength, with large drops of sweat on the forehead;" and the chief medical officer of the island certified his death in the following terms: " The slave Edward died in the civil hospital on the 22d instant of tetanus, following from a punishment as reported." " He also appeared," it was stated in the report of one of the surgeons, " to be a new slave."

' No criminal proceedings appear to have been taken in this case.

' The Case of Auguste, a Creole Slave.

' Auguste belonged to M. Jean Louis Diott, of the district of River Rempart. On the 26th of March, 1817, he was sent to a distance to fetch some water, and, staying longer than was thought right, Diott ordered the driver, Louis, to seize and flog him. Auguste was accordingly flogged from the shoulders down to the breech, both back and buttocks, and then, with a pair of pincers, seven of his teeth were, by the driver, either torn out or broken in his head, three from the lower and four from the upper jaw. After this, Auguste was sent to work; but, not being able to bend his back, from the severity of his recent punishment, he contrived next day to quit the plantation, but was soon picked up by some one, and taken to Mr. Stokes, the civil commandant of the district, who called in M. Vigoreux, the civil commissary, to his assistance. They sent for M. I. Renau, a surgeon, to examine Auguste; and a *procès verbal* was drawn up and signed by him and the two magistrates, purporting that they found, " throughout the whole extent of the back and buttocks, longitudinal sores in a healing state, which the black stated to have been occasioned by the strokes of a whip, and which, from the nature of the marks, appeared probable. The black, besides, however, had shown the places where seven of his teeth had, as he asserted, either been wrenched out or broken in his head."

' The case was brought before the Court by the Attorney-General.

* The courts are composed of several judges, who exercise the double functions of judge and jury.

Diott admitted that he had caused Auguste to be flogged by the driver, and he also admitted that the driver had torn the teeth out of the boy's head; but then he said, that Louis had done so, not by his orders, but by those of his father. On inquiry, however, it was found that the father had been dead a year. In short, this was obviously a mere pretence for evading the charge, he having been the person who, in reality, had ordered the whole punishment, standing to see every part of it executed.

‘ On the 22d May, 1817, the Judge, Mr. Christie, pronounced the judgment of the Court on Diott in the following remarkable terms :

“ Considering that humanity carries the father of every family to interest himself in the happiness of his children, his apprentices, or his slaves, in short, of all depending upon him, the law has confided to him the power of punishing them for their faults or disobedience, without, however, exceeding the bounds of a just moderation; whence it follows, that all chastisement of an excessive nature inflicted on those whom it is his duty, no less than his interest, to protect and cherish, degenerates into cruelty that requires to be repressed by the magistrate;

“ Considering that it results from the information taken in this case, that Auguste, slave of Jean Louis Diott, has had seven of his teeth torn out by pincers, or broken in his head, by Louis the commandeur (driver) of the said Diott, acting under the orders, as Auguste still insists on asserting, of his said master; and that this latter only excuses himself from so barbarous an action by throwing the atrocity of the action on his late father;

‘ Considering that it is proved that the said Auguste has had his flesh torn from the shoulders to the breech, by a punishment which the said Diott admits, by means of his driver Louis, to have inflicted within the last few days on Auguste;

“ Influenced by these motives, we request that the civil commissary of the district may carry a particular watchfulness on the conduct of the said Diott towards his slaves in general; and that, as to Auguste in particular, he is required to sell him within a fortnight from the signification of the present order at the bar of this tribunal.”

‘ So that, by this iniquitous sentence, was Diott allowed to receive the full price of his maltreated slave, while the poor slave was to be sold to some one who might be the instrument of Diott's vengeance upon him. Diott sustained no other punishment than this, either in purse or in person, heinous and indefensible as had been his conduct.

‘ Case of Two Negro Boys.

‘ Colonel Barclay had been sent to seize some new negroes on the estate of a Mr. Carsenac. In a report of his proceedings, dated the 11th of June, 1818, is this passage, “ I feel it a duty which I owe

to humanity to report, that, during my examination of the outhouses, I passed two boys, apparently from ten to twelve years of age, who had been most severely flogged. These wretched children were most heavily chained by their necks, and were placed, with their faces near the ground, so as to expose their naked lacerated posteriors to the sun. On expressing my horror at witnessing such cruelty, and inquiring what crime they could possibly have committed, I was informed by Mr. Carsenac's nephew that they had marooned, (run away,) 'and set fire to some sugar-cane. The children acknowledged their having marooned. In consequence of my interference, they were removed into one of the buildings.' There is no sequel to this tragedy.

Case of Seraphine, a Negress:

'This negress belonged to a French woman named Rosette Barbier, residing at the entrance of Port Louis. As General Hall was coming into that town, on the 22d of October, 1818, he heard the most piercing shrieks. He immediately leaped over the paling from which the sounds proceeded, and there he saw the negress Seraphine tied down flat on her face with cords, her posteriors completely exposed, and a strong athletic negro lashing her with a cart-whip, which inflicted terrible furrows, while Rosette Barbier stood by, and witnessed the punishment. She claimed Seraphine as her slave, and told the General that the punishment was inflicted at her desire: it was suspended on his interference. He immediately wrote to the chief of the police, Colonel Warren, and orders were given to Dr. Burke to visit the slave, who was sent to the police. Rosette Barbier rested her defence on that clause in the ordinance which allowed masters, when, in their opinion, slaves deserved it, to chain them, or to flog them to the extent of thirty lashes; and she had not exceeded, she said, that extent. The result in this case is unknown. General Hall was recalled soon after it happened.

'We might add,' says the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, 'to the above horrific details many others equalling, if not exceeding, even these in atrocity; but those we have given are probably sufficient to satisfy our readers that, when we affirmed the impunity which, in the Mauritius, almost always followed crimes on the part of masters towards their slaves, even when such crimes were proved, we proceeded on solid grounds. We could, however, go much farther if we were to relate facts which we have heard from individuals on whose veracity we rely, and who have confidently assured us of their truth, but of which we have been unable to obtain the judicial records. Several of these, which our informants state to have occurred in 1822 and 1823, exceed in horror any thing to which we have yet called the attention of the public; and, as they have given authority, should it become necessary, to use their names, we will advert to a few of them.

'The first we shall mention occurred in 1822. A man of the name of Peter Cotry, living near Grand Port, having suspended a negro belonging to him under the arms, while his feet scarcely touched the ground, beat him most cruelly with a stick, and then, anointing the calves of his legs with fat, set dogs on to bite them. The poor creature calling for water to assuage his thirst, urine was given to him. At last the monster Cotry * * * * *. The slave expired under the operation. Cotry was taken up, but was allowed to escape from prison, and it was reported that he had destroyed himself. He re-appeared, however, two years afterwards ; but no notice was taken of his crime.

'The daughter of one Bauvet, a cooper, put to death a boy of the age of 14, who, she thought, had too tardily executed a commission she had given him. He was suspended somewhat after the manner of Cotry, and a large weight was placed on his head. He was then beaten with a split rattan till he expired.

'A blacksmith, named Rocan, living near Grand Port, not far from Cotry's residence, had sent a slave on an errand to a distance, which caused him a hot journey of twenty miles. On his return, being put to blow the bellows, he besought his master for something to eat, as he had been fasting for nearly twenty-four hours. Instead of supplying him with food, his master beat him with great violence, and with the blow of an iron bar laid open his skull and killed him. It was attempted to excuse or palliate this enormity, by saying that the slave died, or would have died, of hunger.

'It is of this same blacksmith, Rocan, living near Grand Port, that another informant testifies, that he saw one of Rocan's slaves chained to the bellows, whom Rocan frequently struck with the hot iron drawn from the forge. The body of the poor slave was covered with scars and wounds inflicted in this manner. This was in 1817.

'A still more horrid tale remains to be told. A woman of some note, of the name of Nayle, living at Flacq, harboured a runaway negress on her plantation. The owner of the negress, hearing of it, went to the residence of Madame Nayle, and demanded the runaway. Madame Nayle, learning afterwards that the person who had in this case given information to the owner, was a female slave of her own, proceeded to punish her. This she did, first by tearing all the teeth out of her head ; next by cutting off her nose ; and then her ears ; and last of all * * * * *, under which last operation she expired. The slave was then buried.

'A rumour of this horrid transaction having reached the magistrate of police, he took measures for having the grave examined. Madame Nayle being apprised of his intention, she and her two sons employed the night in digging up the body of the murdered negress, which they burnt to cinders, and, placing a dead pig in the

grave, filled it up again. When the commissary of police, therefore, arrived, and proceeded to the place where he was told the negress had been interred, he found, indeed, a grave of dimensions adequate to receive a human body; but, on the earth being removed, the carcass of a pig was found there instead. Madame Nayle, being questioned on this extraordinary appearance, alleged that she was always in the habit of burying such pigs as died from disease. (This, if true, was contrary to the usual custom, which was to burn them, to prevent their being eaten by the negroes, who, in case dead pigs were buried, would infallibly dig them up and devour them.) She was then asked to point out any other grave of a pig, but this she could not do. Though this affair was thus rendered so notorious, and the main facts of the case were doubted by no one, Madame Nayle was not taken up until news arrived (this was in 1823) that his Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry were likely soon to arrive in the island; though, from unexpected delays, they did not arrive for some years after. All was now bustle and activity; and the arrest of this woman was then ordered. Not a shadow of doubt existed as to her guilt; but the judges refused to avail themselves of a humane provision of the ordinance of 1723, which authorised them to resort to slave evidence, when white evidence could not be obtained, and when that of slaves was indispensable to the ends of justice. Madame Nayle, therefore, after being detained in a kind of anomalous state for some time, in the house of the keeper of the prison, where her apartments were fitted up with a piano-forte and other ornamental appendages, and where she freely received visitors as heretofore, was at length permitted to go at large, and the transaction sunk into oblivion.

‘We have heard of only one case, occurring nearly about the same time with the last, wherein the perpetrator of the cruelty met with the fate he merited. Just before the alarm caused by the approach of the royal commissioners had reached its height, a white man named Maurice Prevost, a tanner, cruelly murdered a female slave of his, by mangling and mutilating her in a most brutal and atrocious manner. This occasion of gaining credit with the Commissioners and in England was eagerly seized. The man was tried and executed. This single exception from the common course of proceeding, it was doubtless hoped, being recent, would shed a kind of lustre over the judicial administration of the colony, would throw into the shade all former delinquencies, and fully establish its character for humanity and justice.’ *

* When the rumour of the intention of Government to send out Commissioners of Inquiry to the Cape of Good Hope reached that colony in 1822, it produced a similar effect upon the Government and Court of Justice there. A young man of the name of Ghehardt, who had caused a slave to be flogged till he expired under the lash, was condemned and executed, with the obvious design of recommending the authorities to

‘Long before reaching this point of our progress, our readers must have been tired and disgusted with the details which we have been compelled to give. We can, however, assure them that we have not yet exhausted even a tithe of our materials. We have at this moment before us, wholly untouched, the statements of upwards of 300 individuals, who, without any preconcert or communication with each other, and without any wrong motive that can fairly be attributed to them, have, singly, and separately, yet with a unity of judgment and feeling which is most remarkable, borne a concurrent testimony to the main features of that state of society which we have now endeavoured faintly to pourtray. The agreement of these parties would indeed be marvellous, on any other hypothesis than that of the unquestionable prominency of the facts of the case, and the truth and accuracy of our representations of them. Such a flood of light was never before poured, we believe, on any similar inquiry; and, while it banishes all doubt from our own minds, it leaves us no choice as to the duty of fully exposing the case to the view of the Parliament and people of this country. We are under the necessity, however, of setting narrow bounds to this preliminary statement, and we shall now merely observe that the parties from whom we obtained our information, are ready to be produced, whenever we are authoritatively called upon to produce them. At present we shall abstain from harrowing up the feelings of our readers, by farther instances of individual or judicial atrocity, and content ourselves with exhibiting a few specimens of the language which the numerous witnesses, to whom we have alluded, employ, in conveying the impression made on their minds by their experience of the slavery existing in the Mauritius; and we vouch for their being fair samples of the entire mass.*

‘No. 5. “I conceive that the slaves are treated more like brutes than any thing else. They are not in any instance whatever treated as human beings. You could not make a brute happy in the way they are treated.”

the good opinion of his Majesty’s Commissioners, and of the Government at home. This was the first instance known at the Cape of a slave-owner being capitally punished for the murder of his slave, notwithstanding that numerous instances had occurred of a much more aggravated character than Ghebardt’s, who, though highly criminal, does not appear to have really aimed at the life of the victim. Ghebardt died very penitently, acknowledging the justice of his sentence; but said to a clergyman who attended him in his last moments, and who related the circumstances to the writer of this note, that he fell a victim to the influence of a detestable and demoralising system; adding most truly, ‘Slavery is a bad and evil system, Sir; it is even worse for the master than the slave.’—Ed.

* ‘Almost all the witnesses we are about to cite here are persons belonging to the lower classes, and therefore themselves accustomed to labour and privation. Not only were their opportunities of observation greater on this account; but their estimate of the parallel condition to their own which they were contemplating, likely to be more just.

'No. 6. "Badly off as many are in this place, (Salford,) the slaves are far worse. I never saw any thing so wretched."

'No. 26. "There cannot be a lower state of degradation than that to which the slaves are reduced in the Mauritius."

'No. 27. "If I were used as some of the slaves are used, I would sooner die than live. Sometimes they kill themselves. I have known instances of it."

'— "The slaves are more like dogs than human beings. I never saw any people so wretched—never."

'No. 28. "There is no comparison to be made between the state of the slaves and the most destitute in this country. No man in England would use a mad dog as bad as the slaves are treated."

'No. 43. "The slaves have certainly no knowledge of comfort or happiness. They are the most miserable beings on earth, worse than the most barbarous animals. A wild animal can get out of the reach of barbarity; they cannot."

'No. 52. "The slaves are treated more like brutes than human beings."

'No. 60. "I think the slaves are most miserable. They are quite starved."

'No. 74. "As a married woman, I do not think it possible that the female slaves, treated as they are, could multiply fast."

'No. 82. "The slaves are no better off than cattle, nor so well used as many."

'No. 92. "An Englishman could not bear a quarter of the punishment or work of the slave."

'No. 102. "They are the most miserable people upon earth."

'No. 108. "I never saw human beings in this or any country so wretched. I have heard of their killing themselves in consequence of the cruel treatment of their masters."

'No. 113. "They are mostly starved, and are actually harassed out of their lives."

'No. 114. "I have heard of slaves killing themselves to escape from their cruel treatment."

'No. 122. "No one could tempt me to be a slave. I would rather be the most miserable of free beings."

'—"The slaves are treated more as brutes than men."

'No. 126. "The slaves cannot be in a worse state than they are. They are treated no better than cattle."

'No. 138. "I consider the slaves are in a most degraded state, and the conduct of the masters, in a moral point of view, worse than that of the slaves."

'No. 147. "Their lives must be a burden. I should prefer death to living as they do."

'No. 169. "The state of a plantation slave is as bad as misery can be."

'No. 171. "I never met with any people so badly off as the blacks in the Isle of France."

'No. 205. "They are treated with the greatest barbarity."

'No. 214. "I am sure I could not use my dogs as the slaves are used."

'No. 224. "The slaves are most barbarously used. The masters seem to care no more about them than they do about a dog."

'No. 256. "They are a thousand times worse off than any persons here. They are worse off than any people I ever saw."

'No. 262. "I would rather suffer death than be a slave."

'No. 318. "My opinion is, that the slave is one of the most wretchedest creatures in existence."

'No. 337. "A slave is one of the most miserable creatures that can be. He is used worse than any beast in England, or any beast there. They treat their beasts much better than they do their slaves."

'Many also of the persons whose words we have cited, besides thus expressing the general impression produced in their minds by the sight of Mauritius slavery, were the eye-witnesses of acts of atrocity which they describe as equal in horror to almost any thing we have detailed above. What an aggregate of misery must, therefore, have been condensed within the narrow limits of this single trade which has been incited in Madagascar, and on the African continent, to supply the perpetual waste of life caused by this murderous system!

'Here then,' continues the Anti-Slavery Society, 'we exhibit our picture of the slavery of the Mauritius, which Great Britain has not only endured for twenty years, but has protected by its civil and military power, and fed and encouraged by its fiscal regulations; and we now solemnly call upon the Government and the Parliament and the people of this country to regard it with the attention which it deserves.'

'But how has it come to pass, it may be fairly asked, that this case should not have obtained publicity at an earlier period, and that no adequate means should have been hitherto adopted for drawing the attention of Parliament to a state of things so flagrant and outrageous? We shall abstain, for the present, from entering at length on a reply to this reasonable inquiry; but it may probably form, in no long time, the subject of grave discussion. Our readers will remember, that in 1826, an attempt was made by Mr. Buxton to lay bare this evil in all its bearings and dimensions, which led to the appointment of a Committee of the House of Commons for investigating the matter. The Committee, however, had scarcely entered on its labours when Parliament was prorogued; and it has not since been renewed, partly through the frequent changes in his Majesty's Government, and their unwillingness to enter upon it, but chiefly, perhaps, through the severe illness which prevented Mr. Buxton from carrying his purposes on the subject into effect.'

'It seems, however, impossible to permit the Parliament and the

public to continue longer in ignorance of this frightful case. We have therefore given an outline, and nothing more than an outline, of its general nature; and, feeble as is our representation of its enormities, and inadequate as we feel ourselves to be to do full justice to the subject, and especially to the claims of the unhappy victims of our supineness and neglect, we yet trust that such a case will not be suffered to drop into oblivion, or, after having excited a few passing expressions of regret or indignation, to remain, like too many similar expositions, without investigation or remedy.

It seems especially to belong to those who have administered the government of the Mauritius at home, as well as abroad, to show that they are guiltless in this matter. Much of the information we have now brought forward has been long in the possession of the Colonial Department, and attention has been frequently called to it. It will doubtless be made to appear what steps have been taken to remedy the evils complained of. If we were only to look to the tone of our diplomatic communications with France and other Powers, on the subject of their slave trade, we ought to feel it incumbent upon us to prove that we have neglected no means in our own power, in consistency with our urgent admonitions and remonstrances to them, and our own high professions of attachment to the interests of humanity and justice, of setting before them a practical example of efficient and well-directed zeal.

In *Parliament* we cannot doubt that many will be found, especially among our rising statesmen, who will feel themselves imperatively called upon not to suffer such a stigma to rest on the character of this country as must follow the neglect and impunity of such crimes; involving, as they do, the misconduct of so many public functionaries, and the misery and the murder of so many of our fellow-subjects.

To the *British public* at large, we would likewise renew our appeal, and we would put it to their consciences, whether they can any longer submit, not merely to tolerate, but to support and encourage such atrocities; and whether they do not, in fact, support and encourage them when they consume the sugar which is the direct produce of so much blood and wretchedness, and still more when they even give it protection against sugar produced by free labour.

And we would, in conclusion, call on the clergy of the land, and more especially on those of them who profess a more than common zeal for the glory of God, and the happiness, temporal and spiritual, of their fellow-creatures, to look at the case we have now exhibited, and to say whether they can any longer refrain from lifting up their voices against this crying national iniquity. And let no one lay the flattering unction to his soul, that he may innocently continue to look with indifference, and in silence, on the aggravated evils of Colonial Slavery, and leave the temporal and spiri-

tual well-being of 825,000 of our fellow-beings and fellow-subjects, to the tender mercies of those who profit by their stripes and their chains. Nor let it be imagined, for one moment, that, revolting to the last degree as is the picture we have now drawn of slavery in the Mauritius, it differs in its principles and in its tendencies from that which pervades the whole either of our or of any other European colonies. The system of negro slavery is radically and essentially the same wherever it prevails, and is only varied in some of its effects by peculiar and local circumstances. In Bahamas and Bermuda, for instance, the driving whip cannot be used as in the sugar islands. The West Indies generally are much more remote from the slave markets than the Mauritius, and are also more within the reach and observation of the mother country. But, allowing for such accidental variations, and for differences of soil, &c., slavery is the same incurable evil in all of them. It is despotism and cruelty on the part of the master, or the master's delegates—misery and mortality on the part of the slaves—excess of labour and scantiness of food—and a consequent waste of human life; a waste which, though in the West Indies it may fall below the Mauritius, is unparalleled in any other part of the world.

SONNET ON SLAVERY.*

By T. Pringle.

ON Slavery! thou art a bitter draught!
 And twice accursed is thy poison'd bowl,
 Which taints with leprosy the white man's soul
 Not less than his by whom its dregs are quaff'd:
 The slave sinks down, o'ercome by cruel craft,
 Like beast of burden on the earth to roll;
 The master, though in luxury's lap he loll,
 Feels the foul venom, like a rankling shaft,
 Strike through his veins. As if a demon laugh'd,
 He, laughing, treads his victim in the dust—
 The victim of his avarice, rage, or lust:
 But the poor prisoner's moan the whirlwinds waft
 To heaven—not unavenged: the oppressor quakes
 With secret dread—AND SHARES THE HELL HE MAKES!

* This sonnet is not new to most of our readers, having formerly appeared in 'The Oriental Herald' as a contribution from the author to our pages, on his return from a slave colony. It forms, however, so appropriate a sequel to the preceding article, that we need not apologize for its repetition here:

REPORT OF THE PUBLIC MEETING AT LIVERPOOL.

ON Wednesday, Jan. 28, 1829, a most respectable and numerous meeting of bankers, merchants, and other inhabitants of this town, assembled in the Court Room of the Borough Sessions House, pursuant to a notice issued by the Mayor, on the requisition of one hundred and sixty of the most influential persons connected with the trade of the port, 'for the purpose of taking into consideration the best means of removing the restrictions imposed upon Commerce by the present Charter of the East India Company, and of prevailing upon the Legislature to secure to the public all those benefits which a free commercial intercourse with India and China is capable of affording.'

At twelve o'clock, NICHOLAS ROBINSON, Esq., the Mayor, entered the Court Room, attended by several of the gentlemen who had been engaged in the preparatory arrangements for the business of the day, and, having taken his seat on the bench, shortly afterwards rose and said, that, having received a requisition, most numerous and respectably signed, requesting him to call a meeting of the inhabitants of the town, for the purpose of considering the best means of removing the restrictions imposed by the East India Company's Charter upon the trade with the East Indies and China, and being ready and anxious, as he hoped he should be found at all times, to the utmost of his means, to advance the interests of his fellow-townsmen, he had, in compliance with that requisition, gladly issued the notice by which the present meeting had been called together. In order to place before them the precise business upon which they were now assembled, he requested the town-clerk to read the requisition and notice. These documents having accordingly been read,

Mr. GLADSTONE rose and said, that the requisition which had just been read by the worthy town-clerk, had informed the gentlemen whom he had the honour of addressing, that the great objects of their meeting were to oppose the renewal of the exclusive privileges which the East India Company had so long enjoyed; to obtain free access to, and free trade with, India, both with the coast and with the interior; and also to open the trade with China. They had frequently met under the influence of conflicting opinions, each party impressed with their own views, and determined to oppose those of the other; but, on the present occasion, he was happy to think that they would all be found in one mind, all desirous to promote the principles of free trade and equal rights, not only for their own particular advantage as merchants of Liverpool, but for the benefit of the kingdom at large, of their fellow-subjects generally, and those of the other outports. (*Applause.*) The noble Premier (the Duke

of Wellington) had recently said, that he considered the settlement of a certain great question as necessary to the well-being, not only of the country generally, but of the inhabitants of the whole empire individually. Now, the question before the meeting was, in his humble opinion, one of equal importance, and deserving equal consideration. Before, however, he proceeded to trouble the meeting with the few observations which he should think it his duty to submit to them, prior to moving the resolution which he held in his hand, he should read the resolution for the information of the meeting. [Here Mr. G. read the first resolution.] Such was the resolution which he should have the honour to submit to the meeting before he sat down. This was the third time that he (Mr. G.) had had the honour to appear in the ranks of those who had been opposed to the exclusive privileges of the East India Company. First, in the year 1792, when the merchants and inhabitants of Liverpool took the field against that overgrown monopoly. At that period, they made some progress, it is true, but it was of a very limited extent. They obtained permission to export to India a limited quantity of goods, but, in so doing, they were confined to the ships of the Company, subjected to freights and charges imposed by that body, and were allowed to make such export through the port of London alone. Thus limited and shackled, the outports could only in a very trifling degree participate in this extorted permission; for such was the force of prejudice, such the power and influence of the Company, that more could not, at that period, be wrung from the Legislature. It was then urged, among other reasons for renewing the Charter for twenty-one years, that the Company were at that time in debt, and that they were entitled to that term to enable them to reduce the amount of their debt, which was then above six millions; but the debt, instead of being reduced at the end of twenty-one years, had increased to above twenty millions; it had gone on increasing from that day to this, and it now amounted to a very considerable sum. The second time was in the years 1812 and 1813, when he had the honour to be deputed, along with his worthy friend, Mr. John Bournè, the then Mayor, and other gentlemen, to proceed to London, in order to oppose the renewal of the exclusive privileges which the East India Company had too long enjoyed. There we were met by deputations of merchants or manufacturers from every considerable town in the kingdom, with the chief magistrates of each at their head. He hoped that the same plan, the same system, would be adopted on the present occasion, and that the deputation which might be sent from hence would have at their head the chief magistrate of the town. The presence of the chief magistrates was found to give great weight and influence to the deputations, and considerably to promote the objects of the mission. On that occasion, certain farther concessions were made to the outports. Many of those concessions were made, too, in spite of the active opposition of the Company and their friends. The outports were then told,

that they had obtained a free trade to, and free intercourse with, India ; but, in his opinion, it was no better than delusion to say that they had obtained a free trade to India. They were denied all intercourse with the interior of that vast continent. They were hampered by licenses, the issuing of which depended on the will of the Court of Directors, subject, it was true, to the revision of the Board of Control. If they obtained permission to visit or reside in the interior of the country, they were not permitted to leave the Presidencies without a special license, often reluctantly granted, in which the object of the journey was particularly expressed. Their ships were limited to tonnage, and they were compelled to send vessels of an inconvenient size. The owners of these vessels were answerable for the number and return of their seamen, and compelled to account for every one of them, under heavy fines and penalties, even if there happened to be the slightest deviation, through causes over which they could have no control, from coercive regulations. The outports were also denied a full participation in the import trade from the East, certain articles of import, such as silk goods, having (though since abandoned) been restricted to London for sale, and obliged to be forwarded thither for that purpose, though imported at Liverpool, as if Liverpool was unworthy of that confidence which London obtained. In short, their hands were tied, their feet were shackled, and every step which they took was attended with difficulty and expense. The wonder was, how, restricted as the trade has been, the outports had contrived to carry it on at all to advantage. That they had done so, both with success and with profit, was a striking instance of the energy and enterprise of the British merchants ; and the extent to which the private trade to India was now carried, might serve to show the still greater extent to which it might be carried, were the intercourse with the East unrestricted and free. Such were a few of the difficulties with which the outports had to contend in their traffic with India. His friends who would follow him would point out others equally oppressive ; and, as they were more competent to the task than he, place this subject in a detailed and striking point of view before the meeting ; but, being impressed in the manner which he had stated, he thought that he should have been wanting in his duty, both to the town at large and to himself, if he had refrained from communicating what he was now relating to the meeting. How the difficulties which he had enumerated were to be overcome, was the question that they had now to consider. Those difficulties were certainly great ; but he trusted, and strongly felt, that, by proper exertion, they must and should be overcome. He was persuaded that, if the country felt, as he trusted it would feel, the importance of this great question, and united simultaneously for the promotion and support of the object they had in view, they would succeed, in spite of the powerful resistance of the East India Company. (*Applause.*) He was speaking not merely of the Directors of the Company, but of that body

whose personal interests were involved in its affairs, and by whom those Directors were appointed : that body consisted of soldiers, sailors, merchants, bankers, brokers, and civilians ; of men, women, and children, who, by the most extraordinary anomaly which this world ever produced, were intrusted with the political management of the government of a great empire, the population of which consisted of four times that of the rest of the British empire. But could it be believed that men who had not been accustomed to affairs of state, who had not acquired, by experience and training, the qualifications requisite for duly and properly exercising the onerous and intricate duties of government ; could it be believed that these men, taken from all classes of life, were so competent to the proper care of the concerns of the great and numerous population which British India contains, as those experienced statesmen who legitimately exercised the functions of government in this country ? It did seem to him the greatest anomaly in government which ever presented itself to the consideration of the human mind. But he would not enlarge upon this branch of the subject in that place, impressed as he was with the conviction, that what might be considered as the political part of the question must shortly come under review in that arena (the Legislature) where the whole question would have to be fully considered and determined. The object of the present meeting was commercial, and not political. It was one which interested not merely the merchant, the shipowner, and the manufacturer, but the agriculturist also. (*Applause.*) Having thus stated to the meeting what he conceived to be the difficulties which at present obstructed their intercourse with India, their object was to obtain their removal. At the time when the commercial monopoly of the East India Company was first conceded to them, it was sanctioned by the Government, because it was supposed to be absolutely necessary to do so ; for, at that period, capital was limited, and individuals were incapable of carrying on enterprises of such magnitude as the means of a large body, when combined together, would enable them to execute. The Company, therefore, in consideration of the risks which they ran—risks which were of less consequence to a body than they would have been to individuals, received certain exclusive privileges for a limited period. These considerations were exhausted : the revived and limited periods having repeatedly expired, and the necessity for them having long since passed away, it was high time that these exclusive privileges should be abolished. Capital was now abundant, and the enterprise of private individuals might be seen encompassing the globe, and forcing its way into every channel, and in every direction. The only difficulty now seemed to be, not to find capital, but markets for the consumption of the products of our industry, and fields sufficiently extensive for the enterprise of private traders. (*Applause.*) What reasons, then, had not British merchants to oppose the renewal of the Company's exclusive privileges ? If the Company could compete with them, let them meet the private

traders with their united resources, let them try the experiment honourably, fairly, and openly; but let them not heap up against the private trade those obstacles which their territorial possessions enabled them to raise, but from which their trade was free; let them meet the contest fairly and honourably, and the outports need not fear the result of the competition. (*Loud cheers.*) If the country generally set their shoulders earnestly to the work, and insisted on the great object of obtaining access to the interior of India, he did not despair of success. British merchants and manufacturers were, no doubt, anxious to find new vents for their products by the unrestricted opening of India to their enterprise; but it was also to be hoped, that their intercourse with the interior would improve the civilisation and moral feelings of the Natives, and that several of the cruel and sanguinary rites of their superstition, the mere mention of which was revolting to the feelings of humanity, would, in process of time, be wholly extinguished. These, of themselves, were not commercial objects; but they were only a few of the advantages which might reasonably be expected to flow from an unrestricted intercourse with India. By permitting Englishmen to reside and possess lands in the interior of India, the cultivation of her staples would be greatly extended, their quality improved, and additional funds thus created for the payment of our manufactures, the demand and consumption of them being only limited by the want of means for payment. Having said thus much on the subject of India, he would say a few words with respect—not to their present relations, for he was sorry to say that none such at present existed, but to, he hoped and trusted, their future relations with China. He remembered, when in London with the deputation, in 1813, just before the last renewal of the Charter of the East India Company, they had an interview with a very distinguished statesman. In the course of the conversation he took the opportunity of asking that gentleman how it happened that, the Legislature meaning to give a monopoly of the trade with India only to the Company, that with China, an independent empire, should have been included in their Charter? The only explanation which he could give of that circumstance, was, that it was intended that they should have the exclusive trade to India; but, the fact seemed at the same time to have escaped the parties who granted the privilege, that China lay to the east of Hindostan. (*Laughter.*) They had been told as one reason why the privilege should still be confined to the Company, that their supercargoes were so well acquainted with the habits and regulations of the Chinese Government, and the crews of their ships were so well regulated, that it was easy to check any irregularity, and to prevent attempts at smuggling. The latter purpose was also stated to be more easily attainable by the employment of the larger ships of the Company. But what was really the case in these respects? Did they not see vessels of all sizes, and from all other countries, trading with China, without difficulty, danger, or complaint, while ours alone were branded as such that it was necessary to exclude

them from the ports of China ! As one instance, in illustration of the injurious effects of this exclusive system, he might mention, that, when the islands of New Shetland were first discovered, they were found to contain immense numbers of seals, whose skins were of a very peculiar and very valuable description. British and American vessels resorted thither, to pursue this lucrative branch of traffic. The Americans carried their skins directly to China, for the markets of which country they were peculiarly adapted ; but the British were entirely excluded from all resort to so advantageous a market for the disposal of their goods, and were obliged to bring them to England, and dispose of them here as they best might, but to much less advantage. Other nations also carried on, through various indirect and circuitous channels, a trade such as the Company would not even avail themselves of, whilst they excluded every other British subject from doing so ; and our laws admitted foreigners to load their ships in our ports for China, whilst we were compelled to look on, denied permission to do so, absolutely excluded and shut out ;—was this, he would ask, to be borne and still submitted to ? If the trade to China were opened to-morrow, would it not be possible to obviate the dangers which it is pretended would be the consequence, by the appointment of consuls, as they are appointed in other countries, who would represent the King of England with much greater dignity and effect than the supercargoes of the Company's ships now represent the twenty-four gentlemen of Leadenhall-street ? The Chinese would, undoubtedly, be better pleased at trading directly with the Government and people of Great Britain than through a mere incorporated body of individuals. They would, no doubt, be infinitely better satisfied at the removal of such intervention, were they fully aware of the disadvantages with which it is attended. And, so far from there being any danger from the alleged insubordination of the crews of private merchantmen, were there any such tendency, the means of keeping it in check would be still more effectual under such an arrangement, than any that are at the disposal of the Company's agents. Private traders would not have men to spare for the purpose of sending them to risk offending the natives ; for, whilst the Company's ships contain crews of 150 men or more, they would each have but twenty or thirty, who would be so fully occupied with their business that they would find little or no time to enjoy themselves on shore as the Company's seamen do. These were the bugbears employed by the East India Company to prevent the opening of the trade to China. The advantages of such an opening would be immense and numerous ; it would furnish a greatly-extended market for our productions, which now find their way thither through indirect channels, in limited quantity, and loaded with heavy charges and duties at every step ; it would enable us to import the productions of China for our own consumption and that of other countries ; it would employ a greatly increased number of shipping, an improvement of which that great national and important interest stands in much need at

the present time; and it would also employ a greater number of seamen, a point of some importance, as, in case of war, this trade would furnish a most valuable supply of seamen for the manning of the Navy, who would really be sailors, and not that nondescript kind of half-seamen and half-landsmen, such as those of which the crews of the Company's ships are in a great part composed. There could be no doubt that such a measure would be followed by a great reduction in the price, and therefore increased consumption of tea, as well as of the other products of those countries, and, consequently, by such an improvement in the revenue as would enable the Chancellor of the Exchequer to relieve the country of some portion of that interminable direct taxation which now weighed heavy on the manufacturing, the agricultural, and the commercial interests, and, indeed, all classes of the community. (*Applause.*) He had now pointed out a few of the evils of the exclusive system of the East India Company, and enumerated some of the advantages which might be reasonably expected to result from a contrary line of policy. If we put our shoulders to the work, and set an example to the rest of the kingdom, and if we followed it up with energy and perseverance, he was sure he should not be deemed presumptuous in promising them complete and decisive success; we had justice and common sense on our side, whilst the principle which guided us could neither be denied nor resisted on fair and honest grounds. (*Continued applause.*) Mr. Gladstone concluded by moving the resolution.

Mr. W. RATHBONE said,—Having been, I may say, urged to second the resolution proposed by Mr. Gladstone, I have pleasure in doing so; for, though I can unaffectedly declare that I feel out of place, yet it is gratifying to me to come forward in a cause in which my father laboured so long, and with such unwearied ardour. The merchants of Liverpool, with our worthy chief magistrate at their head, have, with a unanimity and zeal which is alike creditable to their sagacity and to their sense of justice, commenced a struggle, which will, I trust, continue unabated till this monstrous monopoly is overthrown; a monopoly which has not only deprived the country so long of a trade which individual enterprise would have made productive, but will also entail upon it an enormous and accumulating debt, created by misrule and mismanagement, and still more by those cruel and desolating wars which have disgraced the British name in India,—an accumulation of evils and enormities which have only been permitted to continue because unknown to the British nation at large. In the efforts we are now making, we have the high gratification to feel, that, while we are promoting our true interests at home, we are also the advocates of millions in the East, to whom we owe a long arrear of justice. It is not, Sir, necessary at this time of day to dwell at any length upon the fact, that unrestricted commerce is the precursor and promoter of the blessings of civilisation and Christianity. I venture, therefore, to

hope, that our union and ardour this day will give a pledge of the strenuous efforts we are determined to make, and secure a hearty concurrence in the resolution I have just had the honour to second. (*Great Applause.*)

Mr. CROPPER, on proposing the second resolution, said,—After the very able manner in which the business of this meeting has been opened, it would be a waste of its time to dwell upon the topics which have already been spoken to. I shall, therefore, read the resolution which I shall propose, and then make some remarks upon it. (Mr. Cropper here read the second resolution, and then proceeded.) In speaking of the increase of trade or commerce, we are accustomed to estimate it at so much per cent.; now the general trade of Liverpool has increased about one hundred per cent. in the last twenty years. The import of cotton has increased one hundred per cent. in ten years; but one hundred per cent. is but an addition of one-fold, whilst in the export of plain calicoes to the East, we have an increase of ninety-three-fold in thirteen years; and all this increase, notwithstanding all the orders and regulations of the Company, the direct object of which would seem to be the prevention of such increase, or, indeed, the suppression of the trade altogether. The Company, indeed, seem to consider it as a criminal act to be found trading in the interior of the country without their special license, which is sufficiently proved by an edict of their own, dated so lately as the end of 1826. Mr. Cropper then read the following order:

‘Fort William, General Department, August 4, 1826.

‘It having come to the knowledge of Government, that Europeans are in the habit of visiting the Upper Provinces, in the prosecution of *commercial speculations*, or for the temporary purposes of *disposing of investments of goods*, without having obtained the previous permission of Government to proceed to the interior, notice is hereby given, that instructions will be issued to the magistrates of the several districts bordering on the rivers, to stop *all* Europeans, whether British-born subjects or otherwise, and Americans, not being in the service of his Majesty, or in the civil or military service or employment of the Honourable Company, who may be found in the interior, at a distance of ten miles from the Presidency, and unprovided with a passport.

‘Applications for passports are to be made in writing to the Secretary to Government in the General Department, and are to contain the following particulars:—1st, the name and occupation of the person applying; 2d, the time of his arrival in India, and whether with or without a license from the Court of Directors; 3d, the place or places to which the individual may be desirous of proceeding; and 4th, *the general object of his journey.*

By command of the Right Honourable the Vice-President in Council.

‘C. LUSHINGTON,

‘Chief Secretary to the Government.’

Another order, as arbitrary and illiberal as the one I have just read, was issued by the Company about the same time; this direct-

ing that a person, having had a license to reside in India, returning to England, should bring with him a certificate from the Company's servants abroad, that his conduct in India had been to their satisfaction, otherwise a license to return to India should not be granted to him. Thus, the Company, instead of increasing in knowledge and liberality by what was passing around them, instead of fostering the advantages which would accrue to themselves, to India, and to Great Britain, from the extension of trade and commerce, are actually becoming more exclusive, and any increase which has taken place has not been with their concurrence, but in spite of them. The present export of cotton goods and twist amounts to about ten millions of pounds, being, probably, about one-tenth part of the consumption of the United Kingdom, with a population of about twenty millions, whilst in India there is a population of about a hundred millions, and the quantity we supply them with can only be a very small part of their present consumption, though it is well known that we can furnish them with articles of better fabric and at a cheaper rate than that at which they can be manufactured in India itself. There has also been a large increase in our exports of hardware, of metals, of earthenware, and of woollens, to India, some of them 100, 200, or 300 per cent.; but the article of greatest importance is cotton goods, and hence the encouragement of the culture of cotton as an article of export from thence is of first importance. The cotton of India is of very inferior quality, not from any fault of the soil, but from the want of British skill and capital being engaged in its culture. Egypt formerly produced a very inferior species of cotton; but how has it been improved within these few years!—why may not the same improvement be effected in India? There is now grown, in the immediate neighbourhood of Calcutta, cotton of so good a kind as to prove, that all that India wants to produce any quantity of that article, of the best quality, is the application of European skill and capital. (*Applause.*) At present, a large proportion of the cotton we consume is supplied to us by the Americans, and they, knowing our dependence on them for three-fourths of our supply, do not hesitate to lay heavy duties on our manufactures, and enact prohibitory tariffs. But let us cultivate our own dominions, and show them we are independent of them for any supply of cotton we may require. (*Immense applause.*) The same remarks apply to many other articles, which it is not now necessary to enumerate. From what we have seen, then, of the extension of our trade with the 100 millions of India; under all the restrictions and disadvantages to which we have been exposed, we may form some idea of what would be the advantages of a trade with the 250 millions of China. The Chinese, as well as the Indians, wear cottons, and these have been sent to some, though not a great, extent from Calcutta to Canton, proving that they do not manufacture cheaper in China than in India. This country possesses peculiar advantages for the

trade with China ; we all know that trade consists of an interchange of productions, and England is in the habit, more than any other country, of the extensive consumption of tea, a habit which has been gradually increasing through about two generations. Our consumption is now estimated at about thirty millions of pounds annually, whilst the annual consumption of the whole continent of Europe does not probably exceed four millions of pounds. We have, therefore, advantages which no other country possesses, for a trade with China,—we make the cheapest cotton goods, and we consume the most tea. But great as our consumption of tea is, compared with other nations, it is little to what it would be if it were to be had on fair terms : we are now paying more than 100 per cent. higher than the prices on the European continent. The consumption of tea for every individual in the United Kingdom is about twenty ounces annually, whilst that of aged paupers in the *Liverpool Workhouse* is fifty-two ounces each per annum. (*Applause.*) That of the population of New South Wales, who have carried English habits with them, about sixty-five ounces each per annum ; but the allowance to the nurses in our Workhouse is one hundred and four ounces per annum. Let us consider what our consumption would be, if we suppose such a state of things as may raise the British population to the condition of the nurses in the *Liverpool Workhouse*, or even that of the paupers in that establishment.—(*Laughter.*) Well then, supposing this immense increase in the consumption of the country, the teas must be paid for, and there is little difficulty in conceiving how this to be done, since we can manufacture cotton and other goods much cheaper and better than they can do it for themselves, and we should thus have 250 millions of consumers for our manufactures. Another article of our manufacture would also meet with the most extensive demand ; the 250 millions of people in China are all tea-drinkers, and they therefore will want tea ware ; this is even now shipping at Singapore for Canton, but it is impossible to say to what extent there may be a demand for it, provided we make it cheaper and better than they, if we are allowed an “unrestricted intercourse with them. We know but little of the interior of China, but we have reason to suppose its population is farther advanced in civilisation and improvement than the Hindoos, and that the use of tea is extensive amongst them. From the immense population of that country, I can imagine no difficulty in finding a market sufficient for our goods to pay for what we may want from them ; nay, it is probable that the want of a profitable market for returns, which now limits our trade with India, would do the same with China. But, happily, we may hope this trade will bring with it its remedy. We have known the beneficial effects of the opening of a trade with 15 to 20 millions of people in Mexico and South America ; but from this we can form but a faint idea of the opening of a free trade with, probably, 250 millions, being not very far from half the population of the globe, possessing a country

and climate exactly suited to the mutual exchange of productions, the only true species of commerce. If we trade with Europeans, from the similarity of climate and productions, we meet with rivals at every step; but in the East, we have no such disadvantage to contend with, for their habits, manners, climate, and productions, are different from our own, and there may trade be carried on to the best advantage.—(*Applause.*) Is it not a remarkable circumstance, then, that from all resort to the extensive market thus offered us, from all intercourse with these myriads of people, we have been excluded by the monopoly of the East India Company!—(*Great Applause.*) The vast increase of trade and employment which must be the consequence of unrestricted intercourse with the East, must improve the wages of labour and the profits of trade, and with them the condition of the people; and in the improved power of consumption will be found a boundless market for the productions of those tropical countries. Another subject of very great importance, is the improvement of the moral condition of the people of India, for whom so little has hitherto been done. We have the concurrent testimony of many who have long resided in India, that the residence of Europeans is productive of this effect on the Natives around them; and I am happy in believing that, even for the sake of their own interest, those who settle in India will do all that lies in their power to promote the temporal and moral improvement of the Natives of that hitherto neglected portion of our dominions.—(*Applause.*) But as this is a subject which will be fully treated of by those who are better qualified to do justice to it, I shall not further trespass on the time of the meeting than merely to propose the resolution.—(*Great applause.*)

Dr. CROMPTON made a few remarks on the importance of unanimity in the proceedings of the meeting, and, with reference to an accidental error in one of the numerical statements made (but corrected) by Mr. Cropper, on the necessity that the resolutions of the meeting should go forth to the world without being weakened by any inaccuracies which might, in the least degree, be detrimental to the effect they were meant to produce.

Mr. CROPPER explained the manner in which the error in the statement made by him had arisen; and with respect to the population ascribed by him to China, said, that he had seen the population of that country described as amounting to 300 millions; and that it was well known that the country was of immense extent and extremely populous, though Europeans had hitherto possessed no means of ascertaining either point with exactness.

Dr. CROMPTON admitted that the explanation was satisfactory, and again commented on the importance of accuracy in all the proceedings of the meeting.

Mr. HENRY BOOTH, in rising to support the second resolution, congratulated himself on the opportunity thus publicly afforded

him, of protesting against the further continuance of a system so full of evil both to this country and to India. Fortunately, in these realms, the public voice needed only to be firmly and unequivocally declared, to be duly attended to; and he could not for a moment doubt, that when the true character and complexion of the Company's monopoly was explained, and fully comprehended by the country, the extinction of that monopoly would follow. The East India Company was understood to consist of about five thousand individuals. Now, however insignificant a number five thousand might be, as compared with the twenty-three millions which composed the population of these kingdoms, or the hundred millions which constitute the population of British India, still there was something respectable in the number of five thousand; even the term *thousand* carried with it the idea of magnitude and importance;—but what would be the feelings of most who heard him, when they were informed, that of the five thousand who constituted the East India Company, more than *four thousand nine hundred and fifty* had actually no more to do with the management of the East India Company's affairs, and have no more participation in the emolument and patronage which accrues from the *mismanagement* of their vast concerns, than any individual in that assembly! The thirty or forty *Directors*, with their immediate friends and connexions, usurped the whole patronage and profit: upon them, therefore, devolved the heavy responsibility attached to their proceedings. Mr. Cropper had very properly adverted to the population of other countries, as supplying markets for our manufactures, and compared it with that of India and China. The meeting would recollect how the recognition of the independence of the Republican States of South America was hailed by this country with general satisfaction, as opening new markets for the products of our manufacturing industry; but what is the population of these states, amounting to some six millions; or the whole population of South America, amounting to about fifteen millions, compared with the 114 millions of British India, and the 160 or 200 millions of the Chinese empire? 'The people of India, too, it must be recollected, were not a nation of half-naked savages,—they were a quiet, shrewd, and rather a cunning race, having already a taste for British manufactures, and being quite aware of the soundness of that maxim in political economy which avers, that it is, generally, the wisest course to obtain the commodities we want at the lowest possible cost. Looking, then, at the resources of these vast countries, the fertility of their soil, and the richness of their climate—looking at the capabilities of this country—her manufacturing skill—her commercial capital and enterprise, it was not easy to set bounds to the mighty results which would follow a free commercial intercourse with the Eastern World. Even Ireland, that unfortunate country, might now behold a gleam of light in the darkness of her horizon;—the prospect was now before her, and, he trusted,

not far distant, when her hardy but overgrown population might find employment and subsistence:—when the people of England should no longer view with fear and jealousy the importation of human beings from the sister island, as bringing with it a reduction of the wages of British labour,—but when they would be received with welcome, as helpmates in furnishing forth manufactures for the Indian markets;—when even the calm and calculating political economist shall view the rapid increase of our numbers without alarm or anxious foreboding—without being frightened from his propriety by a finger on the wall, pointing to the Malthusian theory. The English people were famed, and he believed justly so, for the multiplicity of their benevolent institutions—for their promptness in coming forward to promote any scheme which had for its object the melioration, the comfort, or the well-being of society. But when was there an opportunity like the present? When was there scope for so much good to be achieved for the human race, as might now be accomplished by the union of the whole people of these kingdoms, to endeavour to promote the civilisation, improvement, and happiness of the vast population of India, by means of the activity, enterprise, and consequent comfort and happiness of our own industrious population? It had been very properly stated, that one of the prominent effects of a free commercial intercourse with India and China would be, to secure to the people of this country the products of the East in greater quantities, of better quality, and at a cheaper rate;—and these were advantages to which, certainly, we were fairly and justly entitled. Still, however, in his mind, the great and important results to which the attention of the public should be mainly directed, were those he had briefly alluded to, namely, the employment and subsistence of our active and industrious population:—with him, the object was, not so much that the rich man might have tea, as that the poor man might have bread. Mr. Booth concluded by seconding the resolution which Mr. Cropper had moved.

Mr. EWART, in moving the third resolution, said, he could have wished that it had been intrusted to abler hands, and hoped, that the important matter with which it is replete might receive ample justice from some one more efficient, who might do him the honour of seconding what he had to propose. He then referred to the gratifying fact of increased demand for British manufactures, caused by this very partial opening of the trade, as contrasted with the gloomy anticipation of the East India Directors, which must have been repeatedly urged when this question was last generally discussed. It was held as an axiom, that the simple habits of the Natives were unchangeable, and, without referring to the taunts of speculative rashness, and even ignorance, with which the advocates of free trade were then not unfrequently assailed, in the course of the discussions at the East India House, in the early part

of the year 1813, he ventured to recal to the meeting, that Mr. Grant, who had some right to make deductions as to the future from the past, stated, that 'there could not be any greater increase of the exports, nor any increase of the sale of imported goods.' He (Mr. Grant) called in aid of this position, forty years' personal observation, and proceeded to say, 'in spite of this array of facts and experience, the petitioners of different manufacturing towns of Great Britain wish to try the experiment of exporting their goods.' Such warnings were reiterated by many; the views of the merchants of the outports and manufacturers were held to be delusions, upon which disappointment and disaster must await. It is now proved with whom the delusion existed; and that the taste for the luxuries and comforts of life is limited only by the means of obtaining them, is a doctrine becoming as applicable to the Hindoo as to the Briton. The inference, therefore, is not unwarranted, that the removal of these restrictions will further promote British commerce, and extend British manufacture; and that the substitution of some more secure for the present precarious tenure by which property in the East is held by European settlers, would afford some inducement to the application of British capital, and the extension of British skill. The capability of this vast and varied territory for the abundant production of cotton wool has been attested by authority entitled to every consideration; and, in this country, where the manufacture of this article employs so large a proportion of its vast population, a varied source of supply of a raw material so vitally essential is a matter of permanent importance, while the main dependence for it upon any one country involves most serious risk and apprehension. (*Great applause.*)

Mr. WALLACE CURRIE said, that he only knew, at a very late hour the night before, of the honour intended him, by a wish that he should second the present resolution. It was not his intention to say any thing on the very interesting details relative to the question before the meeting, which had been already ably stated, and on the accuracy of which their value, as had been said, entirely depended. A few words he would say on the general principles of the measure which it was their object to attain. It was a fortunate circumstance in favour of any measure, that its advocates could with confidence refer to the past in corroboration of the justice of their wishes. Mr. Ewart had just alluded to the gloomy predictions of the late Mr. Grant, the India Director, and had shown how they had been refuted by experience since the partial opening of the trade. But one important circumstance should be noticed. At that time, owing to the maritime supremacy of Great Britain during the long preceding war, she had become almost the uncontrolled mistress of a great portion of the trade of the world; but now, owing to the happy continuance of peace, other nations had turned their thoughts to commerce, and endeavoured to emulate Great Britain in the

career she had so successfully pursued. To further this, each country began to adopt its own commercial regulations, and the effect of them was to restrict the trade of Great Britain, who was obliged to meet these changes by a relaxation of her navigation laws. Many classes found themselves sufferers, and especially that numerous body, the shipowners, not exceeded by any class in enterprise, intelligence, and activity. They have complained repeatedly of the hardship of their peculiar situation, and, in the prosecution of their claims, have exhibited an extraordinary combination and concert, deserving of imitation. The present occasion furnishes them an admirable opportunity for joining the manufacturer, the agriculturist, and the landholder, with the zeal shown for their own interest. Their combined exertions must be of essential service, and ultimately ensure their own as well as the general object. Much stress had been laid on the dangers arising from colonisation; but, in fact, the experiment had never been tried. It is well known with what views Englishmen now go to India,—to make their fortunes and hurry home. They have not the inducement to cultivate the affections, and study the habits, and humour the peculiarities, of the Natives, which would present themselves, could a man look upon India as his second home. Indeed, the English did not appear before the Natives in the most favourable view, judging from what passes at home,—he meant as tax-collectors. Had they the power of taking out their wives and children, and seeing their families and descendants sitting around them, how powerful would be the moral support which the British Empire in India would receive! A few words as to China.—Facts passing under our own eyes produce the greatest impression. It has been said by Mr. Gladstone, that it was very mortifying that other nations should come to Great Britain, load their vessels with her manufactures, and proceed freely to a very lucrative market in China. Now, though well known to merchants, it might not be generally so, that this very occurrence frequently took place in the port of Liverpool. Messrs. W. and J. Brown and Co., one of the principal houses here, frequently received American vessels, which loaded for China, as stated. This was, in itself, sufficiently vexatious; but on how absurd a ground was the restriction of the trade with China to the East India Company's vessels justified,—viz., that, if other English sailors were allowed to put their noses into the Celestial Empire, (all that any foreigners were allowed to do,) they would be guilty of riot and disturbance, which would make the Hong merchants shut up their stores. But did the American sailors behave ill? and cannot English sailors and supercargo conduct themselves equally well? Besides, if any casual disturbance were ever to occur, self-interest would forgive it; and, if the Chinese did meet with some unforeseen indignity, they would not allow that to prevent their making a good sale of tea. Mr. Gladstone had well said that the present enterprise is one of serious magnitude, not to be settled in months, or perhaps years. Those who embark in it

must, therefore, press firmly on, encouraged by the past, and with confidence for the future. On such an occasion, it was not for any man to shrink back. No effort, however humble, will be useless ; and that idea must be his (Mr. Currie's) apology for seconding the resolution. (*Great applause.*)

Mr. ALSTON having read the fourth resolution, said, that it had already been so ably stated how blind and jealous the policy of the East India Company had been, that he could add little more upon that point. There was, however, one gratifying exception to the general principle of their exclusive government, as the culture of indigo had been of so little importance as to induce them to permit Europeans, by sufferance, to cultivate and manufacture it for a period of upwards of forty years, and which they had now done to such an extent as to produce upwards of two millions sterling in value, annually, superior in quality to all others, and nearly supplying the consumption of the world. Before Europeans undertook its manufacture, East India indigo was unsaleable in any foreign country, while it had been acknowledged by the Directors of the East India Company themselves that it had not only in many cases been the means of doubling the value of the soil, but had been the precursor of good order, comfort, and civilisation wherever it was introduced. This solitary instance proves, therefore, what could be done by European intercourse in improving the moral as well as the agricultural powers of that great country ; and it was unnecessary for him to dilate upon the importance and value of indigo to our manufactures, at a meeting in the country. But he was sorry to say, that in an article of still greater moment to our manufacturers, the policy of the Company and the bigoted ignorance of the Natives have prevented benefits arising from the possession of so extensive a territory, and made us depend upon foreign countries for our supply. At this moment three-fourths of the consumption of cotton wool in this kingdom is imported from the United States of America ; while not one-thirtieth part of the quantity used is grown in India. And what is the cause of all this ? How does it happen, that with a country computed at nearly 600,000 square miles in geographical extent, with every variety of soil and climate, we cannot raise enough of good cotton to make us independent of foreign countries ? The answer is plain : the absurd and blighting principles and regulations of the Government there keep the Natives from any intercourse with those who ship to Europe, and induce them to be contented with the practices and systems pursued by their ancestors for centuries back. It was a fearful consideration that this country depended so much for the principal raw material of our manufactures upon a country foreign to us, with which we so lately have been at war, and which had the power, at any time, of restricting our supply. Cotton wool is as essential to our existence as a manufacturing nation, as the air we breathe is to the

human body, and there was perhaps no point, either political or mercantile, in which this question could be viewed, more important than this, as it might affect our future supply, and make us independent of America. The opening of free communication with the East would undoubtedly dispel all anxiety on the subject, and he could not help looking here to the great advantages Liverpool enjoyed, in our able and intelligent representative, Mr. Huskisson. There was no man in the kingdom more competent, from his powerful mind and general principles, to sweep away the cobwebs of sophistry which might be opposed to us by the Company: and he concluded by expressing his entire confidence that the country, determined and united as he expected it would be, must at length carry the British flag into the ports of China, where it had been degraded and excluded, and that the flag of monopoly and restriction would be sunk in the Eastern seas, to rise no more.—(*Great applause.*)

Mr. ORMEROD HEYWORTH, in seconding the fourth resolution, said, that the objects the meeting was called to consider were the most important that could occupy their minds as commercial men,—the benefits that would follow from the allowance of a free trade to India and China. It was a subject of no small satisfaction to him to find that his fellow-townsmen were so ready to meet, and lend their aid, in order to hasten the arrival of so happy an era, both in a commercial and moral sense, as that which would follow the unrestricted admission of British enterprise, ingenuity, and industry, into India and China. Such an admission would be attended with great blessings to Great Britain, and could not fail to be accompanied by still greater blessings to the inhabitants of our Eastern possessions. The introduction of British manufactures into India and China, and the increased cultivation and sale of the productions of those countries in Great Britain and elsewhere, could not fail to be mutually advantageous to all; it would also be a means of disseminating more widely the Word of God, and promoting the temporal and spiritual improvement of millions of their fellow-men. It was with the warmest sentiments of approval that he seconded the resolution.—(*Applause.*)

Mr. T. LITLEDALE proposed the next resolution, and said, that as so much had been ably said in support of the previous resolutions, and so much remained to be said respecting those which were to follow, he would detain the meeting no longer than was requisite for the reading of the resolution he had the honour to propose.

Mr. DAVID HODGSON seconded the resolution, and spoke nearly as follows:—In seconding the resolution which has just been read, little seems necessary for me to add beyond the cordial expression of my concurrence in the sentiments which it contains; because, Sir, the evils and restrictions inseparable from monopoly, and un-

fortunately so prominent in all our commerce with the East, have already been most ably exposed by the gentlemen who have preceded me. One further illustration of the evils of that system, as more immediately connected with China, (consequently not out of place here,) I will, however, venture to bring forward, because, Sir, it appears to me strikingly to demonstrate the superiority of free trade over monopoly. This illustration is afforded by a comparison of the growth and progress of the American intercourse with China, as contrasted with that of the East India Company; and is so briefly and so clearly set forth in the space of one or two pages in an able report, printed last year by a body of our townsmen, the East India Association, that with your permission I will read a short extract. [Mr. Hodgson here read an extract to show, that whilst in the short space of twenty-five years the American trade with China had increased 387 per cent., that of the Company had only increased 23 per cent.; and that the Americans and other nations supplied every other country with tea at prices less than half of those to which the Company subjected the people of England.] I am aware, Sir, that a participation with the Americans in the direct trade with China will be denied to us by the Company whilst their Charter remains; but, as my friend Mr. Benson will show to you, we are not under any obligation imposed by the Charter, bound to forego, even until that period, the advantages of an indirect and cheap supply of tea. But as this most important and interesting branch of the subject is about to be brought under your consideration by gentlemen by whom it will, I have no doubt, be ably developed, I will not anticipate, though I cannot withhold the expression of my entire confidence, should the measures about to be recommended be successfully pursued, measures which involve no less than the security to this kingdom of a supply of tea at the continental prices, that we shall immediately (if I may use a figure) place a hook in the nose of this Leviathan, which, for so long a period, has vexed and troubled our waters of commerce, by which we shall infallibly draw him to shore at the expiration of the Charter, if we do not succeed sooner, and fix him on our land, a useful and stupendous monument of the iniquity, folly, and injustice of monopolies to future ages. One observation more, Sir, and I have done. In that observation I think we shall all agree, that monopoly is only enlarged selfishness; but it remained for this enlightened age to discover that monopoly always impoverishes, never enriches, a nation. Christianity forbids it; because Christianity cannot be exclusive. Its Divine Author has wisely and beneficently ordered, that whatever promotes the highest interests of society must ultimately promote their temporal benefit. In opening a free trade with India and China, though commercial advantages be our avowed object, who is there amongst us that would not hail the event as one fraught with blessings of the highest magnitude; nothing short, in fact, of imparting to tens of

thousands of human beings the infinite blessings of Christianity !
(*Applause.*)

Mr. R. BENSON rose to propose the sixth resolution, and said, with reference to the striking difference in the price of tea in this country and upon the Continent, that it was generally supposed that the proviso in the Act of Parliament intended to preserve an equality in this respect, had been withdrawn at the last renewal of the Company's Charter ; and it was very little known, that so late as 1822 an Act had been passed which still recognised the wholesome regulation. In order to try the system, it had been lately thought desirable by some gentlemen of this town to petition for a license to import teas from the Continent, in pursuance of the Act of Parliament passed in the reign of Geo. II. The petition recited, 'That by the 11th sec. of the 18th Geo. II., cap. 26, in order, as the Legislature expressly declared, to keep the price of tea in the country upon an equality with the price in other neighbouring countries in Europe, it was enacted, that if they neglect to keep the market supplied with a sufficient quantity of tea at reasonable prices, it should be lawful for the Commissioners of the Treasury to grant licenses to any other person or persons to import tea into Great Britain from any parts of Europe, in like manner as herein before prescribed with respect to tea to be imported from any part of Europe by the Company.' It seemed very natural, that in the regulations respecting the trade in an article of such general consumption, some provision should be made by the Legislature in behalf of the public. He believed that the principle on which all monopolies were granted, was the public advantage ultimately, though, in the first instance, that might seem neglected in favour of private individuals. So far back as the time of James I., this principle seemed to actuate the Government. A power to annul the Charter, if it should be found disadvantageous to the Crown, or the country, was reserved. The same power had been subsequently specified, especially under Geo. III. During the correspondence of the Company and their agents with Lord Melville, previously to the last renewal of the Charter, an attempt was covertly made to get rid of some of the restrictions on the exclusive privileges of the Company ; but it was then expressly stated by the latter, that the trade should remain in the same condition as that in which it had been left by previous Acts of Parliament. From that time down to 1822, a period long subsequent to the last renewal of the Charter, that provision remained in force. It might be asked how it happened that that fact had never been mentioned before ? The fact was, that up to 1793, the period at which the Continental troubles began, almost all other nations had companies of their own, and the price of tea in England and upon the Continent was pretty nearly the same. Up to 1772 the nations on the Continent imported three-fourths of the quantity of tea brought to Europe, and interfered

materially with the profits of the East India Company. The smuggling of tea into this country was carried on to a great extent; and the Company, in order to prevent it, induced the Government to lower the duties upon teas. In order to make up the deficiency in the revenue arising from this reduction, the window-tax was imposed, and thus it was to the East India Company that the country owed the imposition of so odious a tax as that upon the light of heaven. From that period, up to the general peace which followed the fall of Napoleon Buonaparte, the price of tea in England and upon the Continent did not materially differ; it was only within the last ten years that such a difference had appeared. Another remarkable fact, illustrative of the effects of the Company's monopoly, was furnished by the tea trade with Canada. Previous to 1825, the Company sent none of their ships to Canada, and, for ten years previous to that period, the Canadians received their annual supply of tea from the Americans, although they had previously done so from London; for as soon as the Americans got free access to China, they supplied the Canadian markets with tea, and that at so much cheaper a rate, that those exports of tea from England ceased altogether. The Americans were thus able to drive their rivals out of the market, notwithstanding the heavy imposts fixed upon the article by their Congress. In a correspondence which occurred between our Government and the Company, permission was demanded, from the latter, for the Canadian merchants to import teas direct from China, or the Company were to send ships of their own direct from China. They chose the latter, and since then the Canadians have been better and more cheaply supplied with teas than any other British subjects. He mentioned this in illustration of the different prices demanded for tea according to the influence of the Company; in Canada, though burdened by the Company's heavy charges upon it, the inhabitants got their tea, for 9d. per pound less than was charged to their fellow-subjects elsewhere. The difference in the prices of tea in this country, and at Hamburgh and other places on the Continent, was most striking. At Hamburgh the price of tea, free of duty, was 1s. 3½d. per lb., whilst at the Company's sale the price was 3s. per lb. (*Great applause.*) Putting these facts together, the difference on the 30,000,000 of pounds forming the consumption of tea in England during 1828, was just 2,800,000l., being the sum paid by this country more than it need pay if the importation of tea were allowed to British merchants as freely as it was allowed the Americans. (*Applause.*) From this enormous difference in the price, they were naturally led to inquire how so salutary a law, as that which provided for its equalisation, came to be laid upon the shelf. The application for a license, previously mentioned, was answered by a letter from Mr. E. Walpole, which he would take the liberty of reading; it was dated August 20, 1828:

'GENTLEMEN,—I am desired by Mr. Goulburn to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to the Duke of Wellington, inclosing a petition from the merchants of Liverpool, requesting, for the reasons therein stated, that a license might be granted to them to import into this country, from Hamburgh, or some other continental port, a quantity of tea, not exceeding two millions of pounds weight; and I am to acquaint you, that the 18th Geo. II., cap. 26, on which the petitioners rely, was certainly, as they state, continued by several Acts, but was ultimately repealed by the 6th Geo. IV. cap. 105. sec. 90. The last Act which recognised it was the 3d Geo. IV. cap. 45. sec. 21, and that Act was expressly repealed by the 6th Geo. IV. cap. 105. sec. 358. The provisions, therefore, on which the petitioners call upon the Treasury to act, have been repealed; but in addition to this, the 4th Geo. IV. cap. 80. sec. 9., and lastly, the 6th Geo. IV. cap. 107. sec. 52, expressly prohibits the importation of tea, unless from the place of its growth, and by the East India Company, and into the port of London.'

The provision was repealed in the Act termed the Customs Consolidation Act, 6th Geo. IV. cap. 105, an Act which was intended to get rid of a great deal of cumbrous rubbish; but which, unfortunately, amongst the useless and mischievous enactments which it repealed, let slip that useful and salutary one. He then read the following preamble of the Act alluded to :

'Whereas the laws of the Customs have become intricate, by reason of the great number of the Acts relating thereto, which have been passed through a long series of years; and whereas it is, therefore, highly expedient, for the interests of commerce and the ends of justice, and also for affording convenience and facilitating to all persons who may be authorised to act in the execution thereof, that all the statutes now in force, relating to the Customs, should be repealed; and that the purposes for which they have, from time to time, been made, should be secured by new enactments, exhibiting more perspicuously and compendiously the various provisions contained in them.'

After reading such a preamble, it was natural to expect that such a regulation as that of the 18th Geo. II., certainly not a useless one, inasmuch as it preserved so many millions from imposition, would be re-established: and from chapter 107th, passed the same day, and with the same preamble, that expectation was still further strengthened; but by it tea was only to be imported from the place where it was grown, to be brought into the London Docks, and to be imported by the East India Company, and thus the country was left entirely at the mercy of the Company. Fortunately, however, this provision had been recognised long subsequently to the last renewal of the Company's Charter, and, therefore, it rested with the Legislature to restore that which had been so inadvertently withdrawn. They all knew how much cheaper tea was to be had at Hamburgh: to bring it there, the ships of the Americans, the Dutch, the Danes, and other people, were to be employed, exclusively of the British; but it might be brought thence in the boats of the British, and it was of the utmost importance to England that it should be so

brought, rather than remain in the hands of the monopolists. (*Great applause.*)

Mr. BROCKLEBANK seconded the resolution. His opinion was, that one condition of the exclusive charter of the East India Company was, that the people of Great Britain should be supplied with tea at as cheap a rate as the people of any other country. He would rather that tea should be brought in cock-boats from Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Rotterdam, than that the great body of the people should be taxed for the exclusive benefit of a monopolizing Company, though the privilege of importing teas direct from China to Liverpool was certainly much preferable to this. He hoped that the measures adopted by the meeting would lead to so desirable a result.

Mr. S. HORE proposed the next resolution, and spoke to the following effect:—Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen,—I rejoice at the opportunity thus afforded me of expressing my hearty concurrence in the proceedings of this day, and the high sense I entertain of their utility and importance to this town and the empire at large. The port of Liverpool has been raised to its present proud pre-eminence by the enterprise of its merchants, and, within my own time, has been elevated from the rank of a third or fourth-rate town to that of a second. Though Liverpool has a leg tied up, she is now running a race with the metropolis; they are neck and neck, and let but that leg be untied which now restricts the motion of one of the competitors, and we may venture to anticipate that the same enterprise which has carried Liverpool so far, will soon lead her beyond the port of London itself. (*Applause.*) This meeting and its objects are important not only to Liverpool, but to the country at large; the eyes of the country are now directed towards us; and every commercial and manufacturing town in the kingdom is looking intensely towards the interesting and important spectacle we this day exhibit. There is now formed in Bristol a provisional committee, to give effect to resolutions of the same nature as our own; in Manchester a similar measure is contemplated; and the example of these great towns will, no doubt, be followed by Birmingham, Glasgow, and the country at large. The question is one of the most important nature, not only with regard to the inhabitants of this country, but also to the population of India, which exceeds that of the half of Europe, and to the still more numerous inhabitants of China. Its importance is sufficient not only to secure our most active and persevering endeavours in its behalf, but also to lead to its discussion with a temperance and moderation which will prompt us to do justice even to the Company themselves, whenever their conduct is such as we can commend. This Company has now existed for two hundred and thirty years; and though it began with a capital of only 360,000*l.*, it has now become rich and powerful, and the influence it possesses it has always

employed to resist any attempt on the part of the people to participate in the advantages which, in its career, have led to power and affluence. The gentlemen who undertook to prepare the resolutions have acted discreetly in not embarrassing themselves by any reference to the territorial revenue of the East India Company. We feel far more competent to engage with the commercial part of the question, and will leave other points to the consideration of a body which cannot be indifferent whether the rich and extensive country of India shall belong to their twenty-four majesties of Leadenhall-street; (*laughter and applause*;) or whether the revenue, amounting to at least nine-sixteenths of the produce of the soil, shall be applied to the reduction of debt and taxation, or go to the coffers of a wealthy combination; or whether the immense patronage possessed by the Company shall remain in their hands, or be placed at the disposal of the country. These are points which we do not touch upon, because the discussion upon them will take place more appropriately elsewhere. There is one point, however, in the consideration of this question which should never be lost sight of,—a distinction should always be made between the Company at home and their agents abroad. The Government in that country is conducted with a humanity and talent which reflect the highest honour upon the gentlemen who have the management of it. I wish that we could pay the same compliment to the Directors here; but many of the difficulties with which we and the nation at large have now to contend, are to be attributed to their administration of the duty they have taken upon themselves. We have now two leading objects in view, the first of which is the opening of the trade to China. It has been the remark of almost every political writer of eminence, that trade should be as free as the air we breathe. This should be the general principle, and it was so at a period much more remote than any yet mentioned; for, by 15 Edward III. it was declared, that ‘the seas shall be open to all merchants to pass with their merchandise whither they please.’ No exceptions to this general rule ought to be made but on the most manifest evidence of their necessity. No such necessity now applies to the trade with the East. At the time of the formation of the East India Company, indeed, there was not sufficient enterprise in private individuals to enter into such a trade; the risks were too great, and the returns were too precarious; but the causes which justified the formation of the monopoly are no longer in existence to justify its continuance. The merchants of Liverpool are fully able to conduct the commerce, and that with much more advantage to themselves, their country, and the people of the East, than the Company. (*Applause.*) Another great point is the right of an Englishman to reside in India, and the liberty of visiting it whenever he thinks proper. No danger can possibly result from the concession of the liberty to do both; for it must be borne in mind, that none are likely to settle there but those who had become attached to the country, who had

acquired property in it by their own industry, who might, therefore, be supposed to form the most useful and worthy subjects, and whose interests were involved in the well-being and prosperity of the country which they inhabited. In an empire held on such community of interests, such an intermingling of the strongest ties, no possible danger could result from its inhabitants. Another most important consideration was, that, by the skill and capital of such settlers, the indigenous productions of the country would be improved, both in quantity and quality, to an almost inconceivable extent. There was plenty of room for such improvement in indigo, rice, cotton, and coffee,—the latter of which articles was only recently introduced into the country by way of experiment, and it had been found that there was nothing to prevent its almost unlimited cultivation. He begged leave to correct a very general error with respect to that meeting. An opinion prevailed that the efforts they were now making were immediately owing to the exertions of Mr. Buckingham, during the course of lectures which he recently delivered in this town. The gentlemen who attended those lectures must feel themselves under deep obligations to Mr. Buckingham for the talent and amenity of temper with which they were delivered. (*Loud applause.*) He certainly succeeded in diffusing a mass of most valuable information, in a manner which did the highest credit to himself; (*applause*;) but, though it was not generally known, there existed, long antecedent to that period, a conviction that some measures should be adopted with a view to the great object they were now met to consider. They owed a large debt of gratitude to his Worship, the Mayor, for the manner in which he came forward at the conclusion of those lectures, (*great applause,*) and, without sheltering himself under the restrictive dignity of his office, too generally supposed to be inseparable from those walls, (*great applause,*) in his character of an English merchant, returned thanks to Mr. Buckingham for the information thus afforded to him, and his fellow-townsmen.* (*Redoubled applause.*) The question before

* The following letter appeared in 'The Liverpool Times' of the succeeding week on this subject. This subordinate question is, in our estimation, of less importance than either of the individuals who have entertained it appear to think; but common fairness requires that if the first be heard on the subject, the second should also have his share of attention.

To Samuel Hope, Esq.

ex. Sir,—I am very unwilling to fritter away strength in discussing with whom measures originate, when all our strength will be required to carry the measures themselves. Yet I cannot permit an assertion of yours, in your speech on the India question, to be left upon record without attempting its refutation. In that speech you contend that Mr. Buckingham's lectures were not the *immediate* cause of the public meeting here. I venture, Sir, to differ with you in opinion, and to think that we owe the suggestion of having a public meeting at this time entirely to Mr. Buckingham. Had Mr. Buckingham not found the pile, he might have applied the torch in vain, there would have been no fire. Nor is it any disparagement of the zeal of the Liverpool merchants, that the additional facts he communicated to the crowded audiences he drew to his instructive lectures, and of which even they were ignorant, should have called their attention more immediately to the subject. The Liverpool merchants have already given proof of their continued attention to the subject from the year 1792 to the present time, and will, I trust, give still further proof how much they are in

them was not confined to commercial subjects, but embraced a variety of other most important considerations. With their permission, he would make a few remarks upon some of these. It was said, by Bishop Heber, that, in matters affecting their temporal interests or honour, no people were so brave and so resolute as the English, but that, in pushing on the higher interests of humanity, no people were so dastardly and scrupulous. Whether there might be any foundation for this assertion or not, he (Mr. Hope) would not pretend to say; but he trusted that the people of Liverpool would wipe off the reproach so far as it might be supposed to apply to them. The burning of widows, the tax upon superstitions, and destructive pilgrimages, and infanticide, were amongst the most prominent of the abuses to be reformed in India. In the nine years preceding 1823, the latest period to which official returns had been made, not fewer than six thousand widows had perished on the funeral piles of their husbands, and probably two thousand more burnings of the same kind, during the same period, escaped observation, and were not mentioned at all. At a recent meeting of the Court of Directors in London it was stated in the returns, that widow-burning still continued in the same proportion and that the number of females who thus perished in 1824 was 552, in 1825 it was 639, and in 1826 it was 518. The number of children thus thrown upon the world without father or mother, was, of course, proportionally great. That a practice so horrible as this should be suffered to exist, by a Government calling itself Christian, was strange indeed, and the reproach was augmented by the fact, that they had the power to effect its complete abolition. (*Hear, hear, hear.*) He ought to add, that this horrid practice was not enjoined by the Hindoo laws, and had only the indirect sanction of the commentators on those laws, who said, that, if a woman, on the death of her husband, felt that she was not capable of leading a life of austerity and self-denial, it were far better that she should perish than live to disgrace herself and the memory of her husband. There were four principal pilgrimages in India, of which that to the temple of Jugernaut, at Orissa, was under the special protection and sanction of the Government. The temple was maintained by the Government; the idol was clothed in the finest broad cloths, and decked with the greatest splendour, at the expense of the Government; the priests, the servants of the temple, were paid by the Government; and the Government even employed a number of officers, called Pilgrim-hunters, who made it their business to go about per-

earnest to promote their own interest and that of the country. In the mean time, I feel no hesitation (and I believe it to be a very general impression) in admitting my obligations to Mr. Buckingham for the increased interest he has given to the subject, for the important facts he has communicated verbally and through "*The Oriental Herald*," and for the assistance he has afforded in leading the merchants to think of a public meeting at this time, thereby producing an effect which will, I hope, end in serving every man, however humble his station, in the kingdom, and will call down blessings on our heads from millions of our brethren in the East.

I remain, Sir, yours respectfully,

W. R.

suading the people to go and pay their adorations at the temple, and who were actually paid so much per head for the poor people they thus prevailed upon to go worship the idol. (*Hear, hear.*) The number of victims who perished annually, in consequence of those pilgrimages, would fall little short of from twenty to forty thousand. There were no inns, or other places, for the resort and accommodation of the majority of the pilgrims, who were thus exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, and perished in great numbers, to say nothing of those who were crushed to death under the wheels of the chariot of the idol; (*hear, hear;*) as many as ninety victims had been seen lying dead in a small compass, perfectly within view at once. If it were considered too presuming to recommend the Government to interfere for the prevention of this dreadful waste of human life, surely it would not be too much to request them not to pay the expenses attendant upon it, not to derive a revenue from this horrid idolatry. (*Applause.*) With regard to the burning of widows, the Government might also be requested to put a stop to the practice, by a positive prohibitory injunction, which, whatever might be said to the contrary, would not be productive of the slightest evil consequences. There were many circumstances to show that the Hindoos were not so inviolably attached to their habits and prejudices as they were represented to be. When Warren Hastings, a man who had been subjected to much undeserved obloquy, took the reins of government into his hands, the persons of the Brahmins were held to be sacred and inviolable; they, therefore, enjoyed an immunity of crime, and they were addicted to every species of criminal excess. Forgery was a crime which prevailed at that time to a considerable extent, and one to which the Brahmins were particularly prone. In order to put a stop to this, a law was promulgated, enacting that, for the future, every Brahmin should be as amenable to the laws as the meanest individual. Not long afterwards, a Brahmin was guilty of forgery; he was tried and convicted; he was executed within sight of Calcutta, in the presence of at least 100,000 of the Natives, and not the least murmur was uttered, or the slightest symptom of dissatisfaction evinced. Another striking instance of the possibility of interfering with Native prejudices without evil consequences, was afforded by what had been done with respect to infanticide. Captain Walker, for rescuing the children of one district from that horrid practice, was termed the saviour of the country. Lord Wellesley, having found that the number of children destroyed in Saugur was very great, issued an edict, declaring that, for the future, mothers who committed that unnatural crime, should be deemed guilty of murder and punished accordingly, and sent a company of sepoys to enforce the execution of that edict; the practice in consequence ceased, and his conduct was regarded with reverence and gratitude by the inhabitants. The measures now recommended, and particularly a free intercourse with the Natives,

would afford many means of effecting the objects deemed to be of such importance by all, and he trusted that they would be unanimous in their adoption. It was eloquently said by Burke, that the blood of man should never be shed but to redeem the blood of man; how desirable then, was it to prevent the sacrifice of human life, consequent upon the superstitions and ignorance of our fellow-subjects in India! (*Great applause.*) Mr. Hope concluded by reading the resolution.

Mr. RATHBONE, (in reply to Mr. Hope,) said he owed it to the commercial reputation of Liverpool not to let pass uncontradicted, the assertion that they considered a Company rich, who, by their own showing, were in debt, in 1807, to the amount of 30,000,000*l.*, and whose debts, he believed, had gone on accumulating to an enormous extent, beyond their power to pay—debts which had been wrung from the hard earnings of our artisans, and from the country generally; which had been incurred in aggressive wars that had drained the blood of our countrymen, and by which both conquerors and conquerors had been injured. He considered it idle to call a Company in such circumstances, prosperous; they were, on the contrary, in circumstances of disgrace and disaster. As to their internal government, they were behindhand in knowledge, even with the barbarian Alexander: he kept possession of Persia by mixing the vanquished with the conquerors, and marrying his generals to the Persian women; but in India, a half-caste, though of our own kindred and a part of ourselves, was not even allowed to be a common soldier. (*Applause.*)

Mr. S. HOPE explained that he had spoken of the Company as a rich one, in the same manner that noblemen with great patrimonial possessions, though over head and ears in debt, were termed wealthy men. (*A laugh.*) With respect to the Government of India, the source of that was Leadenhall-street, and he considered that all that was objectionable in it issued thence.

Mr. C. TAYLEUR said that he would not trouble the meeting with any remarks of his own, after the details which had been so ably furnished by other gentlemen, but would content himself with seconding the resolution.

Mr. A. HODGSON said, that, after the observations which had been made, it would be unnecessary to trouble the meeting with many remarks, in order to secure their concurrence in the resolution he should have the honour to propose, and which he would then read. That the restrictions imposed by the East India Company's monopoly were partial and oppressive, would not be denied by that meeting, or by any body of British merchants, exposed as they were to the degradation of seeing the Americans send their vessels to load in our ports, with our manufactures, in order to prosecute a traffic, which they, as British merchants, and because they were British merchants, were prohibited from pursuing. That it was injurious

to this country, and to the world at large, would be evident to every person who would give the subject a dispassionate consideration. But, when they recollected the magnitude of the private interests involved in this great question, the delusions attempted to be practised on the British public in the discussions which preceded the partial opening of the India trade; when they considered how much they, at that time, suffered from the ignorance of those who claimed, from long residence in India, unlimited credit for statements which experience had proved to be most fallacious; when they reflected on the reluctance which Government naturally felt to stir, without some pressing necessity, in a measure connected, as they must admit this was, with ulterior questions of policy, deep, difficult, and complicated:—it was evident that nothing but an extended system of co-operation on the part of the British public could enable them to secure the end they were then met to endeavour to attain. With respect to the injury they had formerly sustained from the ignorance of those whose opinions were deferred to, Mr. Ewart had given a striking illustration, by referring to the incorrectness, as subsequently appeared, of the testimony of so able, so respectable, and so upright a man as Mr. Graft, who had so long resided in India. Under these circumstances, he was happy to find that one of the objects of the meeting was, to secure a cordial and extended system of co-operation; and he rejoiced to see, that Liverpool, by taking the lead in this business, was assuming the attitude which became her, and fulfilling the responsibilities with which she was invested by her growing opulence, her extended commerce, and the number of her active and intelligent population. The appeal she was that day making to the country, he was persuaded, would be heard, and would find a responsive feeling in every individual in the country, not directly, or indirectly, connected with the Company's monopoly. They were embarked, as Mr. Gladstone had stated, in a most arduous contest; but he scarcely felt a doubt of the result, since he was satisfied they might secure a co-operation so cordial, so sustained, and so irresistible, as to render impossible the continuance of a monopoly which had long lain as a night-mare on our commerce, had closed the most fertile sources which could be opened to the labouring classes of this country, and had raised artificial barriers to the extension of civilisation and Christianity, which it was the natural effect of commerce to diffuse throughout the globe. (*Applause.*)—Mr. GRANT seconded the resolution.—Mr. Alderman J. BOURNE briefly proposed the adoption of the petition.—Mr. LEATHOM seconded the motion; and Mr. STATHAM (the Town Clerk) then read the petition respecting the tea-trade, which was approved, and carried unanimously.*

Mr. T. THORNELY then rose and said, the tenth resolution, which

* This Petition will be found embodied in an article on the Tea Monopoly, in another part of the present Number.

he had the honour to propose, having for its object chiefly to carry into effect the resolutions already adopted by the meeting, would require little to be said in support of it. He thought they were under great obligations to the gentlemen who had prepared the resolutions which had been passed, because they contained details which it was of great importance should be known throughout the country, and of which it might be supposed that many persons were at present quite uninformed. If, however, he had any fault to find with these resolutions, it was that he thought they said too little of the right which belonged to the people of this country to trade, for instance, with China, as with any other foreign country. (*Cheers.*) For his own part, he felt so strongly on this subject, that he had not the least idea how any Minister of the Crown, or any Member of either House of Parliament, could, for one moment, entertain the idea of the renewal of the Company's Charter, to the exclusion of the right of the people to the trade in question. (*Great applause.*) Happily the days of monopoly were gone by, and the principles of free trade were now universally admitted. (*Great applause.*) And when their worthy chairman, and other intelligent gentlemen, should be deputed to wait on the Minister—whether the Duke of Wellington or any other Peer—he really would not have them proceed too much cap-in-hand; (*Laughter and applause;*) he would rather have them say, “My Lord, this is a right this country has been kept out of for a great number of years, and we are come to demand it; at the same time, if we can be of any service in giving our assistance, we are ready to do so.” (*Much laughter and applause.*) After all, this ought to be the business of the Government: why should they be required to be making arrangements for a labour of four years, to accomplish the right they undoubtedly possessed to a free trade? The Ministers ought to come forward and save them that trouble. They ought to say, for instance, in the King's Speech, that, “the Charter of the East India Company being about to expire, they congratulate the country on the prospect of the great opening which will be afforded for the exercise of its skill and the extension of its trade.” (*Much laughter and applause.*) Some allusion had been made to the fact of American ships carrying out goods from this port to China. Now, whenever he saw one of those vessels loading with the manufactures of this country, which our manufacturers were anxious to dispose of, and conveying them to the Chinese, who were also willing to receive them, two feelings came across his mind:—first, he rejoiced that, whilst our own Government prevented our own people from exercising the right to trade with China, there was yet, happily, another medium by which the trade might be carried on. (*Applause.*) Then came a feeling of humiliation, that our own people should be unjustly deprived of their right so to trade. (*Much cheering.*) Whilst on the subject of the China trade, he might mention what would be more important if he were addressing a manufacturing audience, that, on a late visit to

America, he found that the best business done to China had been the export of British manufactures, (*cheers.*) and that, whilst on tea there had often been very heavy losses, great profits had been made on the export of British goods. (*Much cheering.*) The American tariff having also been adverted to, he could not help expressing his surprise that so intelligent a people as the Americans should have adopted the narrow-minded restrictive system, instead of persevering, as they had begun, in the liberal principles of free trade. (*Cheers.*) Had they consulted their own intelligence, or read the works of Adam Smith, Ricardo, McCulloch, or the French economists, they never would have adopted such a policy; indeed he could not imagine how they got hold of it, unless their trade with China had led them to adopt the Chinese policy. (*Laughter.*) In this matter he had, personally, almost no interest, for he did not think he should ever adventure one sixpence in the trade, either to China or India; but, as a friend to free trade, he could not avoid moving this resolution. (*Applause.*) Still, he hoped the Government would take the matter out of their hands, and save them the labour which otherwise they must lay out for themselves. They were under great disadvantages, from the weight of the national debt and the taxation; and Government should eagerly embrace every opportunity to increase the trade of the country. (*Great applause.*) Mr. T. concluded by moving the tenth resolution.

Mr. T. B. BARCLAY seconded the resolution.

Mr. GLADSTONE proposed the next resolution. He said that, money being the sinews of war, and they being about to engage in a protracted and extensive war, it was highly desirable that the necessary funds should be provided to carry it on. He was sure that the feelings expressed that day would meet with general and cordial co-operation, and that the subscription to be entered into would be most productive. The various deputations to London on this question had been attended with very heavy expenses, and he hoped that those of the ensuing deputation would be liberally provided for, and that the Corporation would manifest their accustomed liberality and munificence on the occasion. (*Applause.*) He trusted that similar deputations would be sent from every town in the kingdom, and that the measures to be proposed would meet with general and individual support.

Mr. CROPPER, in seconding the resolution, said, he would only add, that, as there was not a single individual in Liverpool, whether possessing property or wanting employment, who was not deeply interested in this great question, he trusted the subscription would be liberal and general.

Mr. GLADSTONE begged pardon while he mentioned one particular circumstance that had escaped his recollection at the proper time. Mr. Bolton, whose name stood at the head of the requisition, he lamented to say, was prevented, by the ill state of his health, from at-

tending the meeting that day; but he felt confident that he would not be backward in aiding the cause by his contribution in due time. (*Applause.*)

Colonel WILLIAMS then rose, and spoke nearly in the following terms: 'Mr. Mayor,—After the glowing and golden promises and prospects which have been opened by the previous speakers, it may appear that I undertake an ungracious part if I attempt to throw a damp upon your expectations; but, when we consider how long this abuse has been tolerated by the nation, and supported by the Legislature, when we see no alteration in the constitution of that corrupt body by which this flagrant monopoly was established, and has been so long upheld, what hopes can we entertain of any change in the system? The fact is, that this trade, which you seek to overthrow, is supported by that monopoly of power on the part of three hundred borough-mongers, which enables them to return a majority of the Commons House of Parliament. (*Shouts of laughter and great cheering.*) Mr. Gladstone says, that, if you put your shoulders to the wheel, he will venture to promise you success, and he says that money is one of the sinews of war. He should have told you that one of the maxims of war is, not to be too confident of success, not to despise the enemy opposed to you. The enemy you have to combat is not the East India Company, but the Legislature of England, that Legislature which is so bound up with monopoly that I assert them to be one and indivisible. (*Cries of 'No, no!'*) Perhaps not; you may hope that it is not so; but I judge from the past,—you speak of the future. (*Laughter and applause.*) Another speaker has told you that your accomplished representative, Mr. Huskisson, will find little difficulty in brushing away the 'cobwebs of sophistry' which your adversaries will have woven to keep you out of a participation in the India trade. Gentlemen, it is something more substantial and adhesive that Mr. Huskisson will have to deal with; selfishness and monopoly are the enemies he will have to combat. Gentlemen, I have said that I considered the monopoly of trade by the East India Company, and the monopoly of power by the three hundred borough-mongers, as one and indivisible. The patronage enjoyed by them is enormous, and it is divided between them. (*Applause.*) Can any thing be more illustrative of this community of interests between them than the despicable trick played off in the case of Castlereagh, of infamous memory? (*A few hisses, which were instantly lost in loud and long-continued cheering.*) Was he not of infamous memory? (*Applause.*) That traitor to his own country, and tyrant of this, was detected in the scandalous barter of a writership in the East India Company's service for a seat in the House of Commons; and what was the consequence? When the noble lord was detected in the infamous traffic, he was justified, because the practice was declared to be general, and as notorious as the sun at noonday. (*Cheers.*) Mr. Hume has shown that the Ho-

nourable Company has six thousand servants, agents, and officers, at home and abroad, who receive emoluments of from 200*l.* to 10,000*l.* per annum, exclusive of the Governor-General. This fact, and the enormous patronage possessed, well accounts for the Company and the Government being always found hand-and-glove together. Exclusive of this extensive interest at home and abroad, it is stated, on very good authority, that, whenever labourers are hired in London by the East India Company, they are asked if they have votes, and for what borough; if they have, the fact is recorded; and, when the period of a general election arrives, the freemen have leave of absence given to them, and, if they vote as directed, all is well; but, if they vote contrary to the wishes of the Company, there is an end to their hopes of employment. Mr. Cropper characteristically looks forward to the mental and moral improvement of the Natives of India, which must result from the free intercourse of Europeans. Whether a free trade will be productive of such effects or not, I know not; but, at all events, it is high time to make the experiment. (*Applause.*) Never was any thing more fallacious than the statements which some other gentlemen have made with respect to the humanity of the Government in India; for it has been stated, on good authority, that what is called justice, which is the soul of good government, is there regularly bought and sold, and that the policy of the East India Company, from the time they first got possession of the country to the present hour, has been such as that eloquently described by Burke, in his accusation of Warren Hastings, to the following effect: 'That there was not a single state, prince, or potentate, with whom the Company had come in contact, that they had not sold; not a single treaty they had ever made that they had not broken; not a prince or state, who ever put their trust in the Company, who was not utterly ruined; and that none were, in any degree, secure or flourishing, but in the exact proportion to their settled distrust and irreconcilable enmity to this nation.' Whether those imperial traders, whose seat of government is in Leadenhall-street, are to be considered as kings, or whether (being many) they may not rather be a republic, I know not; but I have been told by a friend, who knows the country well, and has acquired that knowledge from a residence of twenty years in India, and who has had frequent conference with the Directors, that such a set of fellows, so ignorant, and so incompetent even to the management of their own business, were never before assembled together in one body. (*Laughter and applause.*) I am told also by another friend, upon whom I can rely, that, at all the courts of the Native Princes, the Company have a regular spy, (but, perhaps, all ambassadors are nothing better than spies,) whose only business is to set the Prince and his ministers at variance, and attend to the interests of the Company in the commotions which may ensue. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, there is another point upon which I am anxious to cause in you a certain degree of exasperation against this

odious system, because I consider it necessary, to give you even a chance of success. It is said that we have a heavy and long-accumulating debt to pay off, with regard to the natives of Africa; but what is that, compared to the debt the Company owe to India, and to all classes of their fellow-subjects? (*Applause.*)

Mr. MYERS moved a vote of thanks to his Worship the Mayor, for his conduct in the chair, which was seconded by Mr. RATHBONE.

The MAYOR returned thanks, and said he felt much flattered by the honour done to him, and he trusted he should always be found at his post, ready to perform his duty, and render his fellow-townsmen any assistance it was in his power to confer. (*Applause.*)

The motion having been passed unanimously, and with great applause, the meeting separated.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE MEETING.

At a Public Meeting of the Merchants and other Inhabitants of the Town of Liverpool, held in the Court-Room, in the New Sessions-House, Chapel-street, on Wednesday the 28th day of January, 1829, 'For the purpose of taking into consideration the best means of removing the restrictions imposed upon Commerce by the Charter of the East India Company, and of prevailing on the Legislature to secure to the public all those benefits which a free commercial intercourse with India and China is capable of affording:—

The Worshipful the Mayor in the Chair;

On the motion of John Gladstone, Esq., seconded by William Rathbone, Esq., it was resolved unanimously,

1st.—That the opening of a Free Trade to China, and the removal of restrictions which impede the commerce between this country and India, would be productive of incalculable benefits, both to this kingdom and to the British territories in the East Indies. That the extent of these benefits may, in some degree, be estimated, though very imperfectly, from the fact, that since 1814, the period when the present limited and partial intercourse with India was permitted, notwithstanding the vexatious restrictions by which the British merchant has found himself impeded at every step, the commerce, in many staple commodities, has increased beyond the most sanguine expectation, while new sources of profitable interchange offer themselves to British skill and enterprise.

On the motion of James Cropper, Esq., seconded by Henry Booth, Esq., it was resolved unanimously,

2d.—That it appears from official returns, that in the year 1814, there were exported to India, 604,800 yards of printed calicoes and 213,480 yards of plain calicoes; while in 1827, the export of printed calicoes was 14,362,551 yards, and of plain 19,932,580; the increase in the export of plain calicoes, the description com-

monly worn by the Natives, being 93 fold : that of cotton twist, so late as 1823, the export to India was only 121,500 lbs. weight, while in 1827, the export was 3,363,968 lbs. weight, and has since been progressively increasing. That in metals, hardware, earthenware, and many other goods, an immense increase of our export has also taken place. That in the year 1819, the settlement of Singapore, at that time resorted to chiefly by pirates, was taken possession of by the British Government, and made a free port ; and in 1827, its import trade amounted to 13,387,185 sicca rupees, with a corresponding export, thus showing the extensive benefits to be derived from a free commercial intercourse, and altogether affording a greatly increased and increasing field of employment for British shipping.

On the motion of John Ewart, Esq., seconded by William Wallace Currie, Esq.; it was resolved unanimously,

‘ 3d.—That, notwithstanding this great increase in the demand for British manufactures, the present circumstances of the trade show clearly that a morbid and defective system of commercial policy alone prevents the further and rapid growth of the trade between this country and India. For, while gold and silver were formerly exported to purchase the products of the East, the demand for British manufactures, notwithstanding the gloomy predictions of the East India Company of the want of markets, has increased to such an extent as to be limited only by the insufficiency of the products of the country for the purpose of returns :—an insufficiency which is caused by the levying of heavy transit duties on the intercourse with the interior, and by arbitrary restrictions on the settlement and residence of Englishmen, as well as on the employment of British capital on the fertile but neglected soils of Hindostan.’

On the motion of J. T. Alston, Esq., seconded by Ormerod Heyworth, Esq., it was resolved unanimously,

‘ 4th.—That the cultivation of indigo indirectly by Europeans, (at present permitted on sufferance by the East India Company,) has rapidly increased, till the produce now amounts in value to about two millions sterling per annum ; affording the principal supply of every market of consumption in the world, and satisfactorily proving the vast capabilities of the soil, if allowed to be called forth by adequate capital, skill, and enterprise.’

On the motion of Thomas Littledale, Esq., seconded by David Hodgson, Esq., it was resolved unanimously,

‘ 5th.—That, while the exclusive privileges and arbitrary rule of the East India Company are thus injurious, as regards the commerce with India, the absolute prohibition enforced by the Charter against British subjects trading with China—a trade at once varied, extensive, and lucrative, and which the inhabitants of all nations (Eng-

lishmen only excepted) are permitted to enjoy, is still more oppressive and unjust. That, although the opening of the trade to China and the East may seem more immediately important to the mercantile and manufacturing interests, it would, nevertheless, be of extreme value to the agriculturist, the fund-holder, and the annuitant, from the great amount of wealth it would bring into the country, and from the consequent increase of commercial revenue, which would be available for the reduction of internal taxation.

On the motion of Robert Benson, Esq., seconded by Thomas Brocklebank, Esq., it was resolved unanimously,

6th.—That the article of tea affords a prominent instance of the injurious effects of monopoly, the present price in London, free of duty, being more than 100 per cent. above the price in the neighbouring ports of Europe; thus imposing upon the people of this country a burden of upwards of two millions and a half sterling per annum, for the sole benefit of the East India Company; whilst the Legislature has declared its intention that Great Britain should be supplied with tea as cheaply as continental Europe. That, by the 18th Geo. II. cap. 26, sec. 11, a power was reserved to the Lords of the Treasury to grant permission to individuals to import tea from the continent of Europe, in case the East India Company should neglect to supply the market with a sufficient quantity of that article, in order, as is expressly declared by the Legislature, to keep the price in this country upon an equality with the price in the neighbouring countries of Europe; and that, so late as the year 1822, by 3d Geo. IV. chap. 43, sec. 21, this law of Geo. II. is expressly recognised as existing unrepealed and unaltered. That in the year 1825, being the 6th Geo. IV. an Act, cap. 105, was passed for the purpose of repealing a great number of Acts of Parliament relative to the commerce of this country, in order to simplify the laws of the Customs, with the avowed declaration, as is stated in the preamble, that the purposes for which these Acts had been, from time to time, made, should be secured by new enactments, exhibiting their provisions more perspicuously. That by this Act of the 6th of the present reign, the power for securing to the public a supply of tea as cheap as it might be in other neighbouring countries, was, it is presumed unintentionally, swept away from the Statute-book. That in the same Session of Parliament, and simultaneously therewith, another Act was passed, cap. 107, which, whilst it professes to secure, by re-enactment, the purposes for which the Acts so repealed were made, not only omits to secure to the Lords of the Treasury the power which had been, previously, so wisely given, in respect to the supply of tea, but absolutely restricts the importation thereof from any place but that of its growth, and by the East India Company, and into the port of London. That thus that salutary and equitable provision, devised by the wisdom and justice of previous Parliaments, has been wholly abrogated; and, as no equi-

valent advantage was given to the public, it is considered clear that this provision has been inadvertently withdrawn; and that, consequently, it is not only competent to the Legislature, but incumbent upon it, to pass such enactments as will restore to the Lords of the Treasury the power so unaccountably revoked.

On the motion of Samuel Hope, Esq., seconded by Charles Tayleur, Esq., it was resolved unanimously,

‘ 7th.—That, independently of commercial considerations, this meeting contemplates, with deep concern, the state of mental debasement in which the mighty population of Hindostan has been hitherto doomed to remain; while it is evident that a free and enlarged intercourse with the country, aided by a liberal and humane legislation, seems alone wanting to extend the benefits of civilisation, to put an end (if the intervention of the Legislature should not sooner effect it) to the horrible custom of burning of widows, together with other revolting superstitions, and to confer intelligence and happiness on millions of our fellow-beings, possessing the strongest claims on our sympathy and protection.’

On the motion of Adam Hodgson, Esq., seconded by George Grant, Esq., it was resolved unanimously,

‘ 8th.—That this Meeting, strongly impressed with the importance of a well-organised effort on the part of the British people to oppose, and endeavour to prevent, the renewal of the East India Company’s monopoly and destructive powers, earnestly exhorts the inhabitants of other towns to the same, but determined expression of the public sentiment against the further continuance of a system so partial and oppressive in its immediate operation, as well as so inimical to the best interests of this country and of mankind.’

On the motion of John Bourne, Esq., seconded by Thomas Leatham, Esq., it was resolved unanimously,

‘ 9th.—That, in furtherance of the special objects stated in the 6th Resolution, with reference to the importation of tea from the Continent, petitions, as now read, be presented to both Houses of Parliament in the ensuing session; and that the Earl of Derby and Lord Skelmersdale be requested to present and support the same in the House of Lords, and the members for this Borough in the House of Commons; and that the support of all Peers and Members of Parliament connected with the County be respectfully solicited.’

On the motion of Thomas Thornely, Esq., seconded by T. B. Barclay, Esq., it was resolved unanimously,

‘ 10th.—That, as the East India Company’s Charter will expire by law in 1834, provided the Company shall have received three years’ notice from the Legislature to that effect; and as the discussion of this great question before Parliament must, consequently, take place early in the year 1831, if not before, this Meet-

ing is of opinion, no time should be lost in awakening the country to a just sense of the merits and importance of the whole subject; that a Committee, therefore, be now appointed to aid in carrying into effect the purport of the foregoing resolutions, by requesting the co-operation and support of the Mayor and Common Council of Liverpool; by the collecting of evidence; by corresponding with similar committees in other towns; by being prepared, when the proper period shall arrive, with petitions to the Legislature; and, generally, by adopting such measures as they may deem advisable to forward the great object which this Meeting has in view; and that the following gentlemen be the Committee, with power to add to their numbers, and seven of them shall be competent to act.

The Mayor of Liverpool for the time being,

J. T. Alston	John Gladstone	William Potter
John Bolton	John Garnett	N. Robinson
Robert Benson	George Grant	W. Rathbone
John Bourne	Samuel Hope	R. Radcliffe
James Bourne	O. Heyworth	W. Rotherham
L. Baues, jun.	Adam Hodgson	E. Rushton
Henry Booth	David Hodgson	E. Roscoe
T. Brocklebank	Charles Horsfal	John Smith
T. B. Barclay	Joseph Horaby	Charles Tayleur
James Cropper	T. Littledale	T. Thornely
W. W. Currie	T. Leathom	William Ward
John Ewart	Joseph Leigh	Daniel Willink
W. Earle, jun.	William Myers	Daniel Willis
Hardman Earle	A. Melly	J. B. Yates
W. Earle, jun.	A. Maxwell	J. A. Yates.

On the motion of John Gladstone, Esq., seconded by James Cropper, Esq., it was resolved unanimously,

‘ 11th.—That a subscription be opened, and placed at the disposal of the Committee now appointed for the purposes before stated; and that the Mayor be requested to transmit copies of the foregoing resolutions and petition, to the Sheriffs of counties and chief Magistrates of the principal trading and manufacturing towns of the United Kingdom, with a request that the important objects therein set forth, may be brought under the consideration of the inhabitants; especially the question of the importation of tea from the Continent, as explained in the petition and 6th resolution, which calls for the prompt and active interference of every town and village in the kingdom.

‘ NICHOLAS ROBINSON, Mayor.’

The Mayor having left the chair, on the motion of William Myers, Esq., seconded by William Rathbone, Esq., the thanks of the Meeting were unanimously voted to his Worship, for calling the Meeting, and for his able conduct in the chair.

MY NATIVE LAND.

(Translated from the German, by Mr. J. Robinson of Dukinfield.)

'My native land.'—KÖRNER.

WHERE is the poet's native land?
 Where noble streams of genius flow,
 Where lovely wreaths for beauty blow,
 Where manly hearts with passion glow;
 For all that's holy, fair, and grand:—
There is my native land.

How named the poet's native land?
 Now all her noble spirit broke,
 She pines beneath a foreign yoke;
 Once she was named *land of the oak*,
 The land of freedom,—German land:—
So named my native land.

Why weeps the poet's native land?
 That to the tyrant's stern decree
 Her princes bow the suppliant knee,
 And none proclaim their country free,
 Or dare to join her patriot band:—
This weeps my native land.

Whom calls the poet's native land?
 She calls on powers that slight her prayer,
 With thunder-words of dark despair,
 For freedom,—for a Saviour's care,
 For the Avenger's righteous hand:—
This calls my native land.

What would the poet's native land?
 She would beat down the usurping race,
 The blood-hound from her border chase,
 Her free-born sons with freedom grace,
 Or free be buried in the sand:—
This would my native land.

And hopes the poet's native land?
 She hopes, for sacred justice' sake,
 She hopes her sons will yet awake,
 She hopes that God her chains will break,
 To see outstretch'd the avenging hand:—
This hopes my native land.

MEETING FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE BURNING OF WIDOWS IN INDIA.

From 'The Coventry Observer' of February 19.

ON Tuesday evening, the horrid custom of Burning Widows in India was amply descanted on, at a large meeting assembled in the County Hall. As we have already, on several occasions, expressed our opinion of these practices, we shall not occupy much time with the subject at present. We must, however, observe, that, obviously as misery and wickedness follow in the train of this diabolical superstition, there are still persons who are disposed to treat the matter with great levity and indifference. This apathy is generally defended by an assumed delicacy with regard to the religious rites of the Hindoos,—an argument which the publication of Mr. Peggs on the Suttees completely overthrows; for it is there shown that this custom forms no part of the sacred obligations of Hindoo worship. We are inclined to attribute the want of interest which is shown relative to these and similar atrocities to the distance at which they are perpetrated: '*Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem, quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.*' And, admitting that the Suttee was a religious ceremony, if it were practised in this city, we should think few individuals would be found in it who would be daring enough to advocate the sanction of such a barbarity. But, as it is carried on in a remote country, the evil does not come home to our own senses and feelings. We hear of the miseries of the distant alien without emotion, and disregard the cry of the suffering Indian because it sounds but faintly in our ears. Yet this does not in the slightest degree alter the circumstances of the case. The nature of the evil is the same whether it exists in the Torrid or the Temperate Zone; and the call on us for an active exertion of benevolence is as legitimate, whether the evil to be suppressed is to be met with in Warwickshire or Hindostan. Charity is not confined to any district or country, but is universal and all-bounding as the Divine Power from whom it emanates.

Neither are we exercising any Quixotic principle of philanthropy, when we aid the poor Indians; for, in their capacity of subjects to British dominion, they are fully entitled to every protection and support which we, as their political brethren, can afford them. Unfortunately, however, their connection with a British Government is a stigma on the British character. The narrow and shortsighted policy of the Company has no tendency to improve the moral or political condition of the Hindoos. The whole of what has been done in the way of education and general improvement in India has been forced on the Company, and at the most amounts to nothing. What can be effected by a dozen or two schools, and a few missionaries among 83 millions of people?

Every principle of humanity and true religion is favourable to the objects of the meeting which was held on Tuesday evening ; and we must also add, that the immediate interests of Coventry are concerned in exposing the crime and misery for which the Company have made themselves responsible in India. Not only has their system been the promoter of crime in that country, but it has also extended its sphere of mischief to this city, where a heavy tax is levied on the industry of Coventry in order to maintain the Company in their monopoly of the importation of silk. Every means of abolishing this oppressive grievance should be encouraged ; and we think a complete development of the horrors sanctioned under the misrule of Leadenhall-street will be of the highest importance. To Mr. Peggs, as the founder of the project now on foot, the members of the silk-trade will therefore be indebted for providing them with an efficient weapon of attack against their enemies ; and he will also be entitled to the eternal gratitude of the Natives of India, for the zeal with which, like the Las Casas of the New World, he has pleaded for the alleviation of their wretchedness.

Pursuant to the advertisement which appeared in 'The Observer' of last week, the meeting called for the above purpose was held on last Tuesday evening in the County Hall. At an early hour, the Hall was filled with a crowded assemblage in which we observed many ladies, and most of the respectable members of the different dissenting congregations of this city. About half-past six o'clock, the worshipful the Mayor was called to the chair, and the business opened by the Rev. Mr. Peggs, Secretary to a Society formed in Coventry for the suppression of the *Suttee* and other cruel customs in India.

After gratefully acknowledging the readiness with which the suggestion to form the Society, and to convene the present meeting, had been received, the Reverend Gentleman, in an eloquent address, of which we are only enabled to give a brief outline, proceeded to call the attention of his audience to the *object contemplated, and the means by which it might be realised*. The object contemplated by the Society was the abolition of human sacrifices in India. Those sacrifices are of various kinds : *Suttees*, the burning or burying alive of women. The speaker described one of those rites which himself and Mrs. P. had witnessed at Cuttack, in Orissa, August 19, 1824. (It is fully detailed in 'The *Suttee's Cry to Britain*,' p. 910.) At the temple of Juggernaut, the women are burnt alive in a pit. Official documents give about 700 annually ; but this does not include those on the tributary, allied, and independent states of Hindoostan. *Infanticide* is another species of human sacrifices : though abolished at Saugur by the Marquis Wellesley in 1802, it still exists under the Bombay Presidency, and near Benares ; probably a thousand female children perish annually. *Ghaut Murders* are the exposure of the sick on the banks of the

Ganges. The late Rev. D. Brown, chaplain in Calcutta, affirms, 'The Brahmins can, as may serve their interest, devote any sick member of a family to death, and *incredible numbers are destroyed by this bloody superstition*.' By *Pilgrimages to Juggernaut's Temple*, in Orissa, Gya, and Allahabad, at which places the East India Company levy a tax, and thus increase the celebrity of idolatry, hundreds annually perish. The speaker here described what he had seen, 'How are their sorrows multiplied that hasten after another god!' Besides these, there are *various kinds of immolations to the sanguinary idols of India*, which are permitted by the British Government. Pilgrims cast themselves under the wheels of Juggernaut's car. Lepers, aged, superstitious persons, and the widows of a certain caste, are buried alive. Some persons drown themselves, particularly at Allahabad, the juncture of the rivers Ganges and Jumna. This is now abolished by the magistrate of the city; but it prevails in other places. At Ooncan Mand-atta, on the Nerbudda river, persons fall from an eminence; and, lest they should survive and be king of the place, their death is hastened by poison. Sir John Malcolm, in his 'Account of Central Hindoostan,' supposes between 2,000 and 3,000 persons have been put to death within thirty years as supposed witches! Decapitated bodies show that actual human sacrifices still exist. 'Indian idolatry,' says Dr. Carey, 'destroys more than the sword! Probably 10,000 persons perish annually, the victims of Hindoo cruelty. "The voice of our brother's blood crieth," let its voice be heard.' The Reverend speaker then observed, that the means to promote the abolition of these practices were evident. Information must be procured, and diffused in Great Britain and India. Societies should be formed in every county at least; these would rouse the public mind, and fix it upon the subject. Friends to the object of the meeting should originate petitions, and urge the abolition of this 'abomination that maketh desolate.' The Reverend Gentleman said, I feel these things almost a distraction, and I have endeavoured to circulate information, and call public attention to the subject. Mr. Peggs then acknowledged the assistance received. A Member of Parliament gave him 20*l.*; a gentleman who said he had no money, but who was a banker and a paper-maker, soon made him some, and presented him with 5*l.*; a clergyman in Bedfordshire has done the same, and also a young lady at Salisbury. About 13,000 pamphlets have been printed. The profits are devoted to gratuitous circulation. Let Britain 'plead for the widow.' 'Speak,' as Mr. Montgomery expresses it, 'with speech resistless as the voice of blood!'

Mr. Peggs then moved the first Resolution.

'That the practice existing in British India of burning widows on the funeral piles of their late husbands, and other customs by which human life is sacrificed, are a gross violation of the natural

principles of justice and humanity, and in their influence highly demoralising.

The Rev. Mr. JERARD rose to second the Resolution just moved, and said, that after the able statement which had just been made, though he could not be expected to say any thing to increase the impression, yet he had a few remarks to offer. The Reverend Gentleman then drew a feeling picture of the contrast between a European and an Indian family, when deprived of a father by the hand of death, which from these customs at once bereaved the poor Indian children of both parents for an object which was visionary, there being nothing real in the transaction but its misery. Another consideration which struck him was, that the individual sacrificed was cut off from all chance of improvement, and from all the advantages of Christianity, which was the great good. If this practice was abolished, both the widow and her children might be instructed, and receive the substantial blessings of Christianity for the phantoms of idolatry. In the South Sea Islands, where, according to Mr. Ellis, a missionary, infanticide had ceased, a child had been examined as to his belief before a whole congregation, and, having given great satisfaction by his answers, a Native woman who had destroyed her children, burst into an agony, and exclaimed to the missionaries, 'Why did you not come sooner?' He expected that the Indian youth would reproach us in the same way for not having previously interfered with these shameful practices. We could not say the case was hopeless, for many authorities in India had asserted that these changes might be effected without endangering our dominions; and, in fact, a principle of gratitude was the best mode of attaching a people. To the ladies the Indian women were peculiar objects of pity: for in that country they were often consigned to death at an early age, merely because they were women.

The Chairman then put the Resolution, which was carried unanimously.

The Rev. Mr. FRANKLIN read a paper, stating the number of victims annually burnt or buried alive to be about 700. He expatiated on the circumstances of those superstitions, which he termed suicides, which were the most dreadful kind of murder, as, from the murdered persons dying in the act of rebellion, they were incapable of repentance. The present was not the cause of religion, but humanity, and was generally popular; for, when he, with a friend, went round with a petition against the Suttees, there were but two persons who refused to sign. Such was the political influence of the Government of this country, that a dash of the pen would remove in a day all these abominations; and, where there was power to do this, it ought to be employed, or we were made responsible for other men's sins. Mr. Franklin then moved the next Resolution, seconded by R. Booth, Esq.

'That this meeting learns with deep regret, from official docu-

ments now before the public, that the number of widows (some of them mere children) burnt or buried alive in the presidency of Bengal, in twelve years, from 1815 to 1826, amounts to 7154; and in the Madras and Bombay presidencies, where the practice is much less frequent, the number, in about ten years, was 635; grand total, 7789, or about 700 annually, and approves of the measures contemplated to abolish the appalling custom.

Carried unanimously.

The Rev. J. MELSON said, it was an honour to the city of Coventry that it had been the first to give birth to the Society founded for the abolition of the cruel customs in India. He congratulated the Chairman on the respectability and number of the persons at the meeting, and on the occasion which had called them together. The Reverend Gentleman then moved the following Resolution, which was seconded by Mr. Hennel, and carried unanimously:

‘That this meeting refers, with much satisfaction, to the resolution of the Honourable House of Commons, passed in 1793, viz., “That it is the peculiar and bounden duty of the British Legislature to promote, by all just and prudent means, the interest and happiness of the inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that for these ends such measures ought to be adopted as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge, and to their religious and moral improvement.”’

The next resolution was moved by the Rev. J. Sibree, and seconded by the Rev. W. Butler.

Mr. SIBREE, after commenting on the nature and extent of the atrocities which had been described, said, he must differ from his brother Franklin, and consider them not so much as cases of suicide as of murder on the part of the woman's relations. He trusted this foul blot on the British name and Government would soon be swept away. The following resolution was then put and carried unanimously:

‘That, while this meeting gratefully acknowledges the steps which have been taken for the civil and moral improvement of the immense population of India, it is of opinion that, in the spirit of the above resolution, it is expedient to petition Parliament to adopt such measures as it may in its wisdom seem most expedient for the speedy and entire abolition of these murderous practices.’

The Rev. Mr. FRANKLIN explained: when the act was voluntary, he considered it suicide.

The Rev. Mr. Peggs next read the following petition.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled, the humble Petition of the Inhabitants of the City of Coventry and its Vicinity,

‘SHEWETH,—That your petitioners learn with the deepest regret that the burning of widows with the bodies of their late husbands—

the destruction of female children—the exposure of the sick on the banks of the river Ganges—and other customs by which human life is cruelly sacrificed, continue to be practised in British India ; and particularly that *pilgrimages* to certain temples in that country are superintended by the British authorities as *sources of revenue* to the Honourable East India Company's Government.

‘ That it further appears to your petitioners, that the practice of burning widows is unauthorised by the institutes of Menu, the great Legislator of the Hindoos, who enjoins various precepts for the future conduct of widows, which, of course, are inconsistent with the existence of such sacrifices ; that the British Government in India is able to abolish these appalling practices in its own dominions, appears from the testimony of many of its functionaries as stated in the six volumes of Parliamentary Papers on Hindoo immolations ; that the existing regulations adopted by the Bengal Government, respecting Suttees, by which the permission of the magistrates is granted, and the attendance of the police appointed, have unintentionally promoted the celebrity and increase of these immolations ; that other cruel practices continue their ravages in society, unawed by British humanity and justice ; and that the system pursued by the British Government, which allows a *premium* to the Pundas who collect pilgrims for the worship of the idol Jugernaut, at the great temple in Orissa, occasions an increase of the native superstition, contrary to the purport of a resolution of your Honourable House, in one thousand eight hundred and thirteen, recognising it as the duty of this country to introduce among our fellow-subjects in India the blessings of Christianity.

‘ That your petitioners, therefore, most earnestly implore your Honourable House to adopt such measures as may be deemed most expedient and effectual for the suppression of such atrocious practices and the discontinuance of the support of a sanguinary idolatry, so opposed to the real welfare of our Indian possessions ; and thus to remove the stigma which attaches to our national character, and relieve the inhabitants of British India from the effects of these deeply superstitions. And your petitioners, &c.’

A similar petition to be presented to the House of Lords.

The Rev. Mr. COLE complimented the City of Coventry on possessing their present Bishop, and moved,

‘ That the petitions now read be adopted, and that the hon. and right Rev. Lord Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry be requested to present the Petition to the House of Lords, and the Members for this City, that to the House of Commons.’

Alderman MERRIDEW, in seconding the preceding speaker, said he felt great pleasure in having any resolution put into his hand which would at all accelerate the wishes of the meeting.

The Rev. Mr. PEGGS said, he had conversed with the Bishop of Coventry on the subject of the meeting, and presented him with some copies of the pamphlets: from what his Lordship then said, he had no doubt he had a most lively interest in the matter.

The Rev. J. JARVIS moved,—‘ That this meeting determines to present to the Members of both Houses a copy of “ The Suttee’s Cry to Britain,” abridged by the Coventry Society for the Abolition of Human Sacrifices in India, and that subscriptions be immediately commenced to promote the objects of the institution.’

Dr. SOUTHAM seconded the motion. With regard to the Society, a subscription of 5s. constituted a member of it, though the smallest donation would be thankfully received.

The Rev. Mr. PEGGS said the object of the Society was to condense information on the subject, it was not gain; all the profit was consecrated to the purpose before them. The Rev. Gentleman then proposed a vote of thanks to the worthy chairman, which was seconded by Mr. Booth, and carried *nem. con.*

The Mayor, in acknowledging the compliment paid to him, said the Hall was erected for judicial proceedings, but on this occasion it had been converted from a hall of justice into a temple of mercy. In granting the use of it, he was happy to say he had the approbation of his colleagues.

It was then announced that subscriptions would be received by Messrs. J. and J. Cash, at their warehouse, Hertford-street, and by the members of the Committee.

The following are the names of the gentlemen on the Committee of the Society founded in this city, for the abolition of Human Sacrifices. Dr. Southam, Chairman.

Rev. J. JERARD.	Mr. JOSEPH CASH.
— F. FRANKLIN.	— JOSIAH CASH.
— J. SIBREE.	— S. HENNELL.
— T. PARIS, Sen.	— J. WHITEM.
— N. ROWTON.	— R. BOOTH.
— J. MELSON.	

Rev. J. PEGGS, Secretary.

THE DREAM—TO CELIA.

How wildly grand, how brightly gay,
 The glittering pageant seems,
 Which charms us, at the close day,
 In the fairy world of *dreams* !
 But yet (though fraught with thousand ills)
 From which we vainly flee)
 The *waking* world is richer still—
 For—it possesses—*THEE* !

PROCEEDINGS AT MANCHESTER.

WE feel great gratification in being able to state, that Mr. Buckingham's visit to Manchester was in every respect as gratifying to himself personally, and as beneficial to the public object with which it was made, as his previous visit to Liverpool. The audiences that attended his Lectures were even more numerous, and equally respectable; and the demonstrations of unqualified approbation which he received from men of all parties, were as delightful to witness as they are pleasing to record. The private hospitalities of the most opulent and distinguished of the inhabitants of Manchester were also extended to their visitor, in the most cordial and friendly manner; and nothing that could contribute to his comfort or his gratification was omitted. Reserving our report of the public proceedings, to which the Lectures delivered by Mr. Buckingham will, no doubt, lead, until the succeeding number, we content ourselves, for the present, with giving a very few portions only of the articles that have appeared on that subject, in the papers of the town.

From 'The Manchester Times,' Feb. 7.

'GREAT events do not only often spring from little causes, but from causes which would seem to promise directly contrary results. When Charles I., in the exercise of his tyrannical power, prevented the emigration of Hampden, Sydney, and Cromwell to the American Colonies, in search of that freedom which they despaired of ever seeing restored in England, he knew not that, instead of extinguishing the spirit of liberty, he thereby signed his own death-warrant; and, when the East India Company banished Mr. Buckingham from their territories, and destroyed the property which, in the manly and independent exercise of his talents, he had created, they knew not that, instead of crushing into utter impotency the individual whose freedom of comments on their odious system in India excited their fear and their hatred, they were transferring to the best field for efficacious opposition to the continuance of their monopoly, their miserable commercial policy, and the oppression of their territorial government, the man who, possessing most extensive knowledge of Oriental affairs, and animated to ten-fold activity by the sense of grievous wrong, would, of all others, be the most eminently successful in rousing the people of England to the loss and the degradation they suffer by permitting an immense empire to remain under the almost uncontrolled dominion of a selfish and imbecile corporation.

'But what will be the effect of the expression of public feeling which Mr. Buckingham has produced at Liverpool, and which, no doubt, he will produce in every town he visits? Unfortunately,

constituted as our representative system is, a deep and universal conviction in the minds of the people does not necessarily communicate itself to the Legislature. If, with the exception of about two hundred individuals, the whole twenty millions of inhabitants of these isles were, with one mind and voice, to declare their desire to see established an enlightened system of government, which should permit the full development of all the capabilities of our Colonial possessions, and establish a reciprocation of benefits with the mother country; if the whole twenty millions thus declared their desire to see the establishment of such a system, their wish might be frustrated by the handful of individuals who, by possession of boroughs, nominate a majority of the members of the House of Commons. We know that that handful of individuals have frustrated, and will frustrate, every plan of Parliamentary reform, because it would destroy their own monopoly; and that with the willing aid of the other parts of the landed interest, they have also rendered ineffectual every effort to obtain a free trade in corn, because they wish to enjoy the monopoly of its growth; and that, if their own exclusive privileges and interests are involved in the preservation of the wretched system of governing India, the voice of the people will be utterly disregarded. To know, then, what will be the effect of the expression of public feeling which is following Mr. Buckingham's active labours, we must inquire how far the interests of our Legislators are concerned in supporting a monopoly which is so much at variance with the interests of the public.

Notwithstanding the great influence which the East India Company possesses in Parliament, and with Ministers by an interchange of patronage, it is a great encouragement to active "agitation," that the interest of ALL the Members in both Houses is *not* engaged against it. Ministers may be neutralised by obtaining in a more direct manner that patronage which, as Castlereagh declared, it was notorious as the sun at noon-day, was obtained by the trafficking for it of seats in the honourable House; and the owners of the soil have nothing to fear from increased importation of cotton and indigo, sugar and coffee. The contest, therefore, is simply between the public and the Directors of the Company; and surely the opening of unrestricted commerce with three hundred millions of people, incontestably eager to adopt our habits, and consume our manufactures, if there be any thing in Parliament which, in the slightest degree, approaches to an enlightened spirit of legislation, ought far to outweigh any consideration of the interests of a corporation, even if that body carried on a highly advantageous trade, and much more when its commerce is almost entirely unprofitable. This, then, is a question on which the voice of the public may be raised, without any of that despondency as to the effect which is felt, when demands are made which it is not the interest of our legislators, as individuals, to grant. Mr. Buckingham has brought forward the inha-

bitants of Liverpool, as one man, to oppose the continuance of the injurious monopoly, and we have every reason to believe that he has produced an equally powerful sensation here. His lectures have been attended by most of the leading and influential men of the town and neighbourhood, and, large as the room is in which they were delivered, it was every day crowded. As a lecturer, Mr. Buckingham's manner is more colloquial than oratorical. There does not appear any straining after effect, no culling of expressions, or balancing of periods, no turning to this author or to that, for appropriate quotations; and his digressions are but judicious illustrations or comments on his own text. If we were disposed to find fault at all, it would be with the introduction of so much matter which he had previously given to the world in his volumes of published "Travels." But this was certainly new to many of his auditors, and was also necessary to keep the chain of his narrative unbroken, and, by the introduction of variety of incident, to support the interest of oral lectures for five or six days. As we have remarked in another place, the detail of these incidents has excited, rather than satiated, public curiosity, concerning countries equally interesting to the theologian, the antiquarian, the poet, and last, not least in this district, the merchant.

From 'The Manchester Guardian,' Feb. 7.

'EAST INDIA MONOPOLY.—Fifty years hence, when our sons and grandsons shall be in the possession of a free, extensive, and lucrative trade with the populous and fruitful regions of the East, it will seem, there can be little doubt, almost incredible to them that we, during the enlightened, and busy, and enterprising period of the nineteenth century; should have rested quiet in being almost entirely shut out from one of the best channels for the acquisition of commercial wealth that could be offered to our notice. It will seem incredible, that, when in monied circles capital was so abundant as almost to have become unproductive; when, by the supply of labour having outstripped the increase of demand for it, the situation of the labourers had been greatly deteriorated; when we were oppressed by taxation, and almost overwhelmed with debt; when, in short, on every account, and from every motive, we were bound to make the utmost use of our resources:—it will, we repeat, seem incredible to our posterity, that, under these circumstances, we should so long and so unresistingly have submitted to the monopoly of the East India Company. Such, however, has been the obstinacy of error, so slow the progress of just ideas upon this subject, that, even during the discussions on the occasion of the last renewal of the Company's Charter, a highly popular work, ("The Edinburgh Review," vol. xv. p. 269-70,) strongly doubted the possibility of pushing the sale of our manufactures in the territories of the East India Company, to any considerable increase, by the common

operations of private merchants; and, whilst admitting the abstract truth of the arguments in favour of free trade, gravely asserted that such was not the interest of the public, because individual merchants would soon cease to export their goods, from finding it impossible to dispose of them at a profit; and that, even if a trade in British goods were forced for a short time, it would soon fall back to its old amount, whilst the East India Company were induced, by other considerations than those of gain, annually to purchase large quantities, which, though they might dispose of them at a loss, formed an important and advantageous vent for the manufactures which, under a free trade to the East, would cease to exist.

‘To say that this journal has since amply redeemed the error of those false and ill-considered opinions, would be to say far less in its favour than it deserves. We hope, however, and indeed we do not doubt, that it will still more thoroughly compensate for any effect its former course might have, in creating an apathetic disposition amongst the public, by now doing all that lies in its power towards rousing them to a full sense of the importance of the stake for which they will have to contend.

‘At the late hour at which we have been able, for the first time this week, to direct our attention to this subject, there are a variety of important considerations respecting it pressing upon our attention, to which it is quite impossible we can here do justice. We must, therefore, for the present content ourselves with an expression of, what we are sure is the universal sense of those who have had the gratification of attending Mr. Buckingham’s course, the deep obligation under which all the commercial interests of the kingdom will lie to that gentleman, for his zealous and most useful efforts to direct public attention to East India affairs. Throughout his lectures, Mr. Buckingham, by his clearness of arrangement, his felicity of illustration, his varied information, by the remarkable turn for observation, of which he has given evidence, by his absolute *plethora* of matter, (for he never hesitates or loses the thread of his discourse for an instant,) and though these are in some, but not all, respects, of less consequence, by his very agreeable manners, his distinct articulation and pleasing delivery, has secured a very high place in the regard of his auditors, who have, we have little doubt, derived much more information from him, on the topics of which he treated, than they could have derived by the dedication of the same time to the same object in any other manner.

‘The most important parts by far, though to a miscellaneous audience perhaps not the most interesting, of Mr. Buckingham’s lectures, have been those which related to the East Indies and China, to the present restrictions on our commercial intercourse with those countries, and to the benefits to be anticipated from their removal. Though he has every cause for irritation and anger against the East India Company, Mr. Buckingham has, with much

good taste, entirely abstained from making his observations on their conduct appear the result of personal feeling; he says that he wishes to consider himself, and we would have him considered, as 'the apostle of India,' with this further understanding, however, that, so far as relates to East India concerns, he should be the apostle of England also.

'We had not heard Mr. Buckingham's first lecture to its conclusion, before we were satisfied that, great as was the pleasure he was giving to his audience here, valuable as was the instruction he was communicating to them, highly useful as his ample store of commercial and political knowledge relative to the affairs of the East would be deemed in whatever town he might present himself, there was yet another audience—one in the metropolis—before whom it was far more important that he should be enabled to appear and to speak. The time is rapidly approaching when the discussion of East India affairs must be commenced in Parliament; the Company are sure to have their advocates in that assembly urged by almost every inducement that can animate the exertions, and shape the conduct, of man, to support their cause; it is of the highest consequence that the public also should have theirs. Forty years ago the paid tools of even some of the Native sovereigns in India found their way into the House of Commons. Shall the door which was open to them be closed against an energetic, talented, and high-principled advocate of free trade? That Mr. Buckingham should hold a seat in the House of Commons during the discussions on the East India Company's Charter, appears to us an object of extreme importance. Who is better fitted, by his ready and impressive elocution, but still more so by his extensive knowledge of the commercial capabilities of the East, by the personal experience he has had as to the character and wants of the Natives, to plead effectually on behalf of free trade and colonisation? But still more, who is at once so well qualified and so well disposed to cross-examine the Company's witnesses, to detect and expose false testimony, or to extract even from his opponents unequivocal evidence in favour of his case?

'These are considerations which we would impress on the commercial public wherever our journal is read. They are, it is true, very inadequately represented in Parliament; but they can, if they please, easily secure a seat for Mr. Buckingham. If they do not, we think they will not do justice to that gentleman; but we think also, what in a national point of view is far more important, that they will not do justice to themselves.'

From 'The Manchester Mercury,' Feb. 10.

'DURING the past week, Mr. Buckingham (with whose name and character our readers are doubtless well acquainted) has been delivering a course of lectures on those countries of the East which he

visited in the course of his extended travels; the object of which lectures was not merely to give a succinct and popular view of the geography, antiquities, climate, productions, population, government, and manners of each, but also to exhibit their immense commercial capabilities, and the prospect they offer of furnishing an extensive market for English manufactures, when a free and uninterrupted communication between this country and the eastern parts of the world shall be attained by the removal of the absurd restrictions arising out of the monopoly of the East India Company.

‘From the interesting nature of the facts detailed in these lectures, as well as from the lively and agreeable manner in which they were communicated, the whole course was in the highest degree interesting; and gave unmixed pleasure and satisfaction to the most numerous, the most respectable, and the most attentive audiences that ever attended a course of lectures in this town. As it is, however, wholly impossible for us to supply, in the limited space we are able to devote to the subject, a full report of five lectures, each of which occupied nearly three hours in the delivery, and the whole of which comprehend a greater mass of interesting facts than were ever before embodied in the same number of lectures, we must content ourselves with noticing in detail only those parts of the course which were immediately connected with the important object of Mr. Buckingham’s mission, and with giving a very brief notice of the remainder.’

From ‘The Liverpool Times,’ Feb. 10.

‘We are happy to find that this gentleman has met with the most cordial reception possible at Manchester, from men of all parties, and that his Lectures have been listened to by audiences even larger than those he had in Liverpool, with admiration amounting almost to enthusiasm. At the repetition of his first lecture, which he gave at the earnest desire of many respectable families, on Saturday evening, there were nearly seven hundred persons present, all of whom remained from seven till half-past ten o’clock, and listened with the utmost delight to the lecturer.

“‘The Manchester Guardian’ contains the very important recommendation that Mr. Buckingham should be put into Parliament, to plead the cause of the people of this country and of India against the East India Company. We subjoin the article containing this recommendation; and the reasons adduced in its favour are so powerful that we have nothing to add to them, except the expression of our sincere and deliberate conviction that Mr. Buckingham, from his talents, his readiness, his persuasive manner, his thorough knowledge of the affairs of India both commercial and political, his energy, and his uncompromising honesty, would be far the most powerful advocate which the mercantile interests could possess in Parliament on this subject.”

'Whilst at Manchester, Mr. Buckingham' has received many formal invitations, four in one day, to visit other towns for the purpose of delivering his lectures. The ship-owners of Hull have appointed a meeting for this week, to consider of the propriety of inviting Mr. B. to that town.'

From 'The Manchester Gazette,' Feb. 14.

'MANCHESTER CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.—On Monday, the annual meeting of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures was held in the Committee-room of the Exchange, to receive the report of the directors for the past year to appoint directors for the year ensuing, and to audit the treasurer's accounts; Mr. Joseph Armstrong in the chair. The report of the directors was read by the secretary. It recapitulated, as usual, the various subjects to which the attention of the directors had been called during the past year, and the steps they had taken relative to each. These, however, were not remarkable, either for their number or their importance. After the routine business had been disposed of, some discussion took place on the subject of the Honourable the East India Company, and the measures desirable to be adopted with respect to it. The general opinion of the meeting appeared to be, that a public meeting of the inhabitants of the town ought to be called on the subject. The question was, however, finally referred to the newly-elected directors. The thanks of the Chamber were voted to the late directors, and to the chairman; after which the meeting was dissolved.'

From 'The Manchester Guardian,' Feb. 14.

'MR. BUCKINGHAM'S LECTURE AT DUKINFIELD.—On Monday last, Mr. Buckingham, in compliance with the request of a deputation of gentlemen, who waited upon him, from Dukinfield, Hyde, &c., delivered a lecture at the former place, comprising a selection of the subjects which had in the previous week excited so much interest in this town. Limited as the population is, compared with that from which his Manchester audiences were got together, not less than 150 persons, we understand, attended, whom the lecturer kept in close, yet unrestrained attention, for upwards of four hours.'

To show that the other parts of the country are becoming quite as much alive to the importance of the subject as Liverpool and Manchester, we need only mention that in the papers of Leeds, Birmingham, Glasgow, Bristol, and other great towns, several articles have appeared; and that in Sheffield and Coventry the same feeling exists. The following are from the Papers of the two last-named places:

From 'The Sheffield Iris,' Feb. 3.

'WE do not generally like long articles in a newspaper; but the subject of our East India trade and possessions is so important, that we have felt it right to speak somewhat at large upon it this

week, and most earnestly invite, not only the mercantile classes, but the British public, to take the whole matter into the most serious consideration.

• Although there is hardly a man, woman, or child, in the kingdom, who does not consume some portion, more or less, of Oriental produce, yet there have been few questions of policy which have exercised less influence in the popular mind than the government of our vast possessions in the East Indies. It is, indeed, pretty generally known that there exists somewhere, and composed of individuals whose names are never mentioned, a certain ancient, opulent, chartered body, called the East India Company, the history and edicts of which are nearly as deeply hidden from the commonalty, as are the mysteries of freemasonry from the uninitiated. The East India Company's Charter will expire by law, in 1834,—provided the Company shall have received three years' notice from the Legislature to that effect. The discussion of this great question, before Parliament, must, consequently, take place early in the year 1831, if not before. As the time for the expiration of this venerable compact draws near, a few vigilant spirits have started forth, to break the general slumber of the community on this comprehensive question, and have boldly called upon the nation to consider the past, present, and prospective consequences of this famous monopoly, as well upon our comforts at home, as upon the condition of those rich dependencies of the empire, to the almost unlimited control over which the corporation above alluded to have so long held a patent from Great Britain. Amongst the individuals who have done this service to their country and her dependencies, is Mr. Buckingham, a gentleman, whose residence in India, and whose knowledge of the Company's affairs, as well as comprehensive view of all the bearings of the case, enable him to give the most valuable information. In 'The Oriental Herald,' Mr. Buckingham justly propounds the question—

“ Whether it be for the interests of the nation at large, that the most valuable branch of its commerce with the Eastern World should be vested, by a close monopoly, in an insignificant number of individuals, to the exclusion of all the rest of their countrymen? And, also, whether it is desirable that, in consequence of this monopoly, Englishmen should be placed on a worse footing than foreigners of every other nation; and be debarred from trading with China, or settling in India, while all other men may do both freely, and amass fortunes in a commerce from which our embarrassed merchants and starving manufacturers are entirely excluded? Let the question be proposed in what form it may, this is the sum and substance of it; and, if a regard to the welfare of the many be suffered to take precedence of the interests of the few, there can be no doubt that this question must be answered in the negative.”

• On Wednesday last, a public meeting was held at Liverpool, for

the purpose of originating measures requisite to induce the Legislature to prevent the renewal of the restrictions imposed on commerce by the exclusive Charter of the East India Company, which is now about to expire; and such and so important appeared the advantages of a free trade to India and China, that the extensive good likely to be derived therefrom to this country would, according to "The Liverpool Mercury," be only second to paying the national debt. Now, although the ship-owners of that thriving and wealthy town may have their own interests in view, as well as the public good, as it is surely right and reasonable that they should have, yet, are not the national prosperity and the shipping interest almost identical? And what part of the United Kingdom would not participate in the benefits of an open trade with the East? Why must our giant commerce, which spreads its arms all over the world, and which ought to wield its energies with equal freedom in the four quarters of the globe,—why, we ask, should it be paralysed in the West by the abominations of the slave system, and be manacled in the East by a mercantile monopoly? It is true, the advocates (paid and unpaid) of this famous "United Company of Merchants," may talk about vested rights, and violations of good faith; but, as our Liverpool contemporary justly observes, "They know very well, that, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, the express condition of the privilege was, that it should cease, if it were not found profitable to the crown and realm. We will here quote a portion of the Act, as it is material to know the precise understanding subsisting between the contracting parties in the year 1600. The words, as they stand in the 43d of Elizabeth, are, '*With proviso, that, in case this charter shall hereafter appear not to be profitable to the Crown and realm, then, upon two years' notice to the Company, the Charter shall cease and determine.*'" A legislative provision was likewise made in the reign of George II., for keeping the price of tea, in this country, as much as possible upon an equality with the price of the same commodity in other countries, by enacting, that if, at any time, there should not be a sufficient supply, and at reasonable prices, kept in the market, then that it should be lawful for the Commissioners of the Treasury to grant licenses for others to import it; and this regulation, being thrice re-enacted during the reign of his late Majesty, and not having been by any subsequent law repealed, yet remains in force. And now what is the actual fact? Why, tea has become to so great an extent a necessary of life, and the terms upon which it is imported are so disadvantageous to the community, that it may fairly be said to be too dear by half, being obtained in this country on worse terms, by a hundred per cent., than in any of the neighbouring ports of Europe; and thus making us pay an impost of two millions and a half sterling per annum, for the sole benefit of the East India Company. There can be little doubt that, were the trade thrown open to the competition of mercantile enterprise, instead of Englishmen being the only people in the world shut out of

China, as at present, the supply would soon both reduce the price to the consumer, and, at a diminished rate of duty, proportionately contribute to the revenue. Besides, British ships would not go out in ballast on their trading voyages, but would, of course, take cargoes of merchandise from this country to every part of the East Indies.

‘ Besides, however, the mercantile views of the subject to which the foregoing remarks and extracts have mainly reference, and the consequent advantages which a free trade must necessarily open to the commercial energies of this great manufacturing kingdom, now in danger of becoming inert for want of a vent for her productions, the question is one of no small importance in a moral and religious point of view. If the missionary spirit of British Christianity be in accordance with its inspired zeal, it will be anxious to rush into that wide and important field of labour, from which it has long been almost shut out by the temporising policy of the present nabobs of Leadenhall-street. The whole subject, therefore, well deserves the most serious consideration, as well of the patriot as the philanthropist; for it is the duty and the interest of Englishmen, while we hold those fertile possessions in the Eastern World, to strive to introduce, in many respects, a more liberal, wise, and humane policy, than has hitherto been adopted, and to secure to the millions of our fellow-subjects, not only the benefit of more wholesome civil laws, but likewise to plant for them the vine and the fig-tree of Christianity and of useful knowledge on the rich but neglected soil of Hindostan.’

From ‘The Coventry Herald,’ Jan. 23.

‘ SUCH are the pernicious effects of the East India monopoly in keeping up the price of silk, that we consider it requires the most prompt and energetic remonstrances and petitions for its removal. Mr. Buckingham, we find, has been lecturing at Liverpool, upon the evils of the monopoly, which, from his long residence in India, and his very superior talent, he is eminently qualified to do. It appears that his lectures were exceedingly successful, and he received a formal vote of thanks from the first merchants of the town. By a clear exposition of the consequences of the Company’s privileges, Mr. Buckingham will render the state great service, and to no class of the people more than those engaged in the silk trade. We should be very happy, indeed, if we could have a lecture from Mr. Buckingham which developed the mischief done to this department of trade; but we fear a visit to Coventry would not be regarded by the inhabitants as so valuable as we are sure it would ultimately prove. It merely requires the manufacturers to understand the extent of the evil inflicted by the monopoly, to induce them to adopt the most active measures to suppress it. It is well known, that the silks at the Company’s sales are made to produce 50 per cent. more than

the price asked. Now, if we estimate this excess at 5s. the lb., and if they sell in the year 1,080,000 lbs., the sum annually extorted from the public is 270,000*l.*

From 'The Leeds Patriot,' Feb. 21.

'THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S CHARTER.—We are glad to learn that a very strong impression against this monopoly has been produced in Liverpool and Manchester, by Mr. Buckingham, who has been delivering lectures on the subject in both of the above-mentioned towns. As a traveller in the East, and as a gentleman of great commercial knowledge, Mr. Buckingham is well qualified to discharge the duty he has undertaken, and to open the eyes of the public to the many evils they silently endure, while the extensive regions of the Eastern World are so very partially open to British enterprise. There can scarcely be found a merchant in this town, possessed of any foreign connections, who is not almost daily reminded how rapidly the present foreign market for English goods is narrowing, from a variety of causes, and among the rest, the spirited competition of our continental neighbours. Nor can any merchant be ignorant of the vast increase of machinery, for manufacturing rapidly and cheaply, which has outstripped, in its supply, all ordinary demand. Hence the man who can point out a fresh field for enterprise, comprising within its circle many millions of inhabitants, would deserve much more than the reward once promised by a Roman Emperor to the man who should invent some new pleasure. This is, however, the prospect held out by Mr. Buckingham, who, if he succeeds in opening the eyes of the public, will deserve well of his country and of posterity. New and unlimited markets are indeed great desiderata to our manufacturing population; they will restore it to something like its wonted activity, and labour may once again reap a sweet reward, by affording to the operative classes moderate enjoyments, whilst the capitalist may find his profit doubly valuable, by being obtained without even a suspicion of oppressive conduct. Reduced taxes or extended markets appear among the most feasible remedies for our declining commerce, and in the slight prospect of any reduction of the former, we hail Mr. Buckingham as the harbinger of better times. At the latter end of the month of March, we understand, his lectures will commence in this town.'

¶ We have only to add, that Mr. Buckingham will undoubtedly persevere in his original intention of visiting all the principal towns and ports of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and that nothing which his labour can effect, will be left undone to make every individual in the kingdom, who is capable of understanding the mere outlines of this great question, feel that it is his duty to lend a helping hand towards the accomplishment of the public object so much desired.

ADDRESS OF CONDOLENCE ON THE DEATH OF THE LATE SIR
EDWARD WEST.

We have great pleasure in giving insertion to the following Address, and the Reply made to it ; both of which do equal honour to the parties from whom they emanate, and each of which may be fairly regarded as the highest and most unequivocal testimony that could be evinced towards the high-minded and talented individual whose loss they so feelingly deplore.

On Wednesday last, a deputation of the principal Native merchants and inhabitants of Bombay proceeded to the house of the Honourable Sir Charles Chambers, acting Chief Justice, to present an address of condolence, on the death of the late Chief Justice, Sir Edward West. The following is a copy of the address :

*To the Honourable Sir Charles H. Chambers, Knight, &c. &c. &c.,
and the Honourable Sir John Peter Grant, Knight, &c. &c. &c.,
Judges of his Majesty's Supreme Court of Judicature, Bombay.*

‘ My Lords,—We the undersigned members of the several tribes composing the Native community, subject to the jurisdiction of his Majesty's Supreme Court of Judicature under the Bombay Presidency, beg leave respectfully to present ourselves before your Honourable Bench, for the purpose of offering a last mournful tribute of affection to the memory of your late distinguished colleague, our gracious Chief Justice, the Honourable Sir Edward West. We are conscious that it is a novelty for the people to come forward to address a bench of English judges, on such a subject ; it is no less a novelty (actually witnessed by many of us) to be rescued, in the short space of twenty-nine years, since the establishment of a regular court of British law on this Island, from the evils of an inefficient and irregular administration of justice which previously existed. Grateful for such advantages, we resort to those means which alone are open to a community constituted like ours, to express publicly our sense of them ; and, indeed, we should justly merit the reproach of want of feeling, did we now silently confine within our own breasts, the grief, the unfeigned sorrow we experience in the event which has deprived us of him at whose hands those advantages have been so largely extended and confirmed to us. In expressing to your Lordships our sorrow for the death of Sir Edward West, we seek a balm for our sufferings, and would fain hope thereby to alleviate the distress with which you must contemplate your earthly separation from a colleague so able and indefatigable, so undaunted and upright.

‘ The time is past when any commendation of ours, or, indeed, any earthly honours, can be of value to him, whom the joys and sorrows

of this world can no longer affect, and who is, therefore, equally removed beyond the reach of human censure and of human applause. But we should deem it an omission of duty, as well as of gratitude, did we not come forward, now that our motives cannot be misconstrued ! to mark, in the strongest manner, the deep sense we entertain of his virtuous administration. The spirit of even-handed justice which prompted his decisions ; the unconquerable assiduity and unshaken firmness which he evinced in discharging the functions of his high office ; the unshrinking zeal, which animated him in making salutary reforms ; but, above all, that high principle of independence and integrity which led him to sacrifice so much of his private happiness to the conscientious performance of his public duties :—*these*, my Lords, are the virtues which have grown upon our gratitude, since every day's succeeding experience teaches us to appreciate their value.

‘ In briefly noticing the most prominent features in the administration of Sir Edward West, we cannot but dwell with grateful delight, on the easy access which that humane and honourable Judge at all times afforded to the poor and needy part of our countrymen. That he rendered the administration of law less expensive to the inhabitants of this Presidency, thus throwing open to the poor the avenues of justice, so long barred against them, is not the least solid advantage derived from a career fertile in benefits. But, great and salutary as was this reform, it did not satisfy that glowing spirit of philanthropy, ever thoughtful to devise, and active to execute, what might lessen the distresses, or increase the happiness, of his fellow-creatures. Scrupulous in the discharge of his high functions as a Judge, which alone seemed labour too great even for his energetic mind, he found leisure, and had the condescension, to become himself *the advocate of the indigent*.

‘ But amongst the many great favours received at the hands of Sir Edward West, that for which we would chiefly record our gratitude is the manner in which, ~~conjointly~~ jointly with your Lordships, he carried into execution the recent provision of the British Legislature for admitting the Natives of this country to sit on juries. The wise and conciliatory method he took to give effect to the wishes of Parliament, the condescension with which he conferred with every class of the Native community, the prudent deference he paid to all their national and religious feelings, the zeal with which he laboured to overcome innumerable difficulties arising out of the multifarious constitution of our body, and the solicitude he displayed to set the intention of the enactment in its true light,—are fresh in the recollection of us all. To these exertions it is owing that the Natives of Bombay are now in the enjoyment of one of the greatest privileges of *freemen*.

‘ A knowledge of the virtuous and enlightened character of the late Chief Justice cannot fail to have prevailed throughout a large portion of our countrymen in India ; but it has only been permitted to

the inhabitants of this Island to enjoy the immediate fruits of his distinguished judicial administration. However imperfect, therefore, any further addition may prove to this record of our deep sorrow for his demise, and respect for his memory, we beg to announce that we have raised a sum of money which it is designed to make over to the Native Education Society, to be vested by them in Government securities, for the endowment of one or more scholarships, and the distribution of one or more annual prizes, according to the amount of interest realised from the total fund, to be denominated, "Chief Justice West's Scholarships and Prizes." Engaged as the late Judge was himself so earnestly in improving the condition of the Natives, we humbly hope that we have devised the most durable and appropriate method of perpetuating the grateful recollection of him among them, and training up our children to the proper discharge of those public duties to which he first showed them the way.

'With a firm reliance on the continued favour and kindness of your Lordships, we are, with the greatest respect, my Lords, your Lordships' most obedient and most humble servants.

(Signed by about 140 of the principal Hindoos, Parsees, Mohammedan Merchants, and Inhabitants.)

Bombay, 1st October, 1828.

To the above address, which was read by Domanjee Hormusjee, the following reply was returned by Sir Charles Chambers :

'GENTLEMEN,—Before I give an answer to the substance of the address which you have just presented to us, allow me to explain to you the reasons which have induced my learned brother, Mr. Justice Grant, and myself, after serious consideration, to deem it inexpedient to receive this address in our public judicial capacities. These reasons, I am sure, will appear to you satisfactory when you are informed they are grounded upon the high sense we entertain of what is due to the exalted character of a British Court of Justice, and to the best interests of the people amongst whom we have to exercise our judicial functions. A Judge, Gentlemen, should be above all other persons single-minded ; he should perpetually bear in mind that he is to give an account before a higher tribunal, which cannot be deceived, and cannot err. He should look, therefore, neither to the right hand nor to the left, but proceed in his course of undeviating rectitude, without the hope, or expectation, or desire of applause, or the fear of censure. On these principles, and these principles only, can the character of public justice rest with safety ; and the maintenance of them we consider essential to the due administration of justice in this Presidency. You have yourselves said that it is a novelty to address a Court of Justice ; and, for the reasons I have stated, we do not wish to establish a precedent, which, though in the present instance it may not be of

ill-consequence, may, at some future time, introduce examples of the most dangerous nature to the purity of the judicial character. Gentlemen, the distinguished subject of your address, if he were present, I am confident would be the first to approve of the determination to which my learned brother and myself thought it right to come on this occasion. No man had more exalted notions of his high office; no man so undeviatingly and fearlessly pursued the course which his conscience pointed out to him to be the right one.

‘Having said thus much upon this preliminary point, in the name of my learned brother and myself, I may say that in our individual and private capacities, nothing can give us greater satisfaction than to receive such a disinterested tribute of approbation as yours must be to the character and conduct of Sir Edward West. We have mourned with sincere and deep sorrow the death of so valuable a colleague, counsellor, and friend; but the loss which in the private relations of life we have so much reason to deplore cannot, for a moment, be put in competition with the irreparable loss which the public have sustained by his death. During the short period which he passed amongst you, his warmest wishes and most ardent prayers were for the improvement and elevation of his Native fellow-subjects; and the consciousness of having your approbation would have given him the most essential support in the execution of his arduous duties. Gentlemen, accept our best thanks for the sympathy and condolence which you have so feelingly and pathetically expressed in your address to us this day, and be assured that they afford to our minds a very sensible alleviation of the sorrow we experience for the loss which we have sustained.

‘Gentlemen, Sir Edward West has, by the decree of an all-wise Providence, been cut off in the midst of a life of eminent usefulness. His mortal remains repose in your land, far from the sepulchre of his fathers. It is a natural and highly honourable feeling in you, to wish to erect some monument to his memory; and we cannot but express our warmest approbation of the mode in which you propose to perpetuate it,—not by an inscription engraven on a tablet of marble, which would be confined to a little space, and would be soon obliterated by time, but by the more durable monuments of the mind,—by associating his name with that admirable institution which is chiefly supported by your liberality: a liberality, let me say, worthy of the best ages and most enlightened periods of mankind, and which promises to spread the light of the knowledge of the Western world over all this vast Peninsula. The scholarships and prizes which you propose to denominate “Chief Justice West’s Scholarships and Prizes,” in the schools of the Bombay Native Education Society, will implant an unwritten, but unfading, record of public worth in the breasts of all those who shall derive the inestimable benefits of knowledge from your munificence, and will hand down, in the most honourable manner, the name of our departed colleague to your latest posterity.’

• ATTEMPT OF THE BOMBAY GOVERNMENT TO INTIMIDATE THE
• JUDGES.

THE following correspondence is as valuable as it is curious. It exhibits to the broad day what has hitherto been carefully concealed ; namely, the continued desire of the Company's Governors to set themselves above the law, and impede rather than strengthen its just authority. The case of Habeas, to which it relates, was alluded to in our last ; but the full arguments of the Court, which are in our possession, are much too long to be given in our present Number ; we hope, however, to find room for them in our next.

• *To the Honourable Sir C. H. Chambers, Knight, Acting Chief Justice, and the Honourable Sir J. P. Grant, Knight, Puisne Justice, of the Honourable the Supreme Court of Judicature.*

‘HONOURABLE SIRS,—We are quite aware, that we transgress upon ordinary forms in addressing this letter to you ; but the circumstances under which we are placed, will, we trust, justify this departure from usage, and our knowledge of your private and public character, leads us to hope, that what we state will be received in that spirit in which it is written ; and that, notwithstanding your strict obligations to fulfil every part of your high and sacred duty as British Judges, you will on this extraordinary occasion deem yourselves at liberty to consider as much the objects as the rules of that Court over which you preside, and, viewing the intention of the Legislature in its institution, as directed to the aid and support of the Government entrusted with the administration of this Presidency, you will for a short period be induced by our representations to abstain from any acts (however legal you may deem them) which under the measures we have felt ourselves compelled to take, and which we deem essential to the interests committed to our charge, must have the effect of producing open collision between our authority and yours, and by doing so, not only diminish that respect in the Native population of this country which it is so essential to both to maintain, but seriously weaken by a supposed division in our internal rule those impressions on the minds of our Native subjects, the existence of which is indispensable to the peace, prosperity, and permanence of the Indian Empire. This conclusion refers to a variety of circumstances which we are equally forbid from explaining, as you are from attending to such explanation ; but we deem it necessary to state our conviction of the truth of what we have asserted, expecting that it may have some weight with you, as connected with the preservation of that strength in the Government which in all our territories, but particularly those we have so recently acquired, is the chief, if not the only power, we

possess for maintaining that general peace, on the continuance of which, the means of good rule, and of administering law under any form, must always depend.

‘In consequence of recent proceedings in the Supreme Court in the cases of Moro Ragonath and Bappoo Gunness, we have felt compelled, for reasons which we have fully stated to our superiors, to direct that no further legal proceedings be admitted in the case of Moro Ragonath, and that no returns be made to any writs of *habeas corpus* of a similar nature to those recently issued, and directed to any officers of the Provincial Courts, or to any of our Native subjects not residing on the island of Bombay.

‘We are quite sensible of the deep responsibility we incur by these measures, but must look for our justification in the necessity of our situation. The grounds upon which we act, have exclusive reference to considerations of civil government and of state policy; but, as our resolution cannot be altered until we receive the commands of those high authorities to which we are subject, we inform you of them, and we do most anxiously hope that the considerations we have before stated may lead you to limit yourselves to those protests and appeals against our conduct in the cases specified that you may deem it your duty to make, as any other conduct must, for reasons already stated, prove deeply injurious to the public interests, and can, under the resolution taken and avowed by Government, produce no result favourable either to the immediate or future establishment of the extended jurisdiction you have claimed.

‘A very short period will elapse before an answer is received to the full and urgent reference we have made upon this subject; and we must again express our hope, that even the obligations under which we are sensible you act, are not so imperative as to impel you to proceedings which the Government has thus explicitly stated its resolution to oppose. We have the honour to be, Hon. Sirs, your most obedient Servants,

(Signed)

‘JOHN MALCOLM,
‘T. BRADFORD, Lt.-Gen.,
‘J. J. SPARROW,
‘JOHN ROMER.’

‘Bombay Castle, October 3, 1828.’

‘After the foregoing letter had been publicly read by an officer of the Court, Sir CHARLES CHAMBERS addressed it in the following terms :

‘As I am anxious on this most extraordinary occasion to exhibit both in my words and in manners as much sobriety and moderation as is consistent with the respect I feel is due to myself, and to the authority I have the honour to represent, I have reduced what I wish to say to writing. The whole, indeed, of this extraordinary

letter, is written in so dictatorial a tone, that, addressed as it is to the King's Supreme Court of Judicature by persons who have no right to address the Court in any way except as humble suitors for the distribution of its justice, I have naturally felt much since I received it. Feeling it, however, to be my duty to banish every thing like bad temper from my observations this day, I shall proceed to make such remarks as I think are peremptorily necessary for the vindication of the rights and dignity of the Court.

‘First then—Although this letter is not signed by the Chief Secretary to the Government, in the usual way of addressing official communications to the Court, yet, as it is signed by the members of the Government, and relates to the public business now pending in the Court, it is impossible to consider the communication in any other light than as a public document,—and, however regular it may be for any person to address the Court upon such subjects by letter, yet in the case of a document purporting to be of a public nature, it is neither safe, nor consistent with the dignity of the Court, to take any other than public notice of it from the bench, nor to reply to it, if reply should be deemed necessary, through the proper officer of the Court.

‘Next—From whatever persons this letter comes, we cannot admit any person, let his rank be ever so distinguished, or his power ever so predominant, to address this Court in any other way respecting its judicial and public functions, than the humblest suitor who applies for its protection. Within these walls we own no equal, and no superior, but God and the King. The East India Company, therefore, and all those who govern their possessions, however absolute, over those whom they consider their subjects, must be told, as they have been told ten thousand times before, that in this Court they are entitled to no precedency or favour, more than the lowest suitor in it; and, although in matters which do not concern the administration of justice, we are willing to pay the members of Government the respect and courtesy due to them, in matters which are of vital importance to our existence as a Court of Justice, and in the exposition of the law, all persons that enter this court are upon a footing of strict and rigid equality. The only mode, therefore, in which the writers of this letter could properly address the Court, (I am now considering the manner only,) is through their counsel, or by way of humble petition.

‘Thirdly—If, therefore, the only point at issue between the Court and the writers of this letter were the manner of addressing the Court, it would suffice to direct the clerk of the Crown to intimate our opinion upon that point to the Chief Secretary, for the information of the Honourable the Governor in Council. But, since it is our serious conviction that the now sending such a letter to the Judges of this Court, containing matter of so extraordinary a nature, and couched in language no less extraordinary, is an act

both highly unconstitutional and criminal, we have thought it right to impound it in the hands of the clerk of the Crown, in order to ground ulterior proceedings upon it, if any such should be necessary.

'I shall not make any comment on the present occasion, upon the discretion, magnanimity, or the sense of decency, of those who ventured to address such a letter to us. But there is one feature which pervades the whole, as far as it is intelligible, which has created in my mind the most unfeigned astonishment. It is the supposition, that our sacred obligation to distribute justice according to our consciences, to which we are bound by oath, has been deemed capable of being bent to the maxims of state policy. A diplomatic, temporising judge, has, in all ages, been the object of the reprobation of mankind; nor, when he exists, can there be a greater curse upon the community. We are bound by the oaths we take in entering upon our office, to set aside all considerations of expediency and policy, and rigidly and uprightly to decide according to that rule which we know to be the right one; and the rigid adherence to such well-known general rules, which, as long as they are so observed, may be called laws, is the only way in which my unsophisticated understanding can satisfy my conscience that I am keeping the sacred duty of my office. Then, what kind of law would that be which would bend on all occasions to what the writers of this letter call state policy, the circumstances, by the by, of which, in the present instance, they studiously conceal? And what name should we deserve in the eyes of the public and mankind, if we should admit the principle, that, whenever these gentlemen shall presume to state to us the existence of a state necessity, whether they put us in the possession of the grounds of it or not, the King's Supreme Court of Justice, stationed in this Presidency to keep a watchful eye over their proceedings, should succumb and forfeit the only things for which life, in a public point of view, is valuable, their hard-earned reputation, and their dearly-prized honour, and violate the most sacred obligation they owe to God, the King, and themselves. There is only one mode in which these gentlemen can relieve us from these serious consequences, and that is by the intervention of Parliament. If they will discharge us by legitimate means from any part of our invidious duties, they shall have our best thanks for so doing.

'I should not make any further observations on this letter, if it were not that, in collisions of this nature, it is not for us to permit any opportunity to pass over of explaining, in as popular and intelligible a manner as we can, the technical process of the Court, especially when from misinformation, if not from total ignorance, there is a mischievous tendency without to create unnecessary alarm.

'The letter which has been read to-day refers to two cases.

The one relating to Moro Ragonath is still pending, and it remains to be seen how the ill-advised menaces of this letter are to be carried into effect. I consider it a case of no public importance nor of any political consequence, (as every well-informed lawyer might readily discover,) any further than the contumacy of the person to whom the writ is directed, and the ill-judged impetuosity of his observing, may make it of importance. There are no circumstances of state policy affecting it; and nothing but erroneous notions instilled into the mind of a Native by those who ought to act a better part, could induce him to think the Court's verdict in the least degree inconvenient. I have said on another question that it is my opinion, that, even if our power of issuing the writ should be of the most extensive nature, there would be few calls for its exercise, and, when the proper occasion arises, I shall explain fully the ground of that opinion.

The other case of Bappoo Gunness is much more important: because the course which the Government intimate that by their authority their officers are to pursue, (an authority which, being clearly illegal, they are by law bound to disregard,) overturns the long-established practice of all the Courts in India, and strikes at the root of all right and justice. The short facts in Bappoo Gunness's case are, that, on the 10th of September last, the Court was moved for a writ of *habeas corpus* in his favour, directed to the jailor of Tannah, upon an affidavit that the warrant of commitment had been denied him; and, that being at all times sufficient cause, the Court awarded the writ returnable on the 19th inst. at ten o'clock. On the 22d, Mr. Morley moved for a return; but, the body not being ready, the Court would not permit the return to be read, but issued an attachment, and directed it to be in the office till the 26th. On that day, on the motion of the Advocate-General, the attachment was set aside, with costs; and, the body being in Court, the return was read.

This return the Court considered insufficient, inasmuch as it neither contained any averment that the Adawlut Court of the Zillah of the Northern Concan was a Court of competent jurisdiction to try the offence stated in the warrant of commitment, nor did it show that it was empowered to pass the sentence therein set forth. This is clear law, not only according to the case of *Rek v. Lindis* 1, (East, 306,) but also numerous precedents at this and the other Presidencies. The law being a serious one, and the Court being anxious to support the return, gave time to amend, till the 30th. On the 30th, the Advocate-General intimated that no amendment had been made; and, although he did not wish to bind his honourable employers by his declarations, he intimated that it was their intention not to permit the authority of their Courts to be questioned, an intimation sufficiently indecent and disrespectful, coming most undoubtedly from the Government, but which dwindles into insignificance.

nificance compared with the outrage of this day. In consequence of the return being insufficient, the prisoner was discharged. And, if a hundred cases were to come before the Court under the same circumstances, I should feel no computation in deciding in the same way; but a heavy weight of responsibility rests upon those who, under the pretext of civil government and state policy, are only anxious to extinguish the King's authority in this Presidency, and to screen their servants from the only authority which has yet been found effectual to check the tendency which power, without responsibility, has always towards oppression and misrule.

'In this case the warrant of commitment was most unnecessarily denied the prisoner: had that warrant of commitment been produced, no Judge of this Court would have considered it consistent with his duty to the public to have produced this writ, and every thing might have been intended in support of it. Whether the warrant was vexatiously withheld or not, I cannot say; but assured I am that under any circumstances it is an unwise course to pursue, for the return is a very different thing in such cases: it is clearly within our jurisdiction to entertain an action for a false sentence, it is of the utmost importance to state the averments truly. From what cause the Government presumed to direct its officer to insult the Court by disobeying its injunctions, and spurning its courtesy, I cannot say. If it be from the impossibility of setting aside the authority of these Courts, I can only say, that that evil ought with all expedition to be remedied by Parliament; but, since no attempt has been made to comply with the law, that difficulty cannot be presumed, nor does it accord with my opinion; and we are driven to the painful necessity of concluding that this conduct was but the commencement of the grossly improper conduct which their letter consummated.

'With regard to this Court at Tannah, let me say a few words. The conduct of the Government compels me to this line of conduct.

'Read the Notes of the case against James Williams, evidence of Mr. Baillie.

'So that from the evidence of Mr. Baillie, who has arrived at that rank in the service that he is the next candidate for a seat in the Sudder Adawlut, given with a simplicity scarcely less remarkable than his carelessness of public opinion, we learn that Mr. Williams, (in the commission of the peace,) after falsely imprisoning the plaintiff, sends him with a letter to the Judge at Tannah, stating that the plaintiff laboured under great suspicion, and requesting he may be imprisoned till a case can be made out against him. Mr. Baillie, without seeing the plaintiff, (even so far as to know him again,) upon receipt of this letter, desired by word of mouth the Nazer to confine the man in jail. A few days after, another letter comes from Mr. Williams, stating that the deficiency in the Collector's treasury had been paid by another person implicated, and requesting

his discharge: in this letter he states he does not wish to injure the plaintiff; but had he any desire to make him reparation for a groundless imprisonment? And in conclusion he requests Mr. Baillie to return him his first epistle, and Mr. Baillie states with candour and fairness enough, that they each destroyed every vestige of documentary evidence relating to the subject. Time will not allow me to point out the monstrous enormity of this case, and I leave it, therefore, to the judgment of the public.

The next case was an applicant before this Court for an Habeas Corpus; and it was granted returnable before me in chambers. This was also granted for want of a warrant of commitment. In this case, the body was not ready on the day of the return, and I issued an attachment: that being removed, it appeared by the return of the jailor that the prisoner had been committed by word of mouth, and, no cause of detention being shown, I discharged the prisoner. But in this case Mr. Advocate-General proposed reading two affidavits by Mr. Baillie, and Mr. Simson the Collector, after the prisoner was concerned in mesne process in a civil action for a debt and was committed verbally, so that a poor Native, whose confinement was of no importance except to his creditors, might have lingered in jail without the power of procuring bail, or of escaping, except by the intervention of this Court.

I leave these facts before the public. It is in the case of a Court, whose proceedings have been so habitually irregular, and carelessly oppressive, that Sir John Malcolm and the other members of Government came forward by menaces which imply nothing but violence, to suspend the well-known and well-established jurisdiction of this Court: I have but one course to pursue, private ease and comfort has never been of any consideration with me; but, as in the moral conduct of public men it may be laid down as a golden rule, that nothing can be given in exchange for an honourable reputation, the public shall always find me at my post; and, although I cannot agree with those whose strongest ones consist in physical force, I will resist with the utmost of my abilities any attempt to dictate to my conscience, or to control my public functions.

Sir JOHN GRANT then addressed the Court as follows:

I have heard this letter read with equal attention, surprise, and regret. I would willingly abstain from making any remarks on it, and I will abstain from making many which forcibly suggest themselves. Considering, however, who the persons are that write it, who we are that are addressed, and what the matter is which it concerns, I am not sure that I perform my public duty by the abstinence I shall observe, and I am quite sure that I should not perform it, if I were to permit that letter to pass without comment.

It is a document of a singular nature. It is a missive letter signed by the Governor and the gentlemen who are members of

the Council. How we can receive a letter missive, I know not. But no communication made to us relative to the discharge of our judicial duty, can be considered by us as any other than a public communication. The gentlemen who sign that letter seem not to have a very clear conception of the nature of the judicial office ; but it must be presumed that at least they know this.

‘ The style of the letter is not very clear, and the meaning is attempted, not very skilfully, to be wrapt up, I suppose for the purpose of softening it, in many words. But, stripped of such of these as are immaterial, the proposal made to us, the King’s Judges, in the first part of the letter, is this, that, notwithstanding our strict obligations to fulfil every part of our high and sacred duty as British Judges, we will, on this extraordinary occasion, deem ourselves at liberty to abstain from any acts, however legal we may deem them, which, under the measures the gentlemen who sign the letter have felt themselves compelled to take, must have the effect of producing open collision between their authority and ours ; that is, that, notwithstanding the obligation of our oaths, we will consent to refuse to administer justice according to what we deem to be law, under the threat that, if we do not so consent, we must encounter a collision with their authority.

‘ What feelings of painful indignation the bare approaching him with such a proposal, must excite in the mind of every honourable man, I abstain from stating. But this it is necessary that I should state, in order to preserve the confidence in the King’s Judges of those who have occasion to resort to their tribunal, that the gentlemen who sign this letter labour under a great mistake, if they believe that there exists, with the exception of a very short, calamitous, and disgraceful period of our history—that there ever did exist a British Judge to whom such a proposal could be addressed with the least chance of success.

‘ In another paragraph of the letter they even venture to mention, by name, two cases, one still depending before us, instituted on the part of individuals, who thought themselves aggrieved, for the purpose of obtaining a restitution of their private rights, those rights being no other than their personal liberty, of which it was stated they were unlawfully deprived, and in one of which cases it appeared to us, for any thing which was alleged by the defendant who confined him, though ample time was given him by a large exercise of our discretion, to correct what seemed an ignorant return, that the person was unlawfully confined, and he was accordingly set at liberty. And in the other of which cases, we have decided that no justification of the confinement has been shown, though, from the course we have adopted, an opportunity still exists of showing it, if it can be done.

‘ In this last-mentioned case, the writers of the letter say, that

they have directed that no further proceedings be admitted, though how they are to prevent private persons from taking such legal proceedings as they may be advised, or what power exists in any part of the King's dominions to stop any legal proceedings which any of his Majesty's subjects may choose to institute in any Court of competent jurisdiction, or in any Court not of competent jurisdiction, except by means of other legal proceedings in a Court which has jurisdiction to control such incompetent Court, they have not said, nor do they seem very well to have informed themselves.

'They say that they have also directed that no returns be made to any writs of *habeas corpus* of a similar nature to those recently issued and directed, to any officers of the Provincial Courts, or to any of their Native subjects not residing on the Island of Bombay.

'Now, they do not seem to know that a writ of *habeas corpus ad subjiciendum*, that is, a writ containing the command of the King, in a matter concerning his prerogative Royal, for bringing a person said to be unlawfully confined before the King's Judges, that they may ascertain whether he be lawfully confined, and deal with him accordingly, is not a matter of discretion in the King's Judges to grant or to refuse, but is a writ of right due to such as demand it, *ex debito justitiæ*, on sufficient cause shown, and which the King's Judges are bound by their allegiance and their oaths to issue without delay, and to deliver to the applicant.

'Neither is the process that may follow on such writ, in order to force obedience to it, a matter of discrimination in the Court, to direct or refuse the issuing of it, if the writ be rightly granted, but it is the right of a subject to obtain the issuing of such process; and to refuse it, is to refuse to administer justice, and is *denegatio justitiæ*.

'And by what means they propose to prevent persons, whom I take to be the King's subjects, and not theirs, from returning writs of *habeas corpus*, if any shall be directed to them, or to indemnify them if they do not, they have likewise omitted to declare. Meanwhile, it is the duty of this Court to declare that lawful power of this sort they possess none.

'They talk in one part of their letter of protests and appeals, protests we have no means of making; nor any reason to make, nor any person to whom to make them, but the Almighty Fountain of all justice. And for appeals, these are the rights of those suitors who think themselves aggrieved by our decisions.

'They say that they are sensible of the responsibility they incur. This is for them to judge of, and not me. But I may say that I doubt exceedingly whether they are sensible of the entire responsibility they may incur. And this, at least, it is right for me to say, that, whatever responsibility they may choose to incur in their own persons, they cannot shelter others whom they may employ or control from the responsibility such persons shall incur, if they are con-

cerned in any offer of resistance to the King's writs issued by the orders of this Court. A responsibility criminal as well as civil, and which, in case of any loss of life occasioned by such resistance, will infer the guilt of murder on all those who shall have been aiding and assisting in it, or who shall have directed, counselled, or advised it.'

The clerk of the Crown was ordered by the Court to write to the Chief Secretary to the Government, informing him that the letter had been received, and that the Judges could take no notice thereof.'

FREE INTERCOURSE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND INDIA.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

Brighton, 6th February, 1829.

SIR,—Conceiving that the testimony of every public man, particularly of so amiable and talented an individual as the present Chief Justice in Calcutta, (Sir Charles Grey,) may add weight to the opinion of Bishop Heber and many other eminent men who have spoken and written in favour of a freer intercourse than at present exists between this country and India, I take the liberty of annexing an extract from that learned gentleman's Charge to a Special Jury lately upon an interesting trial at Calcutta :

'We all hope, more or less, one day for a freer intercourse between this country and England.'

No one more than myself (holding the high opinion which I do of Sir Charles Grey) would wish to see his opinion, valuable as I conceive it, kept free from being perverted; but, thinking that an allusion to it may prove of service to the high interests which will soon come before Parliament, I would merely seek attention to the subject, convinced that the paragraph is wisely worded, and that every honest man who may give the matter a thought, will make a right use of it. I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

P. R.

NOTE.

The foregoing selections from the Bombay papers are of such length and importance as to exclude many articles of subordinate interest from the other Indian papers in our possession. We hope, however, to include many of these in our next.

CIVIL AND MILITARY APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, AND CHANGES IN INDIA.

[B. signifies Bombay—M. Madras—and C. Calcutta.]

- ARMSTRONG, A., 2d Lieut., Artill., posted to 4th comp. 5th batt.—C. July 24.
- Alcock, C. B. P., Lieut., Engineers, appointed to do duty with Sappers and Miners.—C. July 25.
- Anderson, G. W., Esq., to be Puisne Judge, of Sudder Dewannee.—B. Oct. 6.
- Andrews, W. C., Mr., to be First Assist. to the Collector and Magistrate of Kaira.—B. Oct. 6.
- Baker, W. E., Cadet, adm. to Engineers.—C. Aug. 7.
- Boileau, J. T., Lieut., Engin., rem. from 10th, or Agra div., to Kemaoon district.—C. Aug. 8.
- Beatsou, R. W., Lieut., to have charge of 2d batt. Native Invalids, at Chunar.—C. July 15.
- Burnet, R. L., Lieut., to act as Quar.-Mast. and Interp. to 54th N. I., v. Leamonth.—C. July 21.
- Broadhurst, J., Capt., Artill., rem. from 2d comp. 4th batt. to 1st comp. 5th batt.—C. July 24.
- Brind, J., 2d Lieut., Artillery, removed from 4th comp. 4th batt. to 2d comp. 3d batt.—C. July 24.
- Burnett, T. C., 2d Lieut., posted to 4th comp. 4th batt. Artill.—C. July 24.
- Broom, A., 2d Lieut., Artill. posted to 3d comp. 4th batt.—C. July 24.
- Browne, A. T., 2d Lieut., Artill., posted to 2d comp. 5th batt.—C. July 24.
- Bell, J. D., 2d Lieut., Artill., posted to 4th comp. 5th batt.—C. July 24.
- Barber, J., Assist.-Surge, app. to Hill Rangers, v. Gilmore.—C. July 24.
- Barwell, H. M., Ens., to do duty with 59th N. I.—C. July 26.
- Beav, H., Lieut., 62d N. I., returned to duty.—C. July 16.
- Bice, E., Senior 2d Lieut., Artill., to be 1st. Lieut., v. Taylor, dec.—M. Aug. 26.
- Bax, A., Secretary, to perform the duties of Secretary to Governor, in Military Department, in absence of the Chief Secretary.—B. Aug. 21.
- Bellasis, E. H., Lieut.-Col., of Engin. permitted to res. app. of Commissary.-Gen., and allowed furl. to Eur. for health.—B. Aug. 26.
- Bell, J. H., Lieut., 11th N. I., perm. to resign.—B. Sept. 1.
- Brown, F. H., Lieut., 23d regt., to act as Adj. in absence of Lieut. French, on sick certificate.—B. Oct. 2.
- Baillie, E. H., Esq., to be Puisne Judge of Sudder Dewannee.—B. Oct. 6.
- Bell, Alexander, Esq., to be Officiating Judge and Criminal Judge of the Northern Circars.—B. Oct. 6.
- Blair, G. M., Mr., to be First Assistant to the Collec. and Magistrate of Poona.—B. Oct. 9.
- Cullen, W., Sen. Major, Artillery, to be Lieutenant-Colonel, v. Cleveland retired.—M. Aug. 26.
- Cunning, J. P., Lieut., 2d Eur. Inf., to act as Quar.-Mast.—B. Aug. 14.
- Curtis, C. J., Ens., 18th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Pickford, dec.—B. Aug. 14.
- Cogan, R., Lieut., (Marine,) to be Assistant Superintendent, v. Harris, promoted.—B. Oct. 2.
- Chambers, R. G., Mr., to be Second Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Surat, and Acting First Assist. to do.—B. Oct. 9.
- Chambers, R. C., Mr., to be Acting Second Assist. to the Collector and Magistrate of Surat.—B. Oct. 6.
- Channer, G. G., Cadet, Artill., prom. to 2d Lieut.—C. Aug. 1.
- Cooper, G. L., Cadet, Artillery, prom. to 2d Lieut.—C. Aug. 7.
- Collinson, W. C. P., Cadet, Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. Aug. 7.
- Clarke, J., Cadet of Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. Aug. 16.
- Carter, H., Cadet of Inf., promoted to Ens.—C. Aug. 16.
- Clement, F. W., Lieut., Engineers, appointed to do duty with Sappers and Miners.—C. July 25.

- Carte, W. E., Assist.-Surg., to do duty with 63d N. I.—C. July 26.
 Cook, C., Lieut., 21st N. I., returned to duty.—C. July 26.
 Dickson, Surg. Superintendent, app. 3d Member of Med. Board.—C. Aug. 1.
 Dickson, R. L., Maj., app. to charge of 3d N. I.—C. July 10.
 Davidson, W. W., Cadet of Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. Aug. 16.
 Dennist, G. G., Capt., Artill., rem. from 1st comp. 5th batt. to 2d comp. 4th batt.—C. July 21.
 Deas, A. F. C., Ens., to do duty with 16th N. I.—C. July 26.
 Dyce, J. M., Senior Cornet, 1st Light Cav., to be Lieut., v. Clifford, cashiered.—M. Aug. 28.
 Dalzell, A. A., Capt., (the Hon.) 48th Foot, to be Aid-de-camp to Major-Gen.^l Earl of Carnwath.—C. Aug. 7.
 Davidson, R., Assist.-Surg., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. Oct.
 Erskine, James, Mr., to be first Assist. to the President at Baroda.—B. Oct. 9.
 Field, C., Lieut., 9th N. I., to be Capt. by brev.—C. Aug. 1.
 Ferris, J. H., Cadet, Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. Aug. 7.
 Fraser, Hugh, Cadet, admitted to Ens.—C. Aug. 16.
 Fraser, H., Mr., Engin., prom. to 1st Lieut.—C. Aug. 16.
 Fitzgerald, G. F. C., 2d Lieut., rem. from 4th comp. 5th batt. to 2d comp. 2d batt.—C. July 24.
 Fagan, C. G., Cornet of Cav., to do duty with 6th Lt. Cav.—C. July 26.
 Foord, H. S., 1st Lieut., Artill. to be Capt., v. Paske, prom.—M. Aug. 26.
 Frederick, E., Lieut.-Col., 25th N. I., to be Commissary-General v. Bellasis.—B. Aug. 28.
 Fenwick, F., Cadet, Inf., prom. to Ens.—B. Aug. 28.
 Griffin, J. P., Capt., Inv. Estab., rem. to 1st batt. N. Invalids.—C. July 15.
 Guthrie, C. S., Cadet, admitted to Ensign.—C. Aug. 16.
 Gurnell, R. M., Cadet of Inf., promoted to Ensign.—C. Aug. 16.
 Grierson, W., Mr., admitted Assist.-Surg.—C. Aug. 16.
 Gray, J. C. C., Lieut., 21st N. I., to be Capt. of a Comp. v. Guise, deceased.—C. Aug. 16.
 Gilmore, Assist.-Surg., rem. from Hill Rangers to Civ. Station of Nuddeah.—C. July 24.
 Goldney, P., Lieut., to act as Adj. to 4th N. I. v. Macdonald.—C. July 25.
 Goss, J., Assist.-Surg., to do duty with 45th N. I.—C. July 26.
 Gottreux, F., Sen. Ens., 1st N. I., to be Lieut. v. Hodge, prom.—M. Aug. 26.
 Gibb, J. R., Assist.-Surg., (M. D.) returned to duty.—M. Aug. 29.
 Glass, H. H., Esq., to be Register of Sudder Dewannee.—B. Oct. 6.
 Hampton, W. P., Cadet, Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. Aug. 7.
 Hadden, D., Cadet, of Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. Aug. 16.
 Hennessy, J., Cadet of Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. Aug. 16.
 Huish, A., 2d Lieut. Artill., posted to 3d comp. 5th batt.—C. July 24.
 Hare, S. B., Lieut. of Engin., to do duty with Sappers and Miners.—C. July 25.
 Hill, R., Ens., to do duty with 2d N. I.—C. July 26.
 Hopper, A. Q., Ens., to do duty with 57th N. I.—C. July 24.
 Henchman, H., Ens., to do duty with 57th N. I.—C. July 26.
 Hart, T. B., Assist.-Surg., to do duty with 63d N. I.—C. July 26.
 Hunter, R. R., 1st Lieut., Artill., to take rank in succession to Cullen, prom.—M. Aug. 26.
 Hodge, P. P., Sen. Lieut., 1st N. I., to be Capt. v. Smith prom.—M. Aug. 26.
 Harris, E. W., Lieut., (Marine,) to be Agent for procuring timber from Malabar and Canara v. Graham.—B. Oct. 2.
 Jaac, E. E., Lieut., 63d N. I., to be Capt. by brevet.—C. Aug. 1.
 Ironside, E., Esq., to be Senior Puisne Judge of Sudder Dewannee.—B. Oct. 6.
 Jacob, W., Assist.-Surg., appointed to do duty with 29th N. I. at Barrackpore.—C. July 20.
 Johnson, J., Capt., 1st Brig. Horse Artill., to officiate as Superintendent of Horse Artill. Depot and Riding Estab. at Dum Dum v. Geddes.—C. July 24.
 Jones, J., Ens., to do duty with 46th N. I.—C. July 26.
 Kennedy, J. D., Cadet of Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. Aug. 16.

- Knipe, W. B., Ens., 17th N. I., to be Lieut. v. Curry, deceased.—B. Aug. 14.
 Kentish, J., Esq., to resume his situation of Judge and Criminal Judge at Surat.—B. Oct. 6.
- Laing, J. W., Mr., to be Collector of Customs and Town Duties at Agra.—C. Aug. 7.
- Lowrie, J., Capt., Madras N. I., on furlough to Europe.—B. Aug. 29.
- Logie, A. W. J., Lieut., 11th N. I., to be Lieut. v. Bell, resigned.—B. Sept. 1.
- Lumsden, W. J., Esq., to be Third Judge of the Court of Appeal at Surat.—B. Oct. 6.
- Langford, J. W., Mr., to be First Assistant to the Political Agent in Kattywar.—B. Oct. 9.
- Macnab, J. M., Mr., to be Principal Collector of Customs and Town Duties at Mirzapoor, in Province of Benares.—C. Aug. 7.
- Mosley, W. B., Cadet of Cavalry, prom. to Cornet.—C. Aug. 1.
- Macdonald, A., Lieut., 62d N. I., permitted to resign.—C. Aug. 7.
- Macdonald, N., Cornet, 9th Light Cavalry, to be Lieut. v. Bishop, deceased.—C. Aug. 8.
- Martin, J. R., Assist.-Surgeon, to officiate as Surgeon to the Governor-General.—C. Aug. 8.
- Mitford, W. V., Cadet of Cavalry, promoted to Cornet.—C. Aug. 8.
- Millar, J., Ensign, posted to 7th N. I., at Berhampore.—C. July 17.
- Murray, A., Assist.-Surgeon, app. to Medical Charge of 6th N. I.—C. July 21.
- Miles, F. A., 1st Lieut., Artillery, rem. from 2d to 1st company, 3d battalion.—C. July 24.
- Motlock, J. F., Ensign, to do duty with 24th N. I.—C. July 26.
- Morris, A. B., Ensign, to do duty with 46th N. I.—C. July 26.
- Meldrum, R., Capt., 9th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—B. Aug. 14.
- Moresby, R., Lieut., (Marine,) to be Surveyor of the Concan, v. Cogan.—B. Oct. 9.
- Mills, R., Mr., to be Collector and Magis. of Broach, and Acting Collector and Magis. of Kaira.—B. Oct. 6.
- Malet, A., Mr., to be Second Assist. to the Resident at Baroda, and Acting First Assist. to the Resident at Baroda.—B. Oct. 9.
- Nicholets, A. G., Ensign, to do duty with 28th N. I.—C. July 26.
- Owen, T., Surgeon, Third Member of Medical Board, on furlough to Masulipatam.—M. Aug. 29.
- Paton, J., Lieut., 53th N. I., to be Capt. of a Company, v. Sargent, deceased.—C. Aug. 1.
- Perrau, C. J. H., Ensign, 58th N. I., to be Lieut. v. Paton, prom.—C. Aug. 1.
- Paton, J. W., Lieut., 37th N. I., to be Capt. by brevet.—C. Aug. 1.
- Packlington, W., Cadet of Inf., prom. to Ensign.—C. Aug. 7.
- Paske, T. T., Senior Capt., Artill., to be Major, v. Cullen, prom.—M. Aug. 26.
- Pyne, J., Mr., to be Acting Collector and Magis. of Poonah.—B. Oct. 6.
- Pitt, G. H., Mr., to be Third Assist. to the Collector and Magis. in Candeish.—B. Oct. 10.
- Rogers, F., Mr., admitted Veterinary Surgeon.—C. Aug. 7.
- Rainsford, F., Cadet of Inf., promoted to Ensign.—C. Aug. 16.
- Ross, W. H., Cadet of Inf., promoted to Ensign.—C. Aug. 16.
- Roberts, H. B. C., Cornet, 2d Light Cavalry, on furl. to Europe.—B. Aug. 26.
- Romer, J., Esq., to be Chief Judge of the Sudder Dewannee and Sudder Fowjdary Adawlut.—B. Oct. 8.
- Sawyers, J., Surgeon, to be Superinten. Surgeon, v. Dick, prom.—C. Aug. 1.
- Shardon, C. R., Major, app. to charge of 5th N. I.—C. July 10.
- Showers, St. G. D., to act as Adjutant to left wing, 4th Extra N. I., v. Wright.—C. Aug. 1.
- Simpson, T., Ensign, posted to 6th Extra N. I., at Mullye.—C. July 17.
- Smith, S., Major of Cavalry, to be Lieut.-Col., v. Dackson, dec.—C. Aug. 16.
- Smyth, G. C., Lieut., 3d Light Cavalry, to be Capt. of a Troop, v. Ward, prom.—C. Aug. 16.
- Spottiswoode, H., Ensign, 21st N. I., to be Lieut. v. Gray, prom.—C. Aug. 16.

- Spens, T., Assist.-Surgeon, directed to resume charge of duties as Assist.-Garr.-Surgeon of Fort William.—C. Aug. 16.
- Sissmore, T. H., Second Lieut. Artillery, rem. from 4th comp. 4th batt., to 2d comp. 4th batt.—C. July 24.
- Seppings, A. W., Second Lieut. Artillery, posted to 2d comp. 5th batt.—C. July 24.
- Savary, W. T., Lieut., 46th N. I., returned to duty.—C. July 26.
- Smith, H., Senior Capt., 17th N. I., to be Major, v. Fwing, dec.—M. Aug. 26.
- Sutherland, J., Esq., to be Chief Judge of the Courts of Appeal and Circuit at Surat.—B. Oct. 6.
- Sims, C., Esq., to be Register to the Court of Appeal and Circuit at Surat.—B. Oct. 9.
- Sutherland, J., Mr., to be Agent to the Governor at Surat.—B. Oct. 6.
- Turnbull, R. H., Lieut., 24th N. I., to act as Adjutant in absence of — Singer.—C. July 10.
- Troyer, A., Capt., H. M.'s Service, to be an Aide-de-Camp on Govern-General's Staff.—C. Aug. 16.
- Taylor, James, Esq., to be Second Judge of the Court of Appeal at Surat.—B. Oct. 6.
- Underwood, John, Cantonment Surgeon, on furl. for health.—M. Aug. 29.
- Voules, H. P., Cornet, 3d Light Cavalry, to be Lieut., v. Smyth.—C. Aug. 16.
- Vincent, O., Ensign, to do duty with 60th N. I.—C. July 26.
- Vardon, S., Senior Second Lieut. of Engin., to be First Lieut.—M. Aug. 29.
- Wintle, E., Lieut., 3d Extra N. I., to act as Adjut.—C. July 10.
- Woodburn, J., Lieut. and Adjut., to act as Inter. and Quar.-Mast. to 44th N. I., v. Wemyss.—C. July 15.
- Woodburn, J., Lieut., to act as Interp. to 9th N. I., v. Beckett.—C. Aug. 1.
- Ward, A., Capt., 3d Light Cavalry, to be Major, v. Smith, prom.—C. Aug. 16.
- Whinfield, C. R., First Lieut., Artillery, rem. from 3d comp. 1st batt., to 2d comp. 3d batt.—C. July 21.
- Waller, R., Second Lieut., Artillery, rem. from 2d comp. 5th batt., to 3d comp. 2d batt.—C. July 21.
- Whistler, G. H., Ensign, to do duty with 13th N. I.—C. July 26.
- Walter, E., Lieut., 3d Light Cavalry, to be Adjutant, v. Johnstone, deceased.—B. Aug. 26.
- Williamson, T., Mr., to be Collector and Magistrate of Ambednuggur, and Acting Collector and Magistrate of Broach.—B. Oct. 6.
- Young, G., Capt., 2d Extra N. I., to have charge of office of Judge Advoc.-Gen. to Presid. Division.—C. Aug. 8.
- Young, W. O., Second Lieut., Artillery, rem. from 1st comp. 5th batt., to 1st comp. 1st batt.—C. July 24.

BIRTHS.

- Alexander, the lady of Lieut., of a daughter, at Neemuch, Aug. 19.
- Alsop, the lady of T., Esq., of a daughter, at Madras, Sept. 7.
- Arathoon, the lady of J., Esq., of a son, at Madras, Sept. 15.
- Beeby, the lady of W. T., Esq., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Aug. 15.
- Boyd, the lady of James, Esq., Assist.-Surg., Pioneer batt., of a son, at Nimbolee, Oct. 10.
- Betts, the lady of A., Esq., of a daughter, at Berhampore, July 28.
- Bond, the lady of A. M., Esq., Civ.-Serv., of a son, at Penang, July 29.
- Brightman, the lady of J., Esq., of a daughter, at Chowringhee, Sept. 6.
- Bushby, the lady of G. A., Esq., Civ.-Serv., of a son, at Calcutta, Aug. 4.
- Chalmers, the lady of Alex., Esq., (M. D.) of a daughter, at Lucknow, Aug. 4.
- Clarke, the lady of Longueville, Esq., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Aug. 7.
- Clarke, the lady of J., Stanley, Esq., Civ.-Serv., of a son, at Calcutta, Aug. 9.
- Cowles, the lady of Capt. C., (H. N.) 18th N. I., of a son, at Mhow, Aug. 9.
- Corsellis, the lady of Capt., (H. N.) 18th N. I., of a son, at Mhow, Aug. 2.
- Cooke, the lady of Major, 38th N. I., of a son, at Masulipatam, Aug. 11.

- Clendon, the lady of Lieut., of a daughter, at Colaba, Sept. 30.
 Crist, the lady of the Rev. Edmund, of a son, at St. Thomé, Aug. 4.
 Debude, the lady of Capt., of Engin., of a daughter, at Allypuri, July 25.
 Dawson, the lady of Capt., 89th reg., of a son, at Madras, Sept. 25.
 Elliot, the lady of G. L., Esq., of a daughter, at Rutnaguree, Aug. 21.
 Faucett, the lady of J., Esq., of a daughter, at Bombay, Oct. 7.
 Fraser, the lady of Lieut.-Col., of a daughter, at Cuddalore, July 18.
 Farnworth, the lady of J. M., Esq., of a daughter, at Dacca, July 30.
 Farquharson, the lady of J. H., Esq., Civ.-Serv., of a daughter, at Tannah.
 Francis, the lady of C. B., Esq., of a daughter, at Jessore, Aug. 29.
 Fisher, the lady of Lieut. T., Quart.-Mast.-Gen's. Dep., of a son, at Sylhet.
 Halhed, the lady of N. J., Esq., Civ.-Serv., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Aug. 14.
 Hughes, the lady of Ens., 39th N. I., of a daughter, at Bangalore, Aug. 12.
 Hawtayne, the lady of the Venerable Archdeacon, of a daughter, at Bombay.
 Harrington, the lady of Lieut. W. D., 2d Mad. Cav., of a daughter, at Mominabad, Sept. 5.
 Johnston, the lady of J. L., Esq., of a son, at Bombay, Aug. 9.
 Jenkins, the lady of R. C., Esq., of a son, at Calcutta, July 24.
 Lucas, the lady of Lieut., 1st Troop Horse Brigade, of a daughter, at Malligaam.
 Loss, the lady of D., Esq., of a daughter, at Calcutta, July 18.
 Mendougal, the lady of Dr., 1st Horse Brigade, of a daughter, at St. Thomas's Mount, Sept. 20.
 Morton, the lady of J., Esq., of a daughter, at Coimbatore, July 26.
 Morley, the lady of James, Esq., of a daughter, at Bombay, Aug. 17.
 Orchard, the lady of Capt. J., 1st Eur. reg., of a daughter, at Agra, July 26.
 Pigou, the lady of H. M., Esq., of a daughter, at Cuttack, Sept. 2.
 Ryan, the lady of Sir E., of a still-born daughter, at Garden Reach, Aug. 10.
 Russell, the lady of Lieut.-Col., Horse Artill., of a daughter, at Poona, Oct. 9.
 Ricks, the lady of Dr., 2d Brig. Horse Artill., of a son, at Bangalore, Aug. 11.
 Steel, the lady of Capt. James, Deputy Judge-Adv.-Gen., of a son, at Dinapore.
 Swincoe, the lady of T. B., Esq., of a son, at Calcutta, Aug. 22.
 Simpson, the lady of James Bruce, Esq., of a daughter, at Tannah, Sept. 4.
 Sutherland, the lady of Capt., 13th N. I., of a son, at Poona, Sept. 28.
 Sprye, the lady of Lieut. R. S. M., of the 9th Mad. N. I., at Mominabad, of a daughter, Sept. 5.
 Scott, the lady of Capt. J., at Colabah, Aug. 19.
 Smith, the lady of Major S., 3d Cav., of a son, at Keitah, July 3.
 Urquhart, the lady of Lieut. and Adj. G., 65th V. N. I., of a son, at Barrackpore, Aug. 17.
 Vitre, the lady of M. de, Esq., of a daughter, at Mazagon, Oct. 1.
 Williamson, the lady of Lieut. A. A., 25th reg., of a son, at Nauthpore, Aug. 3.
 Wheatley, the lady of Lieut. and Adj. A., 5th Lt. Cav., of a son, at Neemuch.

MARRIAGES.

- Cooper, Leonard, Esq., Solicitor, Madras, to Miss Maria Smirnoff, at Madras.
 Daluahoy, James, Esq., Assist.-Surg., to Harriet, third daughter of the Rev. Archibald Lawrie, D.D., Minister of Loudon, Ayrshire, at Madras, July 28.
 Finch Cutlibert, Esq., (M. D.), Assist.-Surg., to Mary Sarah, daughter of the late Capt. Hamilton, Bombay Marine, at Calcutta, Aug. 19.
 Latouche, Capt. to Frances, third daughter of Brig. Maxwell, (C.B.) commanding in Bundelcund, at Keitah, Aug. 4.
 Morse, A., Major, acting Quar.-Mas.-Gen. of the Army, to Julia Elmira, daughter of the late L. Phillips, Esq., at Mouday, Aug. 11.
 Mackinnon, C., Esq., Civ. Surg., to Miss Ann Julius Carr, at Allypuri, July 12.
 Miller, George, Lieut., 25th N. I., to Miss Catherine Eliza Adams, at Titlayah, Aug. 22.
 Macdonald, Charles E., Esq., Madras Civ. Serv., to Maria Agnes, second daughter of the late Edw. Stevenson, Esq., at Cuddalore, Aug. 2.
 Prior, H., Lieut., 23d Light Inf., to S. H. Bower, relict of the late Capt. B. Bower, at Madras, Aug. 11.

- Preston, J. B., Esq., to Margaret Georgiana, eldest daughter of L. H. Sterling, Esq., Madras, at Nellore, July 23.
 Robertson, Andrew, Esq., Civ. Serv., to Isabella Flora, daughter of the late Alexander Macleod, Esq., of Dalvey, county of Moray, at Madras, Aug. 4.
 Underwood, W. E., Esq., Civ. Serv., to Magdalene, youngest daughter of W. Thompson, Esq., M. D., Wexford, Ireland, at Madras, Oct. 1.
 Whitfield, Charles Howard, Lieut., 40th Bengal N. I., to Miss Ann Olivia Duff, at Calcutta, Sept. 2.

DEATHS.

- Alsop, Ann Maria, infant daughter of Thomas, Esq., at Madras, Sept. 18.
 Byram, A. J., Capt., H. M.'s 16th Lancers, aged 34, at Meerut, July 14.
 Burt, George, fifth son of the late Adam, Esq., (M. D.) Company's Service at Calcutta, July 28.
 Bowater, Ann, the wife of Wm., Lieut., Marine, aged 27, at Bombay, Oct. 6.
 Burton, the Rev. R., of Digah, (of the Baptist Mission,) aged 32, at Bankipore, Sept. 6.
 Birdwood, Wm. Henry Stanley, infant son of Wm., Esq., at Broach, Aug. 10.
 Cornet, Mrs. B., Esq., relict of the late Vendition, at Madras, Aug. 23.
 Curry, Richard Carthew, Lieut., 17th regt. N. I., at Bhowndy, Aug. 6.
 Crist, the infant son of the Rev. Edmund, at St. Thomé, Aug. 10.
 Dickson, Wm., Lieut.-Col., commanding 5th Light Cav., at Kurnaul, July 24.
 Davis, Master Horace William, son of W. Davis, Esq., at Calcutta, July 25.
 Erskine, James, son of J., Esq., aged 16, at Chandernagore, Aug. 14.
 Forbes, George, Esq., of the firm of Forbes and Co., aged 28, at Bombay, Aug. 8.
 George, James, Lieut.-Col., 29th regiment, July 30.
 Guise, W., Capt., 21st N. I., at Bhurtpore, Aug. 1.
 Hodgson, the lady of W., Capt., 26th N. I., at Culpee, Aug. 5.
 July 27.
 Kelly, E., Lieut.-Col., H. M.'s Service, aged 54, at Mullye, Aug. 6.
 Leggatt, G., Capt., 1st Madras N. I., at Madras, Sept. 10.
 Mitford, G. A., Capt., drowned at Kedgerie, Aug. 18.
 Morton, Ensign, 43d regt. N. I., at Benares.
 Sargent, William, Capt., 58th Bengal N. I., at Agra, July 16.
 Slarke, Ensign, 43d N. I., at Benares.

IN addition to the deaths recorded in the Indian Obituary for the present Number, we have to mention that of the Right Rev. Dr. James, Lord Bishop of Calcutta, and Lady West, the wife of the late distinguished Chief Justice at Bombay. The former died on board one of the Hon. Company's ships, in which he had embarked from Calcutta, for Penang, with the hope of recovering his health, but did not live to reach his destination. The latter died at Bombay on the 16th of October, within a few weeks after her lamented husband. The circumstances attending her Ladyship's illness and death, give a character of melancholy interest to her premature end. Her devotion to her fondly beloved husband was so intense, as to absorb all her faculties and feelings: and accordingly, without for a moment considering her own peril, she attended him with the most unremitting care, during his illness; and even after his death, followed his last earthly remains to the grave: in such excess of grief as to be unable to shed a tear—the burning agony of sorrow having dried up, as it were, the springs and fountains through which the ordinary mourner finds relief. Such a husband and such a wife, were worthy of each other! What greater eulogy can be bestowed on their memories!

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS FROM EASTERN PORTS.

	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Place of Depart.	Date.
1829.					1828.
Jan. 29	Downs ..	Egyptian ..	Lilburn ..	Bombay..	Sept. 12
Jan. 29	Dover ..	Mary ..	Bamber ..	Bengal ..	Aug. 6
Jan. 30	Downs ..	Ellen ..	Bayle ..	Bombay..	Aug. 19
Feb. 2	Liverpool ..	Jane Haddow..	Hamilton ..	Bengal ..	Sept. 12
Feb. 4	Plymouth ..	Asia ..	Ager ..	Bengal ..	Aug. 28
Feb. 4	Downs ..	Wm. Parker ..	Ellis ..	Cape ..	Nov. 5
Feb. 6	Downs ..	Hooghly ..	Reeves ..	Mauritius	Nov. 1
Feb. 7	Liverpool ..	Eagle ..	Batty ..	Cape ..	Nov. 11
Feb. 7	Cockhaven ..	Alcoyne ..	Muir ..	Bombay..	Sept. 26
Feb. 9	Cowes ..	Louisa ..	Smith ..	Batavia ..	Oct. 11
Feb. 9	Penzance ..	Delock ..	Duyts ..	Batavia ..	Oct. 13.
Feb. 9	Dover ..	Morne ..	Johnson ..	Bombay..	Sept. 9
Feb. 9	Dover ..	Ed. Coulston ..	Hamlin ..	Mauritius	
Feb. 11	Dartmouth ..	Mary & Helig.	Glazener ..	Batavia ..	Oct. 13
Feb. 18	Falmouth ..	Lady Holland..	Snell ..	Bengal ..	Aug. 25
Feb. 19	Weymouth ..	Ellen ..	Paterson ..	Mauritius	Oct. 28
Feb. 20	Dover ..	Caroline ..	Fewson ..	Batavia	
Feb. 21	Holyhead ..	Pomona ..	Highat ..	Bombay..	Oct. 27
Feb. 21	Liverpool ..	Campo Bello ..	Cornet ..	Mauritius	Nov. 27
Feb. 21	Cowes ..	Ida Alleyda ..	Hunt ..	Batavia	Oct. 7
Feb. 21	Liverpool ..	Lady Gordon ..	Bell ..	Bombay..	

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
Aug. 12	Bombay ..	Clyde ..	Scott ..	Liverpool
Aug. 12	Bombay ..	Chatham ..	Bragg ..	Liverpool
Aug. 12	Bombay ..	Palambam ..	Nash ..	Glasgow
Aug. 14	Bombay ..	Margaret ..	Johnson ..	Liverpool
Aug. 14	Bombay ..	Hibberts ..	Morley ..	London
Aug. 15	N. S. Wales ..	Portland ..	Mood ..	London
Aug. 15	N. S. Wales ..	Borodina ..	Mantrup ..	London
Aug. 15	N. S. Wales ..	Frederick ..	Legg ..	London
Aug. 15	N. S. Wales ..	Phoenix ..	Cuzens ..	London
	Bombay ..	Royal George ..	Wilson ..	London
Aug. 15	N. S. Wales ..	Ellen ..	Taylor ..	London
Aug. 15	N. S. Wales ..	Australia ..	Sleight ..	London
Aug. 15	N. S. Wales ..	Cleopatra ..	Young ..	Cork
Aug. 15	N. S. Wales ..	Sarah ..	King ..	London
Aug. —	Singapore ..	Alexander ..	Ogilvy ..	London
Aug. 31	Bengal ..	Boynt ..	Pope ..	London
Aug. 31	Bengal ..	Ganges ..	Lloyd ..	London
Sept. 1	Madras ..	Vesper ..	Brown ..	London
Sept. 1	Bombay ..	Poncona ..	Highat ..	Liverpool
Sept. 2	Bombay ..	Sovereign ..	Nesfield ..	Liverpool
Sept. 2	Bombay ..	Capt. Cook ..	Willis ..	London
Sept. 5	Bombay ..	Mountaineer ..	Cranny ..	London
Sept. 6	Bombay ..	Crown ..	Baird ..	Greenock
Sept. 8	Madras ..	Asia ..	Balderston ..	London
Sept. 8	Bombay ..	James & Thomas	—	Liverpool,
Sept. 9	Madras ..	Marchion. of Ely	Mangles ..	London
Sept. 10	Madras ..	Rose ..	Marquis ..	London
Sept. 10	Madras ..	Prince Regent ..	Hosmer ..	London
Sept. 11	Madras ..	St. George ..	Swainson ..	Liverpool
Sept. 15	Madras ..	Atlas ..	Hunt ..	London
Sept. 17	Calcutta ..	Andes ..	King ..	Liverpool

Date.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
Sept. 19	Madras	Mabrolin	Eyles	London
Sept. 21	Madras	Lonarch	Noakes	London
Sept. 22	Calcutta	Mangles	Carr	London
Sept. 22	Calcutta	Mary	Dobson	Clyde
Sept. 22	Calcutta	Asia	Balderston	London
Sept. 22	Calcutta	Chieftain	Blair	Liverpool
Sept. 23	Madras	Agnes	Millous	Leith
Sept. 23	Madras	Roxburgh Castle	Denny	London
Sept. 26	Calcutta	Marchion. of Ely	Mangles	London
Sept. 26	Calcutta	St. George	Swainhoe	Liverpool
Sept. 28	Calcutta	Fairy	Welburn	Liverpool
Oct. 9	Bombay	Ulster	Shannop	Liverpool
Oct. 13	Bombay	Charles Kerr	Brodie	London
Oct. 19	Bombay	Emma	North	London
Oct. 19	Bombay	Prince of Orange	Jameson	Leith
Oct. 20	Bombay	Isaella	Fox	London
Oct. 20	Bombay	Esther	Robinson	London
Oct. 20	Bombay	Corisbrook	Strachan	Liverpool
Oct. 21	Bombay	Bengal	Ferguson	Liverpool
Oct. 28	N. S. Wales	Russorah Merchant	—	London

DEPARTURES FROM EUROPE.

Date.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
1829.				
Jan. 29	Portsmouth	Candian	Reed	Mauritius
Jan. 31	Liverpool	Curier	Jones	Bombay
Feb. 1	Liverpool	Calcutta	Watson	Bengal
Feb. 3	Liverpool	Sarah and Caroline	—	Bengal
Feb. 3	Cork	Eliza	Nicholas	N. S. Wales
Feb. 5	Downs	Albion	Follins	Singapore
Feb. 5	Downs	George and William	Nicholson	Cape
Feb. 8	Downs	Columbine	Brown	Cape
Feb. 9	Greenock	Catherine	Kincaid	Bengal
Feb. 11	Plymouth	Prince Regent	Mallard	V. D. Land
Feb. 17	Deal	Cornwallis	Henderson	Cape
Feb. 17	Downs	Valley Field	Johnson	Bombay
Feb. 18	Plymouth	Argo	Billing	Bengal
Feb. 18	Downs	Milo	Severs	China
Feb. 19	Liverpool	Elizabeth	Currie	Mauritius
Feb. 21	Downs	Cockburn	Kemp	South Seas
Feb. 22	Gravesend	Duke of Sussex	Whitehead	China
Feb. 23	Portsmouth	Elphinstone	Richardson	Ceylon
Feb. 24	Portsmouth	Palmira	Thomson	Mad. & Bengal

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

PASSENGERS HOMEWARDS.

By the *Ellen*, from Bombay:—Capt. Meldrum; Lieut. Fitzroy, Mr. W. Stewart, Assist.-Surg.

By the *Duke of Bedford*, from Bombay:—Col. Boles, Madras Establishment; Majors Rigby and Major Noble, (died at sea); Capts. Newport, Illingsworth, and Wallace (left at Cape); Lieut. Hill, 6th foot; Ensign Ramsay; Dr. Shinnamou; Rev. Benj. Ward, and the Rev. Robt. Muir; Messrs. John Greaves and Stephenson, (left at Cape); Masters Boles and Wallace, (left at Cape); Messdames Boles, Ward, Muir, and Stephenson, (left at Cape); Misses Boles, and O'Flaherty, (left at Cape); 94 Invalids.

By the *Mary*, from Bengal:—Messrs. Bell, Nagle, and Peake; Masters Frasers.

By the *Jane Haddow*, from Bengal:—Mr. Whittle.

INDEX

TO THE TWENTIETH VOLUME.

A

- ANCIENT Characters—Alexander—No. III., 17.
 American and English System of Commerce with India, Comparison of, 19.
 American Trade in the Straits of Malacca, 177.
 American Colonies. On the Distinction in the, arising from the Mixture of Blood 231.
 Africa. On the Civilisation of, 121. Clapperton's Second Expedition into the Interior of 465. Native Army, 421. Negro population of, 424.
 Autumn, Sonnet to. 455.
 Asiatic Journal, Pandering of the, 8.
 Associations in the Mercantile Towns of Great Britain suggested, to endeavour to procure the Abolition of the East Company's Monopoly, 16.
 Assyria, Media, and Persia, Travels of Mr. Buckingham in, 31.
 Armenian Population of Bu-sorah, 45.
 Arab Females, Description of the, 296.
 Arabian Hospitality, Curious Anecdotes of, 62. Robbers in the vicinity of Bussorah, Account of, 65. Arabian Population of Bussorah, 43. 61.
 Amherst and Tavoy, Description of the Coast between, 155.
 Arm-Bazaar of Cairo, Description of the, 393.
 Asia Minor, Scenery of, 148.
 Alexander, the late Emperor, Particulars respecting the Death of, 463.
 Azor, Case of the Negro man, 487.
 Antoine, Case of the male Slave, 489.
 Aguste, a Creole Slave, Case of, 491.

B

- Buckingham, Mr., Travels of, in Assyria, Media, and Persia, 31. His visit to Liverpool, 199. Letter in reply to a Statement in 'The Courier,' &c., 200. Visit to Manchester, 546.
 British India, Reflections on the Present State of, 81.
 Bengal, Letters from, 166.
 Bombay, Letters from, 175. 374.
 Bentinck, Lord William, Address presented to, by the Inhabitants of Madras, 186.
 Births, 195. 377. 574.
 Bussorah, History and Commerce of, 36. Voyage from, down the River Euphrates to Bushire, 239.
 Byron, Character of, by the Countess Albrizzi, 330.
 Bassein, Statistical Details respecting the Province of, 350.
 Bombay Government, Attempt of the, to intimidate the Judges, 561.
 Burke, Mr., Opinion of, on Indian Affairs, 9.
Oriental Herald, Vol. 20.

- Bentham on the Usury Laws, Notice of, 72.
- Bentinck, Lord William and Lady, and Suite. their arrival at Madras, 172.
- Browne, Ebenezer, Esq., M.D., Death of, 173.
- Boatmen, Mutiny among the, at Madras, 173.
- Bussinne, Mr., Notice of his Case, 359.
- Bauvet, Murder of a Slave by a female named, 494.

C

- Circuitous Trade with India, 19.
- Confession, The, 137.
- Ceylon, Affairs of, 161.
- Commercial Intercourse in India, Proclamation to prevent, 163.
- China, Cases of Torture practised in, 183.
- China and India, Trade to, Proceedings at Liverpool connected with opening the, 199. 381. The Trade of Russia with, 311.
- Chinese Prison, A, 181.
- Civil and Military Intelligence, 192. 376. 571.
- Cape of Good Hope, Re-establishment of the Independent Press at the, 356.
- Chambers, Sir Charles, Death of, 372.
- Cairo to the Cataracts, Voyage on the Nile from,—No. I. 393.
- Clapperton's Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa, 465.
- Crimes, Causes of, in India, and Suggestions for their Prevention, 172.
- Coventry, Public Meeting at, for the Abolition of the Burning of Widows in India, 539.
- Canning, Mr., Opinion of, on Indian Affairs, 7.
- Crawford, Mr., Notice of, 11.
- Charter, East India Company's, Discussion on the, 1.
- Canals at Bussorah, 37.
- Catholic Christian Population of Bussorah, 16.
- Cornwallis, Lord, Generation of the Inhabitants of India to, 96.
- Cavalry Regiment, &c., Reduction of, at Calcutta, 166.
- Combermere, Lord, his Visits to the Military Stations of Calcutta, 166.
- Church, New, at Madras, 174.
- Court's Martial in India, 191.
- Charles V., Compact of, with the Discoverers of America, 255.
- Cart-Whip, On the use of the, among Slaves, 251.
- Cairo, Description of the City of, 297. 393.
- Chinese, Value of Labour among the, 384. Jealous Commercial Policy of the, 384.
- Canals of Egypt, as mentioned by Herodotus, 396.
- Crevelier the Corsair, Story of, 419.
- Cistern for collecting Rain-water at Castelorizo, 453.
- Cases of Cruelty to Slaves on the estate of *Jél Ombre*, in the Mauritius, 484.
- Cotry, Peter, Cruel conduct of, 494.

D

- Deaths, 196. 378. 576.
- Distinctions in the American Colonies, arising from the Mixture of Blood, 231.
- Dream, The—To Celia, 545.
- Durham, Lord, Opinion of, on Indian Affairs, 7.
- Dogs, Native, of New South Wales, 324.
- Dashour, Notice of the Pyramids of, 401.
- Dramatic Entertainments at Youriba, 470.

E

- Education, Universal, 139.
- England, Indifference of the Press in, to Indian Affairs, 180.
- Egypt, Advantageous Position of, as a Connecting Link between England and India, 256.
- Egypt, Recent French Scientific Expedition to, 295.
- Evening. A Sonnet, 355.

Execution Militaire, Stanzas on the, 371.
 Ægean, Review of Letters from the, 445.
 England and India, Free Intercourse between, 570.
 European Factories at Bussorah, 50.
 Elephants, Sagacity of the, 338.
 European Judges, On the Qualifications of, in India, 456.

F

Edward, a Male Slave, Case of, 491.
 French Scientific Expedition to Egypt, 295.
 Fountain of Oblivion, The, 410.
 Free Intercourse between England and India, 570.
 Fox, Mr., Opinion of, on Indian Affairs, 9.
 Freedom, On the Right of Slaves to Purchase their, 253.
 Fairbairn, Mr., Account of the re-establishment of the Press by, at the Cape of Good Hope, 356.
 Fertility of Egypt, 405.
 Fortune, Francis, Petitions of, regarding the Tea Trade, 417.

Geography and Hydrography, On the Nomenclatures of, 114.
 Godlike Liberty A Song, 250.
 Greece, 249.
 Grenville, Lord, Opinion of, on Indian Affairs, 9.
 Grant, Mr., Opinion of, on the Consumption of English Manufactures in India
 confuted, 15.
 Grange, The Hon. H. S., Esq., his Retirement from Office and Decline of
 Influence, 173, 174.
 Grant, Sir John, as Judge at Bombay, 175.
 Geste, Disquisition on the Scriptural use of the Word, 452.

H

Hydrography and Geography, On the Nomenclatures of, 114.
 Home, 123.
 Hull, Mr. John Fowler, Biographical Memoir of, 303.
 Hindoo Widows, Burning of, 182. 35. 539.
 Hindoos, Philosophical Opinions and Maxims of the, 329. Their small Re-
 gard for an Oath, 129. Ordeals and Tests applied to Criminals among the, 129.
 Huskisson, Mr., Opinion of, on Indian Affairs, 7.
 Holland, Lord, Opinion of, on Indian Affairs, 7.
 Hastings, Warren, Opinion of, Confuted on the Consumption of English
 Manufactures in India, 15.
 Horses, Export Trade in, from Persia, Nature of the, 52. Government
 Stud of, at Bengal, 284.
 Hong, Association of the, at Canton, 384.
 Herodotus's Account of the Canals of Egypt, 396.

I

India, East, Company's Charter, Discussions on the, 1. Monopoly of, 39.
 India, a Poem, 66. Present State of British, 81. Miller on the Administration
 of, 125. Inadequacy of the number of Officers in the Army of, 145. Proclama-
 tion to prevent Commercial Intercourse in, 163. Letters from, 166-372. In-
 difference of the Press of England to Affairs of, 180. Debates, Dividend on
 Stock, &c., Suttees, 188-347. Conveyance of Letters in, 190. Courts Martial in,
 191. Proceedings at Liverpool connected with the opening of the Trade to
 China and, 199. Advantageous Position of Egypt as a connecting Link between
 England and, 256. On the Danger of, from Invasion, 269. Historic Sketches

written in, 290. The Company's Revenue, 435. Administration of Justice in, 456. Causes of Crime in, 472. Free Intercourse between England and, 570. Indian Population of Bussorah, 49.

Interest for Money, Impolicy of fixing any limits to, 68.

J

Judges, Attempt of the Bombay Government to intimidate the, 561.

Justice in India, On the Administration of, and the Qualifications and Numbers of European Judges, 456.

Jewish Population of Bussorah, 46.

K

Kenite, The, 255.

Koords residing at Bussorah Notice of, 50.

Kangaroos of New South Wales, 325.

L

Law, Expediency of Preparing a Digest of, for the Company's Territories in India, 125.

Law, English and French, Comparison of, 101, 102.

Lansdowne, Lord, Opinion of, on Indian Affairs, 7.

Letters from India, 166. 372.

Letters from the Ægean, Review of, 445.

Liberty, Godlike. A Song, 230.

Lines addressed to a Lady, 391.

Liverpool, Proceedings at, connected with the Opening of the Trade to India and China, 199. Petition of the Inhabitants of, regarding the Tea Trade, 420. Report of the Public Meeting at, regarding the Charter of the East India Company, 501.

Liverpool Papers, Notices of, on Mr. Buckingham's Lectures in that town, 203. Petition of the Merchants regarding the Tea Trade, 415. 420.

Lushington, Mr., Rigid Conduct of, as Censor of the Press at Madras, 169.

Lushington, Mrs., (Sister-in-law of the Governor,) Arrival of, at Madras, 172.

Leith's, General, Opinion of Judges in India, 459.

Le Cotte, a Male Slave, Case of, 490.

M

Money, Interest of, Impolicy of fixing any limits to, 68.

Monopoly of the East India Company, 19.

Miller on the Administration of Justice in India, 125. 459.

Madras, Letters from, 169. Revenue collected at, 435.

Malacca, American Trade in the Straits of, 177.

Monopoly, Dialogue on the Subject of, 178.

Manilla, Affairs of, 184.

Marriages, 195. 378. 575.

Maniac, The, 267.

Monopoly, The Tea, 411.

Mauritius, State of Slavery in the, 475.

Malcolm, Sir John, and Sir Thomas Munro's opinions confuted on the Consumption of English Manufactures in India, 15.

Malcolm, Sir John, as Governor of Bombay, 175.

Media, Persia, and Assyria, Travels of Mr. Buckingham in, 31.

Minawi, Notice of the Village of, 39.

Murder, Dreadful, at Nagpore, 171.

Moors, Dominion of, in Spain, Notices of, 234.

Marriages of Slaves, On Legalising the, 250.

Metals, Account of the Profit and Loss on, Exported to China from 1793 till 1819, 387.

Memphis, Site of, Notice of the, 395.

Mockannau, Village of, Notice of the, 396.

Modern and Ancient Manners of Egypt, 404.

Music of Greece, 418.

Mountain Scenery of Central Africa, 467.

Manchester, Proceedings at, regarding the Charter of the East India Company, 546.

N

Nature, 113.

Nomenclatures of Hydrography and Geography, Hints to Navigators and Discoverers on the, 114.

Nile, Voyage on the, from Cairo to the Cataracts, No. I., 393.

Native Land, My, 538.

Nile, Appearance of the Banks of the, 295.

Nilometer, Notice of the famous, 300.

Necropolis near Abousir, Notice of, 395.

Negroes of Africa, Account of the, 424.

Negro Boys, Case of two, 492.

Niger, Termination of the River, Notice regarding the, 468.

Nayle. Madame, Murder of a Slave by, 494.

O

Officers, Inadequacy of the Number of, allowed to Corps of the Indian Army, 115.

Oblivion, The Fountain of, 410.

Ogilvy, The Hon. J. H. D., Esq., appointed President of the Board for the College of Public Instruction, 173.

P

Post-Office Authorities in India, Espionage of, 162.

Passengers, General List of, 198. 379. 378.

Penang, The Trade of, 176.

Press in England, Indifference of the, to Indian Affairs, 180. Re-establishment of the, at the Cape of Good Hope, 356.

Persia, Media, and Assyria, Travels of Mr. Buckingham in, 31.

Persian Gulph, History and Commerce of the chief part of the, 36. Population of Bussorah, 43.

Pawnbrokers, Law regarding, Notice of the, 74.

Priesthood, Universal Bigotry of the, 139.

'Pay, Proper,' of the Bengal Army, Unfair management of the, (A suppressed Letter,) 167.

Poetry, India, 66. The Soldier, 80. Nature, 113. Home, 123. The Confession, 137. Sonnet, 160. God-like Liberty—A Song, 230. Song, 238. Greece, 249. The Kenite, 255. The Maniac, 267. Historic Sketches, written in, 290. A Wee Drappie o't—A Scotch Song, 302. On an ill-timed Wish of 'A Happy New Year,' 322. Sonnet on Visiting the Ruins of the Savoy Palace, 329. Evening—A Sonnet, 355. Stanzas on the 'Exercution Militaire,' 371. Lines Addressed to a Lady, 391. To Depart is Better, 409. The Fountain of Oblivion, 410. The Warrior's Lady expecting her Lord's return, 421. Quiet—In two Sonnets, 434. Remembrance, 444. Sonnet to Autumn, 455. The Song of the Last Bard, 462. Sonnet on Slavery, 500.

Police of Madras, Proposed Addition to the, 171.

Property, On authorising Slaves to possess, 253.

Protectors for Slaves, On the appointment of, 254.

Persia and Russia, Affairs of, 288.

Pyramids of Egypt, Notice of the, 299. 401.

- Polygamy in Africa, Notice of the existence of, 431.
- Pook, Mungo, Notice regarding the Death of, 470.
- Progress of Population in the Mauritius, 477.
- Pedro, Case of the Male Slave, 488.
- Prevost, Maurice, Conviction of murdering a Slave, 495.

Q

- Quiet, Two Sonnets, 434.
- Quarterly Review, Pandering of the, 11.

R

- Russian Invasion, On the Danger of British India from, 269. Russian Trade with China, 311. 388.
- Revenues of the East India Company, particularly those Collected at Madras, 435.
- Remembrance, 444.
- Russell, Lord John, Opinion of, on Indian Affairs, 7.
- Rickards, Mr., Case of, 12.
- Ryots, Present situation of, in India, 97.
- Robertson, Dr., Opinion of, on the difference of Society in different Countries, 231.
- Russian Soldiers, Description of, 278. Army, Account of the, by Sir Walter Scott, 279.
- Rocan, Cases of cruelty perpetrated by, upon his Slaves, 494.

S

- Soldier, The, 80.
- Sonnet, 160.
- Shipping Intelligence, 196. 378. 577.
- Song, 238.
- Slavery, Sonnet on, 500.
- Slavery, On the Mitigation of, in the West Indies, 250. 430. State of, in the Mauritius, 475.
- Slave Trade at the Island of Nias, Singapore, 341.
- Sketches, Historic, Written in India, 290.
- Savoy Palace, Sonnet on Visiting the Ruins of the, 329.
- Shipp, Memoirs of Lieutenant, 335.
- Suttees in India, 347.
- Subbees, a Sect of Christians who style themselves Disciples of John the Baptist, Notice of the, 47.
- Sheik-el-Jebal, or Old Man of the Mountains, Notice of, 62.
- Spanish ancient Laws regarding Illegitimacy, 36.
- Sais, Ruins of the Ancient Town of, Description of the, 296.
- Sakhara, Pyramids of, Notice of the, 299.
- Sphinx, Description of the, 301. 329.
- Snakes of New South Wales, 329.
- Smyrna, Description of, 446.
- Scripture Phrases, Disquisition on, 453.
- Seraphine, A Negress, Case of, 493.

T

- Tennasserim Coast, Provinces of the, 155.
- Tea Monopoly, 411.
- Talmena, Etymology of, 39.
- Turkish Population of Bussorah, 44.
- Turgot on the Laws on Usury, Notice of, 73. 78.
- Tavoy and Amherst, Description of the Coast between, 155.
- Taylor, The Hon. James, Esq., appointed Member of Council, and President of the Board of Revenue, 173.

Timber, Method of felling, in Australia, 328.

Tate, William, Esq., Evidence of, regarding the Trade carried on with China through Russia, 388.

Turks, Superstition of the, at Cairo, 407.

Tea, Comparative Prices of, 415.

Tytler, Mr., his Opinion of Civilians in India, 458.

U

Usury, Laws on, Notice of, 72.

V

Voyage from Bussoiah down the River Euphrates to Bushire, 239. On the Nile, from Cairo to the Cataracts. No. 1., 393.

Virginia, a Negro Girl, Case of, 486.

W

Wish, On an ill-timed, of 'A Happy New-Year,' 322.

Wales, New South, Journey in the Interior of, 323.

West, Death of Sir Edward, 372. Address of Condolence on the Death of, 557.

Warrior's Lady, The, expecting her Lord's return, 421.

Wahabee Chief, Notice of the, 62.

Williams, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir E. K., (K. C. B.,) his dispute with the Officers of the Ship Macqueen, 172. 174.

Water Melons of New South Wales, 327.

Woollen Cloths, Account of the Profit and Loss on, Exported to China from 1793 till 1819, 386.

Women of Egypt, Disposition of the, 405.

Y

Youriba, Dramatic Entertainments at, 470.

Z

Zemindars, Former Rights and Present Condition of the, in India, 97.

